

THE RIDDELL OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE:
DEFINING THE PROFESSION IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Eryn Colleen Boyce

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2015

Advisor
Aaron Wunsch
Assistant Professor in Historic Preservation

Program Chair
Randall F. Mason
Associate Professor

Dedication

To my grandparents, John and Twyler Boyce, who fostered my love for history and made my academic journey possible.

Acknowledgements

“Hard facts are not enough,” Henry Chapman Mercer wrote in 1889, “Length and breadth do not satisfy.” This thesis ended up being much longer than originally anticipated because John Riddell and his buildings presented a puzzle that had to be solved. I hope that Mercer was wrong and that its length and breadth will satisfy the many people who provided the advice, source materials, theories, and moral support that made this project possible. Piecing together the life, work, and importance of Riddell would have been impossible without their help and guidance.

The genesis of this project lay with Aaron Wunsch of the University of Pennsylvania, who introduced me to Riddell and *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences* and provided me with constant guidance along the way. His written comments and ideas helped me connect the dots and create a written document worthy of Riddell’s place in mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia.

Countless other people provided guidance and graciously answered my questions about sources. Jeffrey Cohen of Bryn Mawr College provided invaluable information on architectural education in mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia and facilitated access to an unpublished collection of Riddell’s drawings. Jim Duffin and Mark Lloyd of the University of Pennsylvania Archives helped me locate several of Riddell’s commissions in Germantown and Mount Airy and found primary resources I would not have discovered on my own. Ed Deegan of the Fisher Fine Arts Library at the University of Pennsylvania helped me to navigate the primary resources on Riddell.

Staff at many of Philadelphia's archives and historical societies pulled relevant sources and generously took time out of their busy schedules to help me with my research. Bruce Laverty of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia pulled relevant sources and answered my questions about the institution's collection. Alex Bartlett of the Germantown Historical Society guided me through the institution's collection, provided images of Riddell's demolished houses in Germantown, answered my ceaseless questions, and searched countless times through the institution's collection to locate relevant sources at my request. The staff at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania pulled relevant sources from their collection. Patrick Connelly of the National Archives at Philadelphia located a passenger list that had eluded me.

My friends and family provided moral support and patiently listened to my theories and thoughts about Riddell. My parents, Scott Boyce and Christine McDade, gave me the time and encouragement I needed when the going became difficult, and they have supported me through every step on my academic journey. Matthew Moser edited this manuscript more thoroughly than I ever could and showed a keen interest in all my discoveries. Lindsey Uhl accompanied me on this journey and happily listened to my frustrations and provided constant encouragement. If I have missed anyone else, please know that I appreciate your support more than I can say.

Contents

Dedication	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Figures	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Analyzing the Nineteenth Century.....	1
Contextualizing John Riddell	12
Chapter 2: The Life of John Riddell	35
Chapter 3: Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences.....	116
Chapter 4: Defining Riddell the Architect	158
Conclusion.....	203
Appendix A – Riddell Client List.....	206
Appendix B – Map of Riddell’s Commissions in the Philadelphia Region	214
Bibliography.....	215
Index.....	228

List of Figures

2.1	St. Paul's German Lutheran Church at 220 Brown Street, Rebuilt by Riddell in 1848, Demolished, Courtesy of the Philadelphia Department of Records	92
2.2	First Presbyterian Church of Gloucester City at 301 Monmouth Street, Gloucester City, New Jersey, Designed by Riddell in 1849, Courtesy of Google Maps	93
2.3	Faust and Winebrenner Store at 124 North 2nd Street (Right), Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Photograph by author	94
2.4	120, 122, 124, 126 North 2nd Street, Photograph by author	95
2.5	61-63 North 3rd Street (Left), Designed by Riddell in 1852, View from the Historic American Buildings Survey PA – 1450, Courtesy the Library of Congress	96
2.6	Kent Building at 45 N 2 nd Street, Designed by Riddell c. 1852, Photograph by author	97
2.7	Mansion No. 22, Designed by Riddell in 1854 for Samuel Maupay, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	98
2.8	Gloucester City, New Jersey, Sheet 1 Index/Overview, 1891, Sanborn Maps, Sanborn Map Company, Courtesy the Princeton University Library	99
2.9	Row Houses on the West Side of the 1500 block of North 2nd Street, Courtesy Google Maps	100
2.10	E. W. Clark Building at 35 South 3rd Street, Designed by Riddell in 1852, Photograph by author	101
2.11	George Hummel House, Designed by Riddell in 1858, Northeast Corner of West Tulpehocken Street and Wayne Street, Photograph 2010.481.31, Photograph ca. 1870, Courtesy the Germantown Historical Society	102

2.12	Villa No. 4, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	103
2.13	Floorplan for Villa No. 6, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	104
2.14	Floorplan for Villa No. 1, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	105
2.15	162 East Walnut Lane, Designed by Riddell in 1856, Photograph by author	106
2.16	Villa No. 3, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	107
2.17	Floorplan for Cottage No. 12, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution.....	108
2.18	Design No. 28, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison	109
2.19	Samuel Sloan, Italian Houses, Design Forty-Second, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 2	110
2.20	Design No. 32, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison	111
2.21	A Southern Mansion, Design Forty-Fourth, Samuel Sloan, Italian Houses, Design Forty-Second, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 2	112
2.22	Design No. 46, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison	113

2.23	Design XXI, Villa in the Norman Style, Designed by W. Russell West, The Architecture of Country Houses	114
2.24	United States Engine Company, Designed by Riddell in 1852, 409 Wood Street, Photograph ca. 1865, Courtesy the Philadelphia Department of Records.....	115
3.1	Cottage No. 15, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	146
3.2	Cottage No. 15 Floorplan, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	147
3.3	An Old English Cottage Design Twenty-Fourth Floorplan, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 1	148
3.4	A Country Residence Design Twenty-Sixth, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 1	149
3.5	Villa No. 5, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	150
3.6	Villa No.1, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	151
3.7	An Italian Villa Design Sixth, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 1	152
3.8	Design IX, A Regular Bracketed Cottage, The Architecture of Country Houses	153
3.9	Villa No. 8, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	154
3.10	Villa No. 8 Floorplan, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	155

3.11	Double Cottage Design Fourth and Italian Residences Design Fifth, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 1	156
3.12	Design XXV, A Plain timber Cottage-Villa, Designed by Gervase Wheeler, The Architecture of Country Houses.....	157
4.1	Mansion No. 20, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	192
4.2	Mansion No. 21, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution	193
4.3	Faust and Winebrenner Store at 124 North 2nd Street (Right), Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Photograph by author	194
4.4	Anspach Store at 132 N 2 nd Street, Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Only Original Two Stories Remaining, Photograph by author	195
4.5	E. W. Clark Building at 35 South 3rd Street, Designed by Riddell in 1852, Photograph by author	196
4.6	Robert Howell Building, 125 South 2nd Street, View from the Historic American Buildings Survey 51-PHILA-620, Courtesy the Library of Congress	197
4.7	131 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1854, Philadelphia Historical Commission 12397-34-88219, Courtesy the Philadelphia Department of Records	198
4.8	149 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1855, Photograph by author	199
4.9	155 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1856, Photographed by Eryn Boyce	200
4.10	Fern Hill, Designed by John Notman for the McKean family, Courtesy http://www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/wh/nnnw.html	201

4.11	Design XXVIII, A Villa in the Italian Style, Designed by Richard Upjohn, <i>The Architecture of Country Houses</i>	202
------	--	-----

Chapter 1: Introduction

When Philadelphia architect John Riddell published his pattern book *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences* in 1861, American society was in the midst of a decades-long transformation. Industrialization caused rapid growth in America's urban centers, raised the living standard and purchasing power of a large portion of the nation's population, and encouraged the creation of separate pockets for business and industry in the urban environment. Against this background, builders, carpenters, and other craftsmen involved in the construction industry bore witness to a professionalization campaign in which those calling themselves "architects" sought to define their design work as a distinct field separate from the realities of construction. These architects, including Riddell, used their pattern books to demonstrate to the American public the important services that professional architects could provide in contradistinction to builders, carpenters, masons, etc. Under the influence of these pattern books, the American public became increasingly concerned with the style of their houses and how strangers viewed a homeowner based on his house. Yet, clients and patrons imposed/inserted their needs and opinions against the advice and strong objections of architects into the suburban ideal located in pattern books, thereby changing the relationship between the ideal and reality.

Analyzing the Nineteenth Century

John Riddell's career and book were exemplary products of an important moment in American social and economic history. Underlying currents included: the

emergence of elite “villa” suburbs, the evolving relationship between the ideal and reality in pattern books, the professionalization of architecture, and the emergence of the middle class in industrial America. Existing scholarship on each of these currents reveals the speed with which they were occurring and the far-reaching nature of the result. Although scholars sometimes disagree about the exact meanings of the changes in question, they generally identify the same set of factors and agents. They likewise concur broadly on the cumulative effect: industrialization, urbanization, the rise of wage labor, and the proliferation of new consumer goods broke American society from the lifeways of the eighteenth century and created the modern United States.

The Industrial Revolution created the cultural, technological, and social factors that led to the development of modern American society. The technological innovations of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on the social, cultural, and physical fabric of the United States’ urban centers have been well-documented and exhaustively examined by countless scholars. One of the most important social and cultural products of the Industrial Revolution was the formation of the American middle class, which Stuart Blumin and other historians have analyzed in depth. Although the term “middle class” is notoriously pervasive and elusive - a term almost without meaning in the fields of history and sociology - Blumin uses it to describe the large group of people between the elite and the manual laborers who appeared and grew in number throughout the course of the nineteenth century. In contrast to his Marxist peers, who argue that nineteenth-century American society

contained only the elite, or the bourgeoisie, and manual laborers, or the proletariat, Blumin locates three clear divisions in the period's social structure. Published in 1989, Blumin's *The Emergence of the Middle Class* landed in the midst of scholarly debates over the meaning of class consciousness, the number of classes visible in historic phenomena, and the role of advocacy in historical scholarship. He draws on Marxist theories, especially the idea of class consciousness, the expression by a class of an awareness of its common attitudes and beliefs, to propose that "Americans [or at least urban Americans] of middling economic and social position were formed and formed themselves into a relatively coherent and ascending middle class during the middle decades of the nineteenth century."¹ To do so, he traces the dramatic changes in housing patterns, lifestyles, and the association of these patterns and lifestyles with "particular types of work and levels of income and wealth" from the late-eighteenth to the late-nineteenth century.²

Likewise, numerous studies document the process of American suburbanization in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although architectural history surveys provide general overviews about the appearance and growth of American suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century, they are limited by their large chronological breadth to short and broad discussions of suburbanization and the architectural styles and types that accompanied it. For example, a recent

¹ Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12. Other useful works on the emergence of the American middle class in the mid-nineteenth century included Mary Ryan's *Cradle of the Middle Class* and Lawrence Samuel's *The American Middle Class: A Cultural History*.

² Ibid., 14.

textbook by Mark Gelernter covers urbanization and suburbanization in approximately three pages. He credits the increasing popularity of American suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century with the desire of families to escape the pollution, noise, and moral dangers of the industrial city and the development of new transportation technology, especially streetcars, that made it easy and affordable for growing numbers of people to leave urban centers for their cleaner and safer outskirts.³ Individual studies that focus exclusively on suburbanization in the United States, however, offer in-depth examinations of this process, the social, cultural, and economic factors that fed it, and the changes it wrought on American society. Kenneth Jackson's classic study, *Crabgrass Frontier*, and Dolores Hayden's *Building Suburbia* represent some of the most comprehensive sources on the complex interplay of factors that led to the rapid growth of American suburbs beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

Jackson documents the changing landscape of the country's metropolitan regions beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Jackson notes that prior to 1840, the borderlands of cities, which eventually became the first suburbs, carried negative connotations as the places where only the poor lived. By 1870, however, American society and government favored the suburbs over urban centers and associated them with the middle and upper classes. Alongside earlier historians, Jackson, credits the prescriptive pattern books of the mid-nineteenth century,

³ Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 185-189.

especially those by Andrew Jackson Davis, Alexander Jackson Downing, and Calvert Vaux, with this social shift. At the same time, the development of mass transportation and new construction technologies, such as balloon framing, made suburban land accessible and affordable to the working class. In these working class suburbs, small-scale builders, developers, and private homeowners looked to pattern books for design inspiration without necessarily concerning themselves with the ideology of the home: "Thus began the American tradition by which most residential structures were put up by builders who took the plans out of a portfolio."⁴ In acknowledging the development of working class suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century, Jackson takes his analysis of the American suburb deeper than other architectural historians, such as Hayden. Nevertheless, his book and arguments give readers the impression that all suburban development was carefully planned.

Hayden analyzes the historical origins of the "triple dream" of American suburbs, "house plus land plus community," in *Building Suburbia*.⁵ Hayden locates the true beginning of American suburbs to the 1870s. Although a few entrepreneurs launched suburban experiments beginning in the 1820s, the systematic development of the periphery did not begin until 1870.⁶ In 1820, according to Hayden, a few people and their families began to move to the borderlands of cities –

⁴ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 128.

⁵ Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2003), 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

the word suburb did not exist yet – where they often failed to find the bucolic landscape they sought. The advent of Downing's *Cottage Residences* in 1842 and the slow spread of mass transportation, which opened greater swathes of borderland to development, marked the birth of America's nascent suburbs. It was in the 1850s, however, that what Hayden terms picturesque enclaves, the first planned suburban communities appeared.⁷ These developed into the streetcar suburbs of the 1870s. Hayden and Jackson create a linear paradigm for the development of the American suburb in the nineteenth century and note the intimate connection between suburbanization, mass transportation, and the sentimentalization of the house. Both Jackson and Hayden focus heavily on the planned suburbs of the mid- and late-nineteenth century, such as Llewellyn Park, which, as Nancy Holst recognized, was the exception for suburban development in that period. Few scholars, however, have studied the development of the unplanned suburb, which represented most of the development on the periphery of American cities in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸

Within the context of unplanned suburban development in nineteenth-century Germantown, Nancy Holst provided the most comprehensive study of the forces that drove that development, how it related to the town's existing eighteenth-century built fabric, and the negotiation between the ideals of prescriptive pattern books, small-scale developers and builders, and the general public. Holst captures,

⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁸ Nancy A. Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 16.

chronicles, and analyzes the four general stories of nineteenth-century architectural history: the professionalization of architecture, the discussion between reality and the ideal found in pattern books, the suburbanization of the United States, and national versus local pattern book audiences in the well-known urban neighborhood of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Holst's study shows how developers and builders reconciled the ideological disconnect between the real estate market and the sentimental ideal of the home in its mid-nineteenth century built environment, where developers, builders, and homeowners produced and consumed houses that combined the design elements of prescriptive pattern books with traditional architectural elements. In contrast to the usual picture painted by architectural survey texts of homeowners eagerly embracing and seeking stylish new homes on large lots on the outskirts of cities, homeowners in mid-nineteenth century Germantown "favored fashionable but standardized homes that were easily marketed, acquired, and sold again."⁹

Holst's conclusion that homeowners, developers, and builders altered the fashionable designs and styles that they found in the pattern books produced by professional architects to accommodate traditional architectural elements, such as the center- and side-passage floor plans, draws on Dell Upton's article "Pattern Books and Professionalism." Upton differs from Holst in focusing on the ways in which architects used pattern books as a tool to establish their field as a profession distinct from other manual construction trades and to create a new role for

⁹ Ibid., xx.

architecture in American society. Yet, he also recognizes that the “most important questions of all” regard the reception of pattern books by prospective builders and the extent to which readers accepted the “architectural ideas and the social structure of design” proposed by pattern book authors.¹⁰ Whereas Holst sees the continued presence of traditional architectural features in the domestic architecture of the mid- to late-nineteenth century as evidence for the continuity of American architectural tradition in this period, Upton views the professionalization of architecture and the new architectural theories shared by professional architects in their pattern books as perpetuating a radical break between the domestic architecture that preceded the antebellum period and that which followed it.¹¹ To do so, he traces the development of builders’ guides and pattern books and the growth of an architectural profession from the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

Upton allows, as Holst argues, that builders and homeowners did not accept the theories espoused by pattern book authors regarding the desirability of individualized architectural styles and the moral improvement it offered. These non-professionals often simply borrowed the elements from pattern book designs that they found most interesting, dispensing with everything else, to combine them with traditional vernacular forms. “Vernacular practice,” Upton summarizes, “provided a well-defined alternate point of view and a method for making selective

¹⁰ Dell Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1984): 108.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

use of the new.”¹² In fact, Upton shows that pattern books often picked up existing vernacular forms, sometimes giving them a slightly different appearance, and passed them on with the “blessing of fashion.”¹³ For Upton, the radical change experienced by American domestic architecture during the middle decades of the nineteenth century resulted from the accumulation of vernacular traditions and elements from across the United States and around the globe into a single, popular language of fashion by pattern books. In other words, pattern books marketed the idea that “novelty and distinctiveness were desirable,” while creating a common discourse of fashion that ultimately treated architectural style as something superficial that could be applied to the surface of the old and traditional.¹⁴ In doing so, pattern books and the professionalization of architecture dispensed with the regionalism of American domestic architecture and created several national styles. Ultimately, Holst and Upton make the same argument, though Holst finds continuity of local forms between the eighteenth-century houses of Philadelphia and the nineteenth-century villas of Germantown where Upton sees a radical break across the United States.

Upton necessarily considers the professionalization of architecture in the mid-nineteenth century as he uses “Pattern Books and Professionalism” to examine the “early claims of professionals and at the architectural publications of the antebellum era as conscious efforts to reshape the character of ordinary domestic

¹² Ibid., 149.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 150.

architecture.”¹⁵ As such, Upton shows how architects used pattern books in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century to establish the value of the intangible goods that they had to sell by creating a cohesive body of knowledge and accomplishments that the public. This was a difficult process because architects sought to claim a place already occupied by existing professions, the building trades, and clients possessed an unwillingness to surrender the design of their houses completely to architects. To create a place for themselves, architects developed a body of theory that placed themselves as the arbiters of good taste informed and developed through education for the moral reform and improvement of American society.¹⁶ Pattern books served as the vehicle through which architects established and disseminated this theory. The egalitarianism of this position, however, was undermined by the realities of the market and culture of the nineteenth century, which left the elite of the United States as the only group who could afford to hire architects and that which could best appreciate their artistry.¹⁷

Although Upton effectively captures several aspects of the process of the professionalization of architecture, his analysis is limited in scope by the size of the article. As such, Nancy Woods provides a more in-depth and complete analysis of the process in her book *From Craft to Profession*. In contrast to Upton, who necessarily focused on the giants of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American architecture, such as Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Asher Benjamin, and Andrew Jackson

¹⁵ Ibid., 108.

¹⁶ Ibid., 128.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Downing, Woods examines the lives, education, and designs of famous and obscure architects. She describes architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as “work and business, not in its typical guises as art or problem solving.”¹⁸ More importantly, Woods breaks from the traditional approach of architectural historians by viewing the “Roarks” of nineteenth-century American architecture “not as omniscient creators but collaborators, partners, entrepreneurs, merchandisers, educators, employers, and lobbyists.”¹⁹ In approaching architectural history from “unorthodox perspectives,” Woods creates a rarity in the field of architectural history: a social history of American architecture that portrays the professionalization of the field as a response to a combination of economic, social, and ideological developments in nineteenth-century America.²⁰ Woods contrasts the professionalization of American architecture in the nineteenth century with European architecture. European architects had a well-defined and exalted social position as gentlemen artists that designed stylish buildings but did not involve themselves directly in construction and building trades. In contrast, American architects had to balance artistic and social ambitions, a desire to set themselves in a position of supervision and control over the design and construction of their buildings, with the economic necessity of obtaining and pleasing clients. They had to possess the technical knowledge of builders and the theoretical and historical knowledge of gentlemen. As a result, *From Craft to Profession* shows the social,

¹⁸ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

technological, and educational innovations that architects developed in an attempt to cope with and resolve these “disparate strands of professionalism.”²¹

Contextualizing John Riddell

Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century American cities housed a variety of functions within a small area. “Wharves, houses, shops, offices, factories, livery stables, and markets,” Dolores Hayden reports, “were crowded together for the convenience of buying and selling.”²² People lived close to their places of business, the journey between home and work taking a negligible amount of time. The streets were a busy place with the inhabitants of the city traveling through and socializing and conducting business in the street. Even within their homes and workplaces, people remained close to the street.²³ These buildings, apart from church spires, rose less than five stories above the street.²⁴ In combination, this created a crowded and intimate urban environment, in which “people of different social conditions frequently interacted within an environment small enough so that they could recognize each other as individuals, understand something of each other’s personalities and character, and in many cases know and use each other’s names.”²⁵ This was the “face-to-face society” of the “walking city,”²⁶ where congestion, a clear distinction between the city and country, a mixture of functions,

²¹ Ibid., 8.

²² Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields*, 21.

²³ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 26.

²⁴ Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields*, 21.

²⁵ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 26.

²⁶ Nash as cited in Ibid.

small distances between work and home, and the concentration of the houses of the wealthy and respectable in the city center defined the shape and culture of the urban environment.²⁷

The traditional patterns and forms of American urbanism began to change even at the end of the eighteenth century with the advent of industrialization. While industrialization initially seemed to promise greater material comforts for greater numbers of people with factories that blended easily with their surroundings, the harsh realities of life in industrialized cities quickly manifested themselves in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Technological innovations, such as the steam engine, cast iron, railroads, and gas lighting enabled the construction of large factories that specialized in the production of one specific product and spewed dust from the coal that powered their machines into the air to coat urban buildings in grime. Industrialization enriched the owners of these factories and their financiers, but it also pushed manual laborers further down the socioeconomic scale.²⁸ These factory workers repeated the same task day after day on their fourteen hour shifts for small salaries that often required children to work and contribute to household expenses. More importantly, industrialization severed the link between work and home. Whereas master craftsmen and their apprentices had produced and sold their goods from ground-floor shops attached to their residences in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, American cities possessed specified

²⁷ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization*, 14-15.

²⁸ Gelernter, *A History of American*, 140-141.

residential, industrial, commercial, and financial zones by the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹ Factory workers “crowded into the cities where the factories were located, finding accommodation only in densely packed, overpriced, and often filthy and airless tenements,” while the wealthy and the growing class of nonmanual workers turned their attentions to the city’s fringes to escape its disease and social strife.³⁰

The built fabric of the American city reflected the changing nature of work and population in the city center. The new large-scale and mechanized production favored by the United States’s increasingly industrial economy led to the movement of factories and mills to the urban periphery where the cheap land and large spaces necessary for these buildings existed, while the sale of the goods manufactured at these sites “required an attractive location in those quarters and on those streets that were emerging within each growing city as specialized zones for shopping.”³¹ Style and attractiveness also came to distinguish between manual and nonmanual workplaces. While factories remained dirty, noisy, smelly, and hot places, “increasing number of nonmanual proprietors and workers found themselves in stores, offices, and even whole districts of stores and offices, that were cleaner, brighter, and more elegant than ever before, and that in many cases were deliberately designed to be so.”³² In fact, “distinct architectural idioms for commercial buildings” developed concurrently with specialization in the

²⁹ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 85.

³⁰ Gelernter, *A History of American*, 141.

³¹ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 85.

³² *Ibid.*, 92-93.

1820s.³³ The Greek Revival was the most popular style for storefronts and commercial buildings erected or redesigned in the 1820s.³⁴ A variety of styles with more elaborate ornamentation, including the Gothic Revival and Renaissance Revival, replaced the classical motifs of the Greek Revival in the 1850s.³⁵ While the Greek Revival style was relatively simple and could be “executed inexpensively and effectively without the use of a professional architect,” professional architects, such as Thomas Ustick Walter and John Riddell, often designed the commercial buildings that exhibited these foreign revival styles in the largest and most important industrial cities in nineteenth-century America.

Like city centers, the fringes and peripheries of the American urban center experienced a radical transformation in appearance and portrayal in popular culture during the first half of the nineteenth century. Simply put, neighborhoods on the edge of the city went from undesirable locations and the home of the poor and working class to desirable locations that displayed the height of architectural and social fashion and the home of the wealthy and those who wished to emulate them. Historians still struggle to pinpoint the exact time and cause of this transformation. Dolores Hayden states that “building in the borderlands” began in 1820, though she does not identify a systematic promotion of a new middle-class lifestyle that came to be called suburban until the 1840s.³⁶ At this time, urban borderlands became the source and location of conflict over what form they would

³³ Ibid., 93.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 95.

³⁶ Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields*, 4.

take. Residents tried to retain the bucolic charm of the rural life that initially attracted them to the fringes, while investors who possessed a financial stake in their growth actively supported their development.³⁷ Of course, class and occupation undercut these debates and the ideal appearance of borderlands neighborhoods, with the middle-class becoming the most ardent supporters of the suburban ideal of “single-family houses among trees and flowers, removed from the pollution, epidemics, and economic stresses of the city.”³⁸ Likewise, Jackson dates the first appearance of suburbanization in the United States and Great Britain to 1815. He maintains, however, that the suburb as a “recognizable entity, distinct from either the city or the farm” did not develop until the 1840s.³⁹ Peripheral towns retained their inferiority vis-a-vis the city, which the residents of these outlying towns still saw as the locus of progress and culture. For the first four decades of the nineteenth century, then, urban borderlands remained a nebulous idea, changing with class affiliation and the passage of time.

Architectural histories that analyze the changing forms of American cities and patterns of social behavior typically refer to the growing appeal of single-family houses on the outskirts of cities as suburbanization and these new neighborhoods as suburbs. Whereas the poor and working classes called the “suburbs” home in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, suburbanization was primarily a middle- and upper-class phenomenon from the mid-nineteenth century until the

³⁷ Ibid., 23.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization*, 45.

end of the decade. Yet, the concepts of suburb, suburbanization, and the middle class remain slippery slopes, with different scholars possessing a different definition for each idea and a different time period for when each gained coherence in meaning in the United States. Jackson describes suburbs as low-density, residential neighborhoods that housed families from the middle and upper echelons of American cities in rural, non-farming areas on the outskirts of cities that required residents to commute to work in the city on a daily basis.⁴⁰ Here, suburbanization becomes “a process involving the systematic growth of fringe areas at a pace more rapid than that of core cities, as a lifestyle involving a daily commute to jobs in the center.”⁴¹ Although Jackson acknowledges that his definition allows for a somewhat fluid understanding of the concept of the suburb - low-density, after all, means one thing in the nineteenth century and another in the twentieth century - Hayden creates a timeline in which the definition of the suburb changes with time.⁴² Hayden does not dispute Jackson’s definition; however, she identifies stages in the appearance and meaning of suburbs. “Building in borderlands,” she writes,

began about 1820. Picturesque enclaves started around 1850 and streetcar buildouts around 1870 . . . Each pattern is defined by characteristic development practices, building technologies, marketing strategies, architectural preferences, and environmental attitudes.⁴³

The fact that the development of urban fringes often proceeded from multiple parties lacking a coherent vision further complicates the process of defining suburbs

⁴⁰ Ibid., 11.

⁴¹ Ibid., 13.

⁴² Ibid., 11.

⁴³ Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields*, 4-5.

and suburbanization in the mid-nineteenth century. What, then, was suburbanization in the mid-nineteenth century and what form did the typical mid-nineteenth century suburb assume?

Scholars, such as Hayden and Jackson, rely primarily on the prescriptive literature and pattern books published by architects and reformers in the mid-nineteenth century and architect-designed planned suburban communities, such as Llewellyn Park in West Orange, New Jersey, and Riverside, Illinois, to build a picture of the mid-nineteenth century suburb.⁴⁴ The reality, of course, presented a more complicated story. Few planned suburban communities that resembled Llewellyn Park and Riverside in size, stylistic consistency, and close adherence to pattern book ideals existed in the mid-nineteenth century. Neither was interest in or knowledge of these ideals as widespread in the general populace as many scholars implicitly assume. In fact, Nancy Holst reveals in her study of mid-nineteenth century Germantown that “many continued to view the notion of living permanently outside of the city center as a rather radical shift” into the 1850s.⁴⁵ In reality, the establishment and growth of residential neighborhoods on the peripheries of American cities involved a complex interplay of large- and small-scale real estate speculators and developers, traditional patterns of land use, existing regional and vernacular building conventions, popular culture’s attitudes towards houses and homeownership, and the ideals of architects and pattern book authors.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Although few people applied the word suburban to the unplanned growth of primarily residential areas on the urban periphery or understood this process as suburbanization in the mid-nineteenth century, the period from 1830 through 1860 represented a time of experimentation with the forms, lifestyles, and cultural attitudes that became codified as suburban after the Civil War.⁴⁷ For the purpose of this study, suburb will refer to primarily residential neighborhoods on the outskirts of American cities dominated by single-family, detached houses inhabited by members of the middle- and upper-class, who commuted daily to work in the city center via public transportation or private vehicles that experienced dramatic growth in the mid-nineteenth century. Suburbanization will follow the definition put forward by Jackson in *Crabgrass Frontier* by referring to the rapid growth of these neighborhoods, though it will expand upon this definition to include the popular culture attitude that reversed centuries of tradition by portraying the fringes as a superior place to live over the city center.

Like cities and urban fringes, the structure of the American social hierarchy irrevocably changed in the nineteenth century. Although historians and scholars sometimes refer to the middle class or the bourgeoisie in eighteenth-century American cities, the term middle class did not assume an appearance or meaning even remotely resembling its twentieth and twenty-first century connotations until the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, Blumin reveals that class appeared rarely in eighteenth century discussions or descriptions of “social taxonomy and the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2.

structure of day-to-day social relations.”⁴⁸ Instead, the language of eighteenth-century social taxonomy referenced “ranks, conditions, sorts, orders, and estates.”⁴⁹ As such, Blumin calls the prosperous artisans, storekeepers, and clerks who were neither poor nor belonged to the families of the wealthy who enjoyed social prestige and exercised political leadership in the eighteenth century as the “middling sorts.”⁵⁰ In contrast to the tripartite social hierarchy that slowly appeared in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, in which rigid economic boundaries divided “horizontally layered” and antagonistic classes, eighteenth-century American society possessed a structure of “vertically arranged interests,” in which “the flow of influence, patronage, and deference within this system of interests” differentiated between ranks.⁵¹

While the social standing of artisans remained somewhat ambiguous in the eighteenth century - artisans could be prosperous and assert claims for a high degree of respectability as “producers of essential goods and as independent businessmen”⁵² - the nineteenth century permanently associated them with the lower classes. As the nineteenth century proceeded, manual work increasingly migrated from the houses and shops of independent artisans to factories. At the same time, the increasing size and specialization of companies created a new class of nonmanual professions that aligned nonmanual work with entrepreneurship and

⁴⁸ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 19.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 35.

salaried employment, in contrast to the wage earning employment associated with manual work in factories.⁵³ The industrialization of manufacturing and the technological innovation that accompanied it created a demand for specialized knowledge of this technology and the products that it produced. Whereas this knowledge had once been found in the artisan shops that lined city streets in the eighteenth century, customers now had to turn to the new class of experts that populated the new commercial districts of the mid-nineteenth-century city. These were the “manufacturers’ sales managers, independent retailers, and retail clerks and salesmen” whose skills appeared in the elegantly appointed offices and salesrooms of highly ornamented purpose-built commercial buildings described above, not on the workshop floor.

The lifestyles, social experiences, and cultural attitudes of manual and nonmanual workers diverged sharply in the mid-nineteenth century. The salaries of nonmanual workers increasingly reflected the elevation of nonmanual professions and nonmanual workplaces. Whereas skilled manual workers rarely earned enough money to single-handedly support their families, often relying on the labor of spouses and children to make ends meet, “small nonmanual businessmen and experienced clerks appear to have made . . . enough to support their families without calling upon wives and children to work.”⁵⁴ The average yearly wage earned by workers in fourteen major industries in Philadelphia reached only \$288 in

⁵³ Ibid., 68.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 121.

1850.⁵⁵ This fell well below the \$500 to \$600 necessary to sustain a family living in modest circumstances.⁵⁶ Clerks in New York, in contrast, sometimes earned between \$1,500 and \$2,000 before starting their own businesses.⁵⁷ Although low nonmanual workers, such as clerks and salesmen, often received low salaries at the start of their careers, upward mobility enabled them to rapidly advance to better and more lucrative positions.⁵⁸ They became managers, retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, and agents.⁵⁹ In contrast, skilled workers usually only achieved nonmanual status through "lateral" mobility, becoming the proprietors of "tobacco shops, groceries, newsstands, and taverns."⁶⁰ These types of businesses, however, rarely served as a ticket away from working class income levels, lifestyles, or social environments.⁶¹

The entrance of the picturesque ideal into the American artistic consciousness in the mid-nineteenth century radically altered American domestic architecture and cultural attitudes towards the home. Andrew Jackson Downing looms large in scholarly discussions of the picturesque and changing domestic tastes in the United States, as he played a major role in popularizing the ideas and designs of other writers and architects who worked with the picturesque.⁶² More a "popularizer" than an "innovator," Downing set about educating his readers on the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 110.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 112.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 115.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 134.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization*, 63.

proper styles for the architecture, furniture, decoration, and landscapes of the American home in the 1840s and 1850s.⁶³ Drawing on the ideas and aesthetics of John Claudius Loudon, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Gervase Wheeler, among others, Downing sought to develop a style suitable for American domestic architecture. To Downing, the Greek Revival style, the most common style for domestic architecture in the 1820s and 1830s, represented the worst choice of style for domestic architecture. "We have no more patience," Downing wrote in *The Architecture of Country Houses*, "who give us copies of the temple of Theseus, with its high, severe colonnades, for dwellings, than with a friend who should describe his wife and children to us in lofty rhythm of Ossian."⁶⁴ In its place, Downing favored the "Italian, Venetian, Swiss, Rural Gothic, and our Bracketed style, all modified and subdued forms of the Gothic and Greek styles."⁶⁵ In contrast to the Greek Revival style, these styles were ideally suited to residential purposes: "So, too, in the neighborhoods of some of our cities, we still occasionally see houses which are pretty close imitations of Greek temples; as these buildings have sometimes as much space devoted to porticoes and colonnades as to rooms, one may well be pardoned for doubting exactly for what purpose they were designed."⁶⁶ Furthermore, the irregularity of these styles, according to Downing,

⁶³ J. Stewart Johnson, "Introduction to the Dover Edition," introduction to *The Architecture of Country Houses*, by Andrew Jackson Downing (D. Appleton & Company, 1850; Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1969), vii.

⁶⁴ Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (D. Appleton & Company, 1850; Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1969), 28.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 32.

provided more visual interest to passerby while speaking to the strong character and individual personality of the inhabitant.⁶⁷

Downing followed other architects and authors of prescriptive literature in dividing the larger umbrella of domestic architecture into three types: cottages, villas, and farmhouses. Cottages fell at the bottom of Downing's hierarchy of domestic architecture, which placed the large country estate, which always included a large villa of tasteful style at its center, at the zenith. Designed for "industrious and intelligent working men," a cottage was "a house of limited accommodation, and, above all, of very moderate size as compared with other houses."⁶⁸ At their most basic, the cottage designs featured in Downing's books exhibited a first floor plan with a living room and bedroom - cottages rarely contained the fashionable parlor - and cost between \$330 and \$400, though the most elaborate cost \$1300.⁶⁹ Downing's farmhouses were substantial dwellings intended and designed for the practical purpose of running a farm and the manual labor it entailed. First floor plans always contained a first-floor kitchen, a dairy room, and a wood room. Estimated costs ranged from \$1000 to \$4000.⁷⁰ Villas represented the most elaborate of residential architecture in nineteenth-century America. "What we mean by a villa," Downing explained in *The Architecture of Country Houses*, "is the country house of a person of competence or wealth sufficient to build and maintain

⁶⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 39-40.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 73-134.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 143-173.

it with some taste and elegance.”⁷¹ In contrast to cottages and farmhouses, which Downing assumed would be maintained without the help of servants, a country house required the care of at least three servants to be considered a villa.⁷²

Moreover, as the “home of its [America’s] most leisurely and educated class of citizens,” the villa required the rooms central to maintaining the new social status and facilitating the new cultural practices and behavioral mores of middle-class society.⁷³ As such, even the most modest of Downing’s favored villa designs featured a parlor or drawing room, a dining room or living room, and a library, these being absolute necessities for the “development of the intellectual and moral nature which characterizes the most cultivated families in the country houses.”⁷⁴ Of course, villas stood well outside the financial means of mechanics, laborers, and farmers, at least when built out of stone or brick instead of wood as Downing advocated, ranging in cost from \$3340 to \$14,000.⁷⁵ More than a decade later, John Riddell would feel the need to use a more specific taxonomy in place of Downing’s rather amorphous “villa,” referring to his largest residential designs, which equaled Downing’s most elaborate villas in size, as mansions.

While Downing promoted the villa and the country estate of the gentleman of leisure as the domestic ideal towards which all Americans should strive, he also conservatively argued for the preservation of the existing social hierarchy that

⁷¹ Ibid., 257.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 258.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 259.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 267-363.

placed manual laborers at the bottom and professional men at the top. For Downing, this occurred by maintaining the connection between social status and lifestyle, especially with regards to domestic architecture. As such, Downing identified simplicity as the defining characteristic of cottages, warning the inhabitants of cottages and farmhouses against false ambition and not to imitate “with cheap and flimsy materials and a few hundred dollars . . . the style and elaborate ornament of the villa, with its expenditure of thousands.”⁷⁶ Doing so, Downing stated, led to the moral degradation of the inhabitants.⁷⁷ Downing affected social equality with working men, calling them “the bone and sinew of the land,”⁷⁸ and farmers, referring to them as “among the wisest, the best, and most honored of our citizens.”⁷⁹ Underlying these statements, however, lay a certain, and often overt, bias against the lower classes. Given his explicit and repeated warnings against decorating cottages as if they were villas, Downing viewed the working classes as inferior to nonmanual professionals. Likewise, Downing saw simplicity and, by extension, social humility as the proper behavior of farmers. “The farmer’s life,” he explicitly stated, “is not one devoted to aesthetics, and we do not look chiefly for the evidences of carefully elaborated taste and culture in his house, as in the dwelling of the scholar and the man of letters.”⁸⁰ Clearly, Downing saw a rigid social and

⁷⁶ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 343.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 40.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 136.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 139.

cultural boundary between those who worked with their hands and those who worked with their heads.

According to Downing, only the wealthy elite possessed the necessary social standing, economic resources, cultural attitudes, and refined tastes to lead the lifestyle of intellectual pursuit and agricultural cultivation of the country gentleman with his landscaped estate and villa that admitted an “indulgence of beauty of form and decoration” denied to the working man with his cottage or the farmer with his farmhouse. Yet, even in addressing the elite, Downing sounded a note of caution against ostentation. More specifically, Downing urged elite homeowners to retain their moral and republican humility and to avoid the sin of pride, the construction of a “country-seat of great size and cost.”⁸¹ “The man of wealth,” Downing began,

dies tomorrow, and his million, divided among all his children, leaves them each but a few thousands. If he has been tempted to indulge in the luxury or pride of a great establishment, no one of his children is rich enough to hold it . . . And this home - this fine establishment which has been built in defiance of the spirit of the time and nation, must needs be abandoned by the family who built it; it must become the property of strangers, who, in their turn, will hold it but for one lifetime.⁸²

Consequently, Downing created what became the suburban ideal of “the beautiful, rural, unostentatious, moderate home of a country gentleman.”⁸³

Although Alexander Jackson Davis’s *Rural Residences* “broke new ground as the first ‘house pattern book,’” it was privately printed.⁸⁴ As such, Downing, who

⁸¹ Ibid., 266-267.

⁸² Ibid., 267-268.

⁸³ Downing as cited in Johnson, “Introduction to the Dover,” introduction to *The Architecture of Country*, xv.

⁸⁴ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization*, 77.

worked with Davis on residential projects in the Hudson River Valley and used his ideas and designs extensively, set the precedent for the theoretical approach to architecture. The tactic proved extremely popular. Downing's *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, published in 1841, went through eight editions and sixteen printings before 1879,⁸⁵ his *Cottage Residences*, first printed in 1842, went through four editions in Downing's short life, and his *The Architecture of Country Houses*, published in 1850, was printed nine times and sold over sixteen thousand copies by the end of the Civil War.⁸⁶ Subsequently, most pattern book authors, including Samuel Sloan, included at least a cursory discussion of architectural history, the principles of architecture, and the elements of taste as introductions to their books, though these were often freely, and openly, copied from other sources.

The radical changes of nineteenth-century American society manifested themselves in the building industry. As the nature of work and the meaning of professionalism changed in the mid-nineteenth century, most notably in the growing economic and social gap between manual labor and nonmanual professions, the building trades experienced a similar push for professionalization. "During the nineteenth century," Mary Woods explains, "the majority of those engaged in design and building were known as builders, carpenters, or building mechanics."⁸⁷ Yet, men involved in these trades increasingly

⁸⁵ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁶ Johnson, "Introduction to the Dover," introduction to *The Architecture of Country*, vi-vii.

⁸⁷ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 4.

sought to improve their social and economic position by labeling themselves as architects between 1820 and 1860. These men, such as Asher Benjamin, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Thomas Ustick Walter, positioned the professional architect between “clients who commissioned the work and artisans who constructed it.”⁸⁸ As such, the professional architect became both a designer and supervisor. He developed the designs for buildings as requested by clients and supervised the realization of his vision by directly monitoring the construction process and ensuring the adherence of craftsmen to the original design. In doing so, these first professional architects departed dramatically from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century understandings of the term, which did not view the words “architect” and “professional” as synonymous.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe, often described as the first professional architect in the United States, attempted to introduce English ideas about professionalism into the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. To Latrobe, who had trained as a gentleman architect and engineer in England before immigrating to the United States in 1796, the professional architect “alone combined theoretical knowledge with a practical understanding of building.”⁸⁹ Despite his best efforts, Latrobe failed to establish architecture as a viable profession.⁹⁰ Latrobe’s difficulties stemmed, in part, from his inability to reconcile his status as a gentleman, who, according to English custom, did not profit from his work, with the necessity of earning a

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 9.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 7.

living. Furthermore, Latrobe had to compete against the well-established and well-respected master builders who dominated the building industry in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America. Master carpenters had been “the preeminent building artisans” since the colonial era, when the abundance of wood for construction and the shortage of skilled labor commanded high wages.⁹¹ Although not particularly common, master carpenters sometimes expanded their operations and social standing by designing buildings, drafting architectural drawings, acquiring materials, and overseeing construction. This, especially the ability to draw, allowed master carpenters and master builders to label themselves as architects.⁹² While the first architects, especially Latrobe, earned institutional and governmental commissions, “house design and construction were controlled by master carpenters.”⁹³ The lack of large reserves of capital and social discomfort with the demands voiced by Latrobe, most notably his demands to be paid on commission and his tendency to send subordinates to supervise construction, allowed the master builder to continue to dominate the building trade in the eighteenth century.⁹⁴ This trend continued into the nineteenth-century. In fact, many architects of the antebellum period began their careers in the manual building trades.

The economic and industrial revolutions of the antebellum period rapidly transformed architecture into the profession that Latrobe had originally

⁹¹ Ibid., 10-11.

⁹² Ibid., 12.

⁹³ Ibid., 19-20.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 23.

envisioned. New manufacturing and transportation technologies had severed the intimate connection between home and work. “The traditional solidarity of master, journeyman, and apprentice, was crumbling,” Woods notes, “amid the alternating economic booms and busts of the 1820s and 1830s.”⁹⁵ The new industrial economy created large reserves of capital for local, state, and federal governments and cultural, social, and economic institutions, which precipitated a plethora of ambitious building projects for which master builders and Latrobe’s professional heirs competed.⁹⁶ Moreover, people began to challenge the traditional social structure of the eighteenth century in which a certain rank brought with it certain privileges. The tendency for white American men to claim the title “gentleman” in a quest for status and dignity in the nineteenth century opened the professions, which had previously been the territory of the wealthy elite, to anyone with the necessary talent, skills, and natural ability. This, coupled with the social unease generated by deteriorating social and economic relations between employers and employees, prompted master builders, who had previously been comfortable with identifying themselves with craftsmen and mechanics, to seek to distance themselves from the mechanics and manual laborers who became their employees.

The men who increasingly labeled themselves as professional architects in the mid-nineteenth century usually began their careers as craftsmen and artisans. Professionalization, however, brought with it a growing emphasis on

⁹⁵ Ibid., 29.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

education and artistry. New professional associations, most notably the American Institution of Architects (AIA), championed the paradoxical ideas that “artistry was the mark of the professional architect” and that architecture was a science.⁹⁷ While portraying architecture as a science appealed to the surface-level rational and egalitarian spirit of nineteenth-century American society, professional architects and the AIA quickly distinguished between “practical architects,” “common carpenters” who learned the science of architecture and imitated the works of others, and professional architects, who created new works of art.⁹⁸ Those interested in the science of architecture in the early- and mid-nineteenth century typically received their knowledge from builders’ guides, a predecessor of the house pattern book created by Davis and Downing, and a number of mechanics’ institutes that provides “lectures, evening classes, libraries, drawing and model collections, and trade exhibitions” either for free or a modest fee to workingmen who could not learn the skills necessary to a professional architect on the job.⁹⁹ By the late-nineteenth century, however, architectural education had moved away from craft apprenticeship and mechanics’ institutes, such as the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, to office training with an established architectural firm and even a formal education in one of the architectural programs established at the nation’s leading universities, such as Columbia University, MIT, and Cornell University.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ibid., 34.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 58-59.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 60-81.

American society experienced a dramatic reorganization in the nineteenth century, as industrialization, changing social values, and new cultural ideals broke down the traditional structure and mores of eighteenth-century society. These changes became most apparent in the changing spatial organization, physical appearance, and cultural understanding of the United State's urban centers in the mid-nineteenth century. Here, the urban environment transformed from the “walking city” of the eighteenth century with its somewhat amorphous socioeconomic structure to the “private city” of the nineteenth century with its specialized and distinct zones of activity and rigid class hierarchy based on a growing social and material distinction between those who performed manual labor and those who did not. As society increasingly viewed manual work and laborers and mechanics as inferior, nonmanual professionals redefined the meaning of “middling folk.” Whereas “middling folk” in the eighteenth century referred both to nonmanual professionals, such as teachers, lawyers, and doctors, along with artisans, it gradually came to refer exclusively to nonmanual professionals in the nineteenth century, during which time “middle class” took its place. Changing lifestyles, most notably the elevation of the elegant country villas with its expensive furnishings and social exclusivity, only served to emphasize the perceived inferiority of the working class and to align the middle class more closely, at least in political beliefs, cultural ideals, and social mores, with the wealthy elite. Architecture, in particular, became an important sign of social status and participant in the cultural language of the nineteenth century. As a result, architects

stood in a precarious position as both arbiters and reflectors of popular culture and social ideals, even as they sought to establish themselves as professionals. John Riddell, who lived and established a successful regional architectural practice in this complex and somewhat volatile situation, thus serves as a useful lens through which to examine the generalities of nineteenth-century architectural practice and the specificities of architectural practice in nineteenth-century Philadelphia.

Chapter 2: The Life of John Riddell

John Riddell witnessed and participated in the dramatic transformation of nineteenth-century American society and the built fabric of the American city. Philadelphia transformed from a small town into booming industrial metropolis. This opened up capital reserves and created opportunities for people to improve their professional and social status. This was especially true in the construction field, where members of the building trades increasingly claimed the professional status of architect over the manual status of carpenter or “mechanic.” Although not every building artisan successfully completed this transition, those who met the visual and cultural requirements of middle- and upper-class clients often established successful regional or even national practices. The architecture profession, however, reflected the growing stratification of American culture and society, placing regional architects at the bottom, and often limiting them to local commercial and residential commissions from members of the new middle class, and nationally renowned architects at the top, providing them with prestigious commissions for government buildings, institutions, and the residences of the elite. Riddell fell at the lower end of this scale, but his life and career demonstrate the ability of artisans to remake themselves into successful professionals and the strategies that local and regional architects used to earn commissions and a livelihood in a notoriously tenuous profession. In doing so, Riddell's career and body of work deepen the traditional scholarly understanding of

the architecture profession that has stubbornly focused on celebrating the individual genius of nineteenth-century "starchitects."

The circumstances surrounding Riddell's childhood and early life remain vague due to the dearth of primary sources and the frequent misspellings of his name in the sources that do exist. Born sometime between 1814 and 1815, Riddell was the third child of James and Jane Riddell. Riddell's parents probably immigrated to Philadelphia from Londonderry in Northern Ireland, arriving with a Thomas Riddle on the *Raleigh* on 24 May 1808.¹⁰¹ Although the death certificate for James Riddell listed him as a native of the United States, his son Robert Riddell listed Ireland as the birthplace of his parents in the 1880 Census.¹⁰² James Riddell worked as a carpenter for his entire career, first appearing in the Philadelphia census directory of 1811 with an office on High (Market) (Street) west of Sch(uylkill) 7th (16th) (Street).¹⁰³ "The listing 'Carp,'" Harold Cooledge explains in his biography of Samuel Sloan, "was the equivalent of today's contractor or builder."¹⁰⁴ Whereas cabinetmakers manufactured furniture in their shops, carpenters typically possessed offices.¹⁰⁵ He continued to appear in Philadelphia directories until his

¹⁰¹ Passenger List for the *Raleigh*, May 24, 1808, Pennsylvania, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1800-1963, National Archives, Washington, DC, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.ancestry.com>. The *Raleigh* passenger list spells Riddell as Riddle. Ridel is another variation found in the primary sources.

¹⁰² Death Certificate for James Riddell, March 1846, Reel: 179, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Church and Town Records, 1708-1985, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.ancestry.com>; "Tenth Census of the United States," 1880, Roll: 1176; Family History Film: 1255176; Page: 252D; Enumeration District: 309; Image: 0509, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.ancestry.com>.

¹⁰³ *Census Directory for 1811* (Philadelphia, PA: Jane Aitken, 1811), 270, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

¹⁰⁴ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 13.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

death in 1846, though he disappeared from the record between 1822, when he listed 15 Pine Alley as his business address, and 1830, when “Riddell James, carpenter” appeared at “1 Middleton ct (court).”¹⁰⁶ He relocated four more times, moving to 645 North 2nd Street in 1837, to Ogden Street near 10th in 1839, to 10th Street above Parrish Street in 1842, and to Poplar Street above 10th Street in 1845.¹⁰⁷ Apoplexy (stroke) killed the 63 year old James Riddell on 31 March 1846.¹⁰⁸

In the tradition of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, Riddell and his three brothers followed their father into the carpentry trade. Presumably, each entered into an apprenticeship as teenagers. An apprenticeship was a legal arrangement that bound a boy between the ages of twelve and twenty-one to a master craftsman for a period of seven years, during which time the master initiated the apprentice into “the art, ‘special skills,’ and mysteries [special knowledge] of a trade.”¹⁰⁹ Masters supplied their apprentices with food, clothing, lodging, and, sometimes, rudimentary instruction in reading and writing. After completing their apprenticeship, apprentices became journeymen and received payment for their

¹⁰⁶ *Desilver's Philadelphia City Directory and Stranger's Guide, 1830* (Philadelphia, PA: Robert Desilver, 1830), 161, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

¹⁰⁷ *A. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1837* (Philadelphia, PA: A. M'Elroy, 1837), 185; *A. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory, for 1839* (Philadelphia, PA: A. M'Elroy, 1839), 211, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>; *M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1842* (Philadelphia, PA: Orrin Rogers, 1842), 223, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>; *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1845* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1845), 301, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

¹⁰⁸ Death Certificate for James Riddell.

¹⁰⁹ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 53-54.

work.¹¹⁰ Although laws required that apprenticeships last for a period of seven years, American apprenticeships typically lasted only a couple of years due to mobility, the absence of regulatory agencies, and labor shortages.¹¹¹ While the apprenticeship system had largely died out by the late-nineteenth century, it remained dominant in the early-nineteenth century.¹¹² In fact, before the advent of university programs and mechanics' institutes, apprenticeship to a master bricklayer or carpenter served as the foundation for numerous architects who worked in the early- and mid-nineteenth century.¹¹³

The members of Riddell's immediate family followed their father into the building trades. Riddell and his brothers likely studied carpentry with their father. John Riddell began his career as a carpenter between 1835 and 1836. *DeSilver's Philadelphia Directory and Strangers Guide* for 1835 and 1836 listed a John Riddle as a carpenter at 2nd Street near Phoenix (Thompson) Street.¹¹⁴ Robert Riddell, who was two years older than John and eventually became a successful carpenter, stair-builder, architect, and author of several practical carpentry guides, did not appear until 1840, when *M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory* lists someone of that name as a carpenter at 649 North 2nd Street.¹¹⁵ George Riddell, who was two years John's junior and the youngest of the four siblings, began

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 54.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., 55.

¹¹³ Ibid., 53.

¹¹⁴ *DeSilver's Philadelphia Directory and Stranger's Guide for 1835 & 36* (Philadelphia, PA: Robert Desilver, 1835), 152, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

¹¹⁵ *A. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1840* (Philadelphia, PA: Isaac Ashmead & Co., 1840), 211, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

his career as a carpenter in 1844 when *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory* gave his address as Poplar Street below 10th Street.¹¹⁶ The Riddell brothers also had a sister, Sarah, who was the second of the four children born to James and Jane Riddell.¹¹⁷ In contrast to his father and younger brother, John Riddell worked only briefly as a carpenter. He announced his new career in an advertisement placed in *The Public Ledger* on 26 March 1845:

John Riddell, architect, would respectfully inform the building community that he is prepared to execute Architectural Drawings and Designs on the most approved style for buildings in town or country. Builders are respectfully invited to give him a call. Office 336 North Third Street, nearly opposite the Commissioners' Hall.¹¹⁸

This advertisement appeared in *The Public Ledger* at least three more times that year.¹¹⁹ Riddell thus redefined himself as a professional architect at the age of 30.

In transitioning from a manual building trade to a career as an architect, Riddell was hardly unusual. Two of Riddell's most famous contemporaries, Thomas Ustick Walter and Samuel Sloan, similarly redefined themselves as architects at critical points in their careers. Walter, who was approximately ten years Riddell's senior, began his career as a bricklayer working under his father Joseph Saunders Walter on the erection of the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia in

¹¹⁶ *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1844* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. Biddle, 1844), 263.

¹¹⁷ The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society Accounts, 1838, Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁸ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), March 26, 1845, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.newspapers.com>.

¹¹⁹ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 8, 1845, Wants; *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 14, 1845, Wants.

1818. Walter soon left his apprenticeship as a mason behind in favor of a position in the office of the noted architect William Strickland, who had designed the Second Bank. Association with Strickland, and later John Haviland at the Franklin Institute, introduced Walter to “the idea of the architect as a professional who was distinguished from builders by specific training, specialized education and the practice of an intellectual profession.”¹²⁰ Strickland and Haviland, both descendants of the European architecture profession and together “largely responsible for Philadelphia’s status as a center for architectural innovation,” both approached architecture from an intellectual perspective and expressed an interest in and knowledge of architectural history.¹²¹ Likewise, Samuel Sloan, who came from a family of carpenters and cabinetmakers, began his building career as a carpenter working on the construction of another Philadelphia landmark, Eastern State Penitentiary. This job exposed Sloan to Haviland’s methods and professional philosophy, which probably influenced Sloan’s decision to switch from carpentry to architecture in 1849 and inspired, in part, his subsequent interest in architectural history and theory.¹²²

In contrast to Walter and Sloan, the defining moment that encouraged Riddell to redefine himself as an architect appears to have been a two-year sojourn in Europe. After appearing *M’Elroy’s Philadelphia Directory* for 1842 as a carpenter located on Queen Street near Cherry Street, he disappeared from the directories

¹²⁰ Amundson, “The Context and Character,” introduction to *The Lectures on Architecture*, 7.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²² Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 10-14.

until *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory* recorded his new profession and the location of his office at 65 ½ South 3rd Street.¹²³ An explanation for this absence appeared in a new advertisement in *The Public Ledger* on 28 October 1846:

John Riddell, Architect - Office, No. 65 ½ South Third Street, opposite the Girard Bank - wishes to inform Gentlemen and others engaged in building, that having great experience as a practical man, and having recently spent two years in Europe in the study of Drawing and Practical Architecture, is now prepared to execute designs for all kinds of Buildings, such as Plans, Elevations, Sections &c. All buildings entrusted to him will be confidential, and executed with despatch.¹²⁴

In this advertisement, Riddell claimed experience and training that few American professional architects possessed in the mid-nineteenth century. American architects did not enter the *Ecole de Beaux Arts* in France until the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning with Richard Morris Hunt in the 1850s. Both Sloan and Walter visited Europe during their careers; however, they did so after establishing their architectural careers. Walter traveled to Greece to study Greek architecture after winning the commission for Girard College in 1832 at the behest of Nicholas Biddle, and Sloan left Philadelphia for a grand tour of Europe with his family on 26 May 1858.¹²⁵

Although architectural historian Nancy Holst has voiced doubts about Riddell's claims to architectural training abroad, a John Riddle returned to New York from Liverpool on the *St. George* on 18 January 1845.¹²⁶ The passenger list

¹²³ *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1842*, 223.

¹²⁴ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), October 26, 1846.

¹²⁵ Gelernter, *A History of American*, 158; Coledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 66.

¹²⁶ Passenger List for the *St. George*, M237, rolls 1-95, Registers of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919, National Archives, Washington, DC, accessed April 30, 2015, <https://familysearch.org/>.

identified Riddle's country of origin, in contrast to every other passenger on the list, as the United States, his age as thirty, and his profession as mechanic. The term "mechanic" was a loose designation in the nineteenth century that referred to anyone involved in the manual trades, including carpenters. The passenger list suggests that Riddell did indeed travel to Europe, though the nature of his training, the places he visited, and the people who trained him remain unknown. Presumably, he acquired his drafting skills during this trip. It certainly convinced him that architecture was a more lucrative and distinguished profession than carpentry.

The changing economic and social position of building mechanics in the mid-nineteenth century also likely influenced Riddell's decision to recreate himself as an architect. Whereas carpenters had received high wages and enjoyed social respectability in eighteenth-century America due to the dearth of skilled labor, the industrialization of the American economy in the nineteenth century often reduced carpenters and builders to wage employment and working-class status.¹²⁷ The master carpenters and master builders of the eighteenth century controlled the design and construction of public and private buildings, but the social instability and regional and national markets that replaced the local economies in the nineteenth century caused master artisans to question their artisanal identities as the rise of the labor movement during this period proved increasingly violent and

¹²⁷ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 11-30.

disruptive.¹²⁸ By redefining themselves as professionals, architects ensured themselves a more equal social place alongside their middle- and upper-class clients.

The broadening of the stylistic range for buildings and the introduction of new building technologies complicated the construction process and created a demand for specialized knowledge. Additionally, the public successes of men from the first generation of professional architects, most notably William Strickland and John Haviland in Philadelphia, created a public audience and market for architectural services.¹²⁹ Builders' guides and pattern books in the nineteenth century seized on these developments to emphasize the different roles and purposes of architects and artisans; the architect conceptualized the design and supervised its construction, while the artisan built the building according to the architect's specifications. Of course, master builders and artisans continued to play an integral role in designing and constructing buildings, especially suburban houses, in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet, they often copied designs from pattern books or features from houses in the area where they worked. As a result, the ability to design and draw tasteful buildings separated the architect from the artisan.¹³⁰

As the attainment of drafting skills enabled artisans to establish careers as professional architects in the early-nineteenth century, a variety of institutions

¹²⁸ Ibid., 29-30.

¹²⁹ Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 2 (June 1994): 141-142, accessed February 7, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/990890>.

¹³⁰ Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 118, 120.

arose to meet the demand for architectural instruction. Builders' guides and pattern books, of course, served as a useful source of information for those who could access them; however, few artisans worked for master builders or architects who possessed extensive architectural libraries. As such, mechanics' institutes, most notably the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, and professional organizations served as the primary vehicles for architectural education in the early-nineteenth century. The Franklin Institute offered instruction in the "subjects of architecture and building"¹³¹ which focused, under William Strickland, on "matters of form, [and] only very secondarily to matters of construction" from its founding in 1824.¹³² The Franklin Institute also gave the mechanics who became members access to "state-of-the-art technical expertise and architectural books, both indispensable in that age of wide stylistic variation."¹³³ The Carpenters' Company also operated a drawing school.

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the Franklin Institute had shifted focus to classes with mechanical and industrial applications and the Carpenters' Company school had closed in 1849, thereby leaving a gap in the field of architectural instruction for "ambitious builders and aspiring young architect."¹³⁴ A variety of private responses sought to satisfy the ongoing desire for architectural instruction. Philanthropic institutions, such as the Young Men's Institute, and schools, such as the Spring Garden Institute, the Polytechnic College, and the

¹³¹ Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early," 142.

¹³² Ibid., 144.

¹³³ Ibid., 150.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 168.

Wagner Free Institute, provided classes on architecture and architectural drawing.¹³⁵ Continuing the tradition of education in the office of an experienced architect, a number of architects also established “drawing academies” in their offices in which they charged students a fee for instruction in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³⁶ While Latrobe had trained several students, including William Strickland, for free, Davis advertised in 1829 that he would, “if desired, give instructions on drawing, perspective, and architecture” to students for a fee that ranged between \$10 and \$200.¹³⁷ Sloan announced in 1850, only a year after transitioning from carpentry to architecture, that he had established, with Theodore V. Wadskier, a “drawing academy” that would provide instruction in drawing and “everything connected with Carpenters and Builders, Ornaments in Painting and Stucco, Stone and Wood Carvers.”¹³⁸

Like Sloan, Riddell offered a course of architecture and architectural drawing at his office at 65 ½ South 3rd Street as an inexperienced architect. “At the request of a number of gentlemen,” he informed the public in *The Public Ledger* on 4 March 1847, “the subscriber will continue a few weeks longer to give instructions in geometrical lines, as applied to Groin Arches, Hand Rails, and Carpentry in general.” He also noted that this class would include “Architectural Drawings and Designs for Buildings, as usual, on the most approved principles.”¹³⁹ In contrast to

¹³⁵ Ibid., 169.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 168.

¹³⁷ Davis as cited in Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 62.

¹³⁸ As cited in Cohen, “Building a Discipline: Early,” 168.

¹³⁹ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), March 4, 1847.

Sloan, Riddell evidently felt confident enough to teach such a wide variety of subjects without the aid of another architect. The longevity of Riddell's school remains unclear, though a subsequent advertisement dated 13 September 1847 indicates he felt a market still existed for his classes. Reflecting or mimicking the practical bent of the classes offered at the Franklin Institute and the Carpenters' Company school, Riddell promised to teach practical drawing skills. "A thorough knowledge of Geometrical lines," he stated in the September advertisement, "will be taught applied to Carpentry."¹⁴⁰ Riddell apparently saw manual tradesmen, not the general public, as his potential audience, for he told people to apply for them at his new office at 51 South 3rd Street "between the hours of 6 and 7, P.M.," after the end of the work day.¹⁴¹ The class likely would have occurred at a similar time.

Riddell's architectural career and commissions are the only well-documented aspect of his life, apart from a scandal involving the distribution of his estate after his death. He relied heavily on newspaper advertisements at the beginning of his career. After announcing his entrance into the architectural profession in 1845, he continued to advertise his services, deploying a variety of strategies to gain the attention of the public and the business of potential clients, for the next two years. Typically, important and high-profile commissions brought new architects to the attention of the public and potential clients. The Moyamensing Prison and Girard College raised Thomas Ustick Walter to regional and national prominence in

¹⁴⁰ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), September 13, 1847.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the 1830s. After receiving the commission for the Delaware County courthouse and jail and Andrew M. Eastwick's "Bartram Hall" mansion in Kingsessing in 1851, Sloan enjoyed instant celebrity.¹⁴² Newspapers and periodicals, most notably *Godey's Lady's Book*, consistently documented his projects and published his designs, and he gained numerous lucrative commissions, including a position as the Pennsylvania state architect for public schools, the Second Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, and "Longwood" in Natchez, Mississippi.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, the first commission that brought Riddell's work to the attention of the public and clients remains unknown. Although the Philadelphia press did not document his work as extensively as Sloan's, Riddell appeared consistently in Philadelphia newspapers throughout his early career.

Riddell achieved success fairly rapidly. He won his first major commission in August 1847 for the rebuilding of St. Paul's German Lutheran Church at the corner of Saint John (American) Street and Brown Street after lightning struck the original church and fire destroyed it. Located in a neighborhood populated by "mechanics," St. Paul's German Lutheran Church was hardly Eastwick's villa. The Public Ledger reported on 21 August 1847 that Riddell's plan called for the addition of four feet of height to the building, giving it a "more imposing effect," "an additional range of windows above the original ones," the galleries to be raised, the modernization of the interior, and "a pair of beautiful twin stairways" in front of the door on the

¹⁴² Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 24.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 28, 54, and 67.

interior.¹⁴⁴ The church retained Riddell, whom the Public Ledger described as having “much experience in his art,” to superintend the rebuilding. St. Paul’s was a plain three bay front-gabled brick building with an attic story in the Neoclassical style (Figure 2.1).¹⁴⁵ The front door, which was surmounted by a broken pediment, sat in the middle of the front elevation with two arched windows on the left and right. A circular window hung over the door, and a pediment window sat in the middle of the attic story on the front elevation. A dentilled cornice surrounded the building. Several of these architectural features reappeared on the First Presbyterian Church that Riddell designed in Gloucester City, New Jersey in 1849 (Figure 2.2).

The redesign of St. Paul’s probably garnered Riddell some popularity, for he received three commissions in 1848. According to the Philadelphia Inquirer, one of these commissions involved a prominent commercial building on Chestnut Street. “Adjoining the Franklin house,” an article published on 15 February 1848 reported, “our friends of the (Public) Ledger intend putting up a magnificent structure, the draft of which has been drawn by Mr. John Biddle, an efficient architect.”¹⁴⁶ Riddell included Swain, Abel, and Simmons, the publishers of the Public Ledger, in the client list at the rear of *Architectural Designs*, so this represented a typographical error.¹⁴⁷ Newspaper articles sometimes misspelled

¹⁴⁴ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), August 21, 1847.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), February 15, 1848.

¹⁴⁷ Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: George W. Jacobs, 1906), 239.

Riddell as Riddle or Riddel. The same article recorded that “James Gowan, Esq. has contracted with Mr. Riddle, for a thorough change in the large building at Dock and Third streets, immediately fronting the Exchange” for use as a restaurant by Enoch Durar.”¹⁴⁸ Riddell's final large commission for 1848 involved another renovation of an existing building. The Catholic diocese hired Riddell to convert the Presbyterian Assembly Church on Moyamensing Road (Avenue) below Christian Street into “an asylum for aged and indigent widows.”¹⁴⁹ Again, this predominantly working-class neighborhood was hardly an elite area like Rittenhouse Square or West Philadelphia. The conversion required, according to an article published in *The Public Ledger* on 15 December 1848, “extensive renovations” to the interior, including the division of the basement into “a dining room and kitchen,” the extension of the walls of the entry to divide the first floor and to provide support for the second floor, and the addition of large windows to the eastern front and the west end of the building.¹⁵⁰ As such, renovations, not new commissions, launched Riddell’s architectural career.

Riddell’s practice quickly evolved away from institutional buildings such as the Catholic Indigent Widows’ Asylum, and toward commercial and residential buildings. He was receiving regular commercial and residential commissions by 17 April 1849, when *The Public Ledger* reported that construction was in progress or completed on seven buildings, four commercial and three residential, designed by

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), December 15, 1848.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Riddell. Located in the traditional commercial and business core of Philadelphia near the Delaware River, these commercial buildings included "A fine new store, five stories high" for Faust and Winebrener on 3rd Street below Cherry Street, a "five-story store, in the Grecian style of architecture" at the "northwest corner of Third and Cherry streets, with a residence in the rear" for John Anspach, another five-story building on the "southwest corner of Third and Branch streets" for John Horn, and "Mr. Sheaff's beautiful stores, south side of Market street, east from the corner of Fifth."¹⁵¹ Riddell's three residential commissions sat in the older suburbs of Philadelphia, the Northern Liberties and Kensington, to the north of the city's increasingly commercial center. According to the article, "Mr. Riddell has furnished plans for a large and handsome dwelling for Mr. D. S. Siner, on Fifth st., below Poplar; another, for Mr. Thomas Blair, on Front st. below Master, and another for a store and dwelling for Mr. R. Laughlin, at the corner of Frankford Road and Duke street."¹⁵² Riddell's designs apparently pleased the public, for the author of the newspaper article described these buildings in favorable terms. He called the store for Faust and Winebrenner "elegant and substantial," Sheaff's stores "beautiful," and the residences "large and handsome."¹⁵³

Riddell's commercial buildings sat at the core of the proto-downtown that developed in Philadelphia during the decades of the mid-nineteenth century. In Philadelphia, the main business core gradually moved west from the shore of the

¹⁵¹ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 17, 1849.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

Delaware River over the course of the nineteenth century. 6th Street represented the center of the city in 1830, which meant that half of the city's population lived to the east of 6th street in what became known as Old City and half lived to the west. The center of Philadelphia continued to move west over the following decades as people migrated away from Old City. Most of the vacant residential buildings left by this migration were demolished and replaced with commercial buildings or remodeled for new uses. The construction of buildings designed specifically for commercial purposes made the biggest impact on the city's main business corridors on Market Street and Chestnut Street in the mid-nineteenth century. Constructed of stone or brick, these warehouses, banks, stores, and office buildings appeared in a variety of styles, including the Greek Revival, the Gothic Revival, the Egyptian Revival, the Renaissance Revival, the Italianate, and the Second Empire.¹⁵⁴ These buildings rose four to five stories in height, nearly doubling the tallest buildings of the eighteenth century, with one large room per floor.¹⁵⁵ They often replaced a variety of older buildings that people had adapted to serve as stores and workshops. "By 1853, the year before the Consolidation of the City and the County," the Old City Historic District Nomination notes, "Old City was well on its way down the path from a heterogeneous area that included significant residential zones to a

¹⁵⁴ City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Old City Historic District*, by Powers & Company, Inc., research report no. 80-522 (Philadelphia, PA: n.p., 2003), 6-16, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/historical/PDF/Old%20City%20Nomination.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

more homogeneous commercial and industrial area with small pockets of substandard housing.”¹⁵⁶

The location of Riddell's office reflected his growing stature as an architect. He remained at his first office at 336 North 3rd Street, which stood in the Northern Liberties on the periphery of Philadelphia's central business district, for only one year. Interestingly, he located his first two offices across from landmark buildings. His first office at 336 North 3rd Street stood approximately across from the Commissioners' Hall. His second office, where Riddell moved in 1846, stood at 65 1/2 South 3rd Street across from the Girard Bank, formerly the First Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia's nascent downtown. Riddell's next move to 51 South 3rd Street in 1848 kept him near the Girard Bank.¹⁵⁷ Riddell moved several times between 1848 and 1854, though he simply switched from 51 South 3rd Street to 53 South 3rd Street and back again. Riddell's next major move came in 1854 when he occupied an office at 33 South 3rd Street.¹⁵⁸ He moved again in 1856 to 25 South 3rd Street.¹⁵⁹ His final move came in 1858 when he relocated to the E. W. Clark building, which he had designed in 1852, at 35 South 3rd Street.¹⁶⁰ Riddell

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵⁷ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), October 26, 1846.

¹⁵⁸ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 26, 1854.

¹⁵⁹ *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1856* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1856), 539.

¹⁶⁰ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 16, 1852; *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1858* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1858), 569.

remained at this address, except for a brief absence from the Philadelphia directory in 1861, until he closed his office in 1871.¹⁶¹

Mid-nineteenth century commercial buildings in Philadelphia generally followed a similar format, a modification of the standard commercial warehouse, though the styles and materials differed. Greek Revival commercial buildings generally rose three to four stories high and three bays wide with the front facade clad in marble or granite on the first floor. Stone pilasters topped by a stone cornice divided the first story into bays and separated the stone cladding on the first story from the brick above it. A modest brick cornice decorated the top of the building. The typical Greek Revival commercial building possessed one room per floor. These were lighted by multi-light wood casement windows on the first floor and tall double-hung wood windows on the upper stories.¹⁶² Like the Greek Revival, the Italianate style was easily adapted to Philadelphia's commercial warehouses. Architects and business owners favored the Italianate, which emerged in the 1850s as an alternative to the Greek Revival style, because the advent of cast iron during this period made the production of the "elaborate storefronts, window hoods, and cornices" that characterized this style less expensive than the cut stone used for Greek Revival ornament. Italianate commercial buildings reached five stories but were still typically three bays wide with one room per floor. The fenestration pattern mimicked that of Greek Revival buildings, though the windows

¹⁶¹ John Riddell Directory Listings (unpublished manuscript, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, n.d.).

¹⁶² City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Old City Historic District*, 7.

were taller. Bold bracketed cornices replaced the modest stone and brick cornices of the Greek Revival buildings. Embellishments included columns, balustrades, and quoins, which often served to emphasize the verticality of the buildings.¹⁶³

Riddell's commercial designs reflected the changing architectural styles of the nineteenth century. His first commercial designs presented the modest exterior of the Greek Revival style popular in the 1830s and 1840s, though they possessed five stories or more instead of the typical three or four stories. The Public Ledger building, which stood at 96 (300) Chestnut Street, and the Faust and Winebrenner building (Figure 2.3), which stood at 124 North 3rd Street, exemplified Riddell's Greek Revival style. The Public Ledger building was the larger of the two, rising six stories above Chestnut Street. Stone pilasters of either marble or granite separated the front facade into four bays, with three casement windows and a door on the right side of the building. Brick covered the remaining five stories, which were lighted by double-hung wood windows with stone sills and lintels that decreased in size at each story. Although Riddell designed the Faust and Winebrenner building on a more modest scale - it was only five stories tall and three bays wide - he gave it richer ornamentation on the first and second stories. "Granite piers capped with a moulded cornice projecting about 2 feet, [and] supported by carved brackets" divided the first story into three bays with "two pair of folding sash doors and one window."¹⁶⁴ The second story consisted of "three pair of folding sash door in front

¹⁶³ Ibid., 11-12.

¹⁶⁴ Fire Insurance Survey No. S07746-001A for David Faust and David Winebrenner, 1849, Policy No. S07746-001A, The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, The Philadelphia Contributionship Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

with gothic arched heads” and “granite piers in front formed with three cluster columns capped, supporting a cornice of the same.”¹⁶⁵ Rectangular double-hung wood windows with stone, likely granite, jambs and sills lighted the three upper stories, which were clad in brick. While the plan of the Public Ledger building is unknown, the Faust and Winebrener building possessed one room per floor and modern conveniences. The fire insurance survey described a water closet on the second floor with “[a] small reservoir over it [and] a wash stand with china basin, both with the necessary pipes attached.”¹⁶⁶ The greater ornamentation on the Faust and Winebrener indicates that Riddell either gained enough confidence between 1848 and 1849 to depart from the formulaic Greek Revival style he produced for the Public Ledger building or David Faust and David Winebrener wished to follow a new commercial style. Notably, 120 North 3rd Street, 122 North 3rd Street, and 126 North 3rd Street shared remarkably consistent styling (Figure 2.4), though the bold brackets supporting the first-story cornice distinguished the Faust and Winebrener hardware store from its neighbors.

Riddell continued to embrace the Greek Revival style for his commercial and residential buildings into the early 1850s, but he began to use the increasingly fashionable Italianate style and cast iron ornamentation for his commercial buildings in 1850. Cast iron became an increasingly popular choice for the cladding of commercial buildings in the 1830s. Although ornamental use of the material,

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

most notably for columns, dated back to the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in England and the United States, architects and builders only began to use it for larger projects in the 1830s. Commercial buildings with single story iron fronts appeared as early as 1837 in New York and were probably introduced to Philadelphia in the mid-1840s.¹⁶⁷ Practical considerations largely drove the popularity of cast iron. After a series of devastating fires in several American cities in the early-nineteenth century, including one that leveled an area on Philadelphia's waterfront between Race Street, Callowhill Street, and Second Street in July 1850, destroyed blocks of buildings, cast iron promised to create "fireproof, indestructible, and cheap cheap buildings."¹⁶⁸ Merchants and businessmen also recognized "the advertising value of these ornamental and light forms."¹⁶⁹ Philadelphia began to witness the construction of the first commercial buildings with full cast iron fronts in and around Philadelphia's booming business district on the waterfront and Chestnut Street in 1850.¹⁷⁰ Riddell designed the first of these: the Inquirer building near the southeast corner of 3rd Street and Dock Street.¹⁷¹ Completed in October 1850, the five-story Italianate building housed the Philadelphia Inquirer, which was owned and operated by Jesper Harding, a noted Philadelphia printer. His son, William Harding, would transform the Philadelphia Inquirer into one of the leading

¹⁶⁷ Ralph Chiumenti, "Cast Iron Architecture of Philadelphia's Old City" (unpublished typescript, August 1975), 6.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 6-7.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 6-7.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

newspapers in the United States during the Civil War.¹⁷² The brownstone Gothic Revival facade of the store designed by Riddell for Thomas S. Natt at 182 Chestnut Street in 1850 also inspired a host of cast iron imitations at eleven different sites in Old City, including the St. Charles Hotel at 54-58 Chestnut Street.¹⁷³ As such, Riddell helped to set trends material and stylistic trends in the mid-nineteenth century.

Riddell subsequently designed numerous commercial buildings, often in the Italianate style. Riddell's Italianate commercial buildings were typically five story structures, though they varied in width from three to six bays. They employed paneled and rusticated pilasters with ornate capitals and bracketed cornices in varying combinations. For the large six bay building he designed for Johnson and Ely at 61-63 North 3rd Street (Figure 2.5), Riddell used rusticated pilasters on the first story, two-story paneled pilasters on the second and third stories, and two-story rusticated pilasters on the fourth and fifth stories. A cornice surmounted each type of pilaster, with a large bracketed cornice at the top. Cast iron medallions adorned the pilasters between the casement windows on the second story, while Riddell alluded to the *piano nobile* of Italian palaces with an iron balcony. Although half the size of the Johnson and Ely building, the three bay Kent building at 45 North 2nd Street (Figure 2.6) received more elaborate ornamentation, including "2-story paneled and 3-story rusticated pilasters with ornate [Corinthian] capitals as well as bold bracketed cornices above the 2nd and 5th stories."¹⁷⁴ Riddell only used cast

¹⁷² John N. Ingham, "Harding Jesper, and William Harding," in *H-M*, vol. 2, *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 545-546.

¹⁷³ Chiumenti, "Cast Iron Architecture of Philadelphia's," 10.

¹⁷⁴ City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Old City Historic District*, 12.

iron architectural components manufactured by Tiffany and Bottom Ironworks of Trenton, New Jersey. By 1852, Tiffany and Bottom was regarded as one of the preeminent manufacturers of architectural iron in the Mid-Atlantic region.¹⁷⁵ Riddell relied heavily on cast iron ornamentation, often using it over wood in his residential designs.

The early 1850s proved to be the most active period of Riddell's career. Of the 137 clients Riddell listed at the back of his 1861 pattern book *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, 97 appeared in a collection of designs, which Riddell titled "Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture," assembled in 1853. Riddell apparently revised this collection, for several commissions that Riddell listed in the rear came in 1854 and 1855. These commissions included a mixture of commercial buildings, community and religious institutions, and residences. The nature of Riddell's work changed dramatically between 1854, as residential commissions located in Philadelphia's rapidly growing middle- and upper-class suburbs came to dominate his practice. Whereas a newspaper article reported that Riddell had designed four commercial buildings and three residential buildings in 1849, he furnished designs for seven houses, a commercial building, and the Bull's Head Drivers' Hotel in 1854.¹⁷⁶ These seven houses were located in the growing suburbs of West Philadelphia and North Philadelphia.

¹⁷⁵ Margot Gayle and Carol Gayle, *Cast-Iron Architecture in America: The Significance of John Bogardus* (New York, NY: Norton & Company, 1998), 157.

¹⁷⁶ "More Improvements,"; John Riddell Project List (unpublished typescript, The Atheneum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, n.d.).

Riddell's commercial and residential designs that were often derivative, in keeping with the reigning spirit of the era. Earning a living as a professional architect was still a challenging prospect in the mid-nineteenth century and required that practitioners cater to the taste of their clients. The stylistic vocabulary of the mid-nineteenth century presented Riddell and his contemporaries with a wide variety of choices: Greek Revival, Italianate, Norman, Neoclassical, Gothic Revival, Egyptian Revival, and Second Empire.¹⁷⁷ The new architectural triad popularized by Downing - truth, beauty, and convenience - created architectural ideals that were ambiguous and often conflicting.¹⁷⁸ Creating buildings that balanced this triad and did not overstep the boundaries of proper taste required an eclectic approach to architecture and a knowledge of which styles suited which types of architecture. "Eclecticism," Coledge explains, "was the only possible approach to architecture in a society that demanded every modern convenience and comfort but was frightened of visible innovations that might overstep the bounds of fitness."¹⁷⁹ Moreover, the spate of pattern books published in the mid-nineteenth century created an environment in which homeowners, builders, and even architects could and did borrow freely from each other.¹⁸⁰ Despite the claims of some architects, most notably Walter, to artistry and originality, architects could not place personal innovation over fashion and taste if they wished achieve success.

¹⁷⁷ City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Old City Historic District*, 6-14.

¹⁷⁸ Coledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 8.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 269-270.

The socioeconomic status of Riddell's clients further restricted his ability to innovate. As merchants, doctors, florists, and real estate agents, Riddell's clients belonged to the growing middle class. For those seeking the new suburban lifestyle advocated by pattern books, periodicals, and popular literature and to socially distance themselves from the working class, the side- and center-passage plans of the standard suburban house, with their fashionably long parlors, dining rooms, and libraries, and their associations with the townhouses and Georgian mansions of the eighteenth-century urban elite offered middle-class homeowners the formal entertaining space that their new behavioral norms required and the allusions to the elite social status that they sought.¹⁸¹ They did not need or necessarily want the individualized, multi-generation country estate advocated by Downing and his disciples. A similar situation applied to commercial architecture

Apparently, commissions dropped off dramatically in the years surrounding the publication of *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences* in 1861. At least, newspapers no longer mentioned the construction of buildings designed by Riddell after 1855.¹⁸² The financial crisis in the United States likely precipitated this drought. An economic collapse in 1857 practically halted new construction in Philadelphia. In fact, Sloan received no new commissions in 1857 and 1858 and kept his office open primarily to complete work on his new pattern book *City and Suburban Architecture* in 1858. The economic collapse also brought to an end the

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 245.

¹⁸² John Riddell Project List.

rampant speculation that had characterized the American economy and fueled the rapid growth of American cities since 1817.¹⁸³ The New York Herald described the “speculative mania” that characterized mid-nineteenth century in an article published on 27 June 1857:

The same premonitory symptoms that prevailed in 1835-6 prevail in 1857 in a tenfold degree. Government spoliation, public defaulters, paper bubbles of all descriptions, a general scramble for western lands and town and city sites, millions of dollars, made or borrowed, expended in fine houses and gaudy furniture; hundreds of thousands in the silly rivalries of fashionable parvenues, in silks, laces, diamonds and every variety of costly frippery are only a few among the many crying evils of the day. The worst of these evils is the moral pestilence of luxurious exemption from honest labor, which is infecting all classes of society.¹⁸⁴

These were the values that Downing had recognized and denounced in the 1840s and which led him to hold up the home, “the object and the scene of our fondest cares, labors, and enjoyment,” as the solution to the social instability and materialism of society.¹⁸⁵ Yet, these were the same values and approach to architecture that Downing had helped to create by encouraging the public to view the rural lifestyle as a sign of social and economic success.

Riddell spent the formative part of his career in this environment, and the commercial and residential speculators condemned by The New York Herald funded his success.¹⁸⁶ The Panic of 1857 did not end speculation. Rather, it injected a note

¹⁸³ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 61.

¹⁸⁴ As cited in *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸⁵ Andrew Jackson Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences*, Dover Architectural Series (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1981), ix, originally published as *Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and the Gardens and Grounds Adapted to North America* (New York, NY: John Wiley and Son, 1873).

¹⁸⁶ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 62.

of sobriety into subsequent business ventures, and the rate of new construction began to climb again in the late 1850s. Only four years later, however, the Civil War placed an effective moratorium on building.¹⁸⁷ Like Sloan after the collapse of 1857, Riddell may have opted to remain in business during the Civil War primarily to finish his. Although it is unclear if he experienced a “fallow period” during the Civil War, he certainly hoped that the publication of *Architectural Designs* would bring him new clients, and published an advertisement in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* to announce its publication on 27 December 1862. At the bottom, he added, “Persons wishing to build would do well to call at my office and examine a number of Practical Drawings of Buildings which have been built, which I will dispose of at a very moderate price.”¹⁸⁸ In offering to “dispose” of existing drawings and designs, he implicitly assumed potential clients did not desire individualized or original designs and a critical mass of people simply wanted to purchase ready-made designs. The same advertisement reappeared two days later on 29 December 1862.¹⁸⁹ For the first time in eight years, Riddell was actively marketing his services.

Riddell finally entered the pattern book business, perhaps in response to dwindling commissions, when he published what became the lasting monument of his career, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Illustrated by Colored Drawings of Elevations and Ground Plans, Accompanied by General Descriptions and*

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 76.

¹⁸⁸ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), December 27, 1862.

¹⁸⁹ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), December 29, 1862.

Estimates, Prepared Expressly for Persons Who Contemplate Building and Artisans Throughout the United States, with Lindsay and Blakiston in 1861. Appearing after his sixteen years as an architect, the book represented a catalog of designs for Riddell's target audience: clients who either desired ready-made drawings or standardized designs that could be "individualized" by changing a few minor ornamental details. The large and expensive pattern book - it cost \$12 in 1862 and \$15 in 1867¹⁹⁰ - was richer in format than even Samuel Sloan's *The Model Architect*, which had set a new standard for pattern books when it appeared in 1852.¹⁹¹ It contained "unprecedented large-scale color lithographs" and designs for houses that Riddell claimed to have previously executed.¹⁹²

Riddell issued a second edition in 1864 with J. B. Lippincott and Company. The third and final edition of *Architectural Designs* appeared with T. B. Peterson and Brothers in 1867. This time, Riddell revised the title to emphasize the "snob appeal" of its illustrations by emphasizing their quantity and quality. He entitled it *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences Illustrated by Twenty-Two Colored Drawings of Front Elevations and Forty-Four Plates of Ground Plans Including First and Second Stories Accompanied by General Descriptions, Specifications, and Estimates Prepared Expressly Persons Who Contemplate buildings and Artisans Throughout the United States*. The 1867 edition also differed from the previous editions in that the publisher included four pages of advertisements for

¹⁹⁰ Ibid; "Advertisement 2," *Horticulturist: Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 22, no. 258 (December 1867): 6.

¹⁹¹ Coledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 36.

¹⁹² Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 266.

water works, stoves, silverware, books also produced by the publisher, paint, mantles, marble works, gas fixtures, paint, furnaces, and heating apparatuses at the back.¹⁹³ It is unclear how many copies Riddell sold of *Architectural Designs*, though the willingness of three publishers to distribute the book suggests they believed the public would find it appealing. Interestingly, the 1867 edition received more exposure than the first of second editions. In contrast to the two advertisements that Riddell placed in the Philadelphia Inquirer in December 1862 to market his pattern book and his architectural services, advertisements for the 1867 edition appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* - the first and only time the periodical mentioned Riddell - *The Evening Telegraph*, and *The Boston Traveler*, each under the auspices of the publisher.¹⁹⁴ T. B. Peterson and Brothers certainly marketed *Architectural Designs* more aggressively than either Lindsay and Blakiston or J. B. Lippincott and Company.

Riddell directly connected only a few of the designs featured in *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences* with actual clients and actual commissions. In fact, the design for Mansion No. 22 (Figure 2.7) was the only place in the book where Riddell explicitly connected a name with a design. Built for Samuel Maupay, who owned and operated a prominent nursery, in 1854, this large mansion once stood on the grounds of Maupay's Nursery. Maupay's Nursery, which had been

¹⁹³ John Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences: Illustrated by Twenty-two Colored Drawings of Front Elevations and Forty-four Plates of Ground Plans* (1861; repr., Philadelphia, PA: T. B. Peterson, 1867), microfilm, 82, 77, 1005.

¹⁹⁴ "Literary Notices," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* 75, no. 445 (July 1867): 81; *The Evening Telegraph* (Philadelphia, PA), April 20, 1867; *The Boston Traveler* (Boston, MA), April 20, 1867.

established by Samuel's father Daniel Maupay in 1822, spread over seven acres on the west side of Germantown Avenue opposite Ellwood Lane (Sedgley Avenue).¹⁹⁵ The grounds contained numerous gardens with "herbaceous and annual plants in vast variety," a number of specimen trees from the United States and imported from France, and even vegetables.¹⁹⁶

Samuel Maupay was a prominent figure in gardening in mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia and sold plants throughout the United States. He even provided some of the trees that noted mid-nineteenth century diarist and social commentator Sidney George Fisher planted at his country house Forest Hill in 1860, and received mention in numerous horticultural journals, including *The Horticulturist*, in the early- and mid-nineteenth century.¹⁹⁷ By constructing his mansion in the middle of his nursery, "situate(d) in a beautiful park having an attractive lake and walks," Maupay transformed the nursery into a country estate.¹⁹⁸ Maupay likely chose the site for the house, since Riddell never demonstrated an interest in or knowledge of landscape architecture. Riddell also designed the large stone mansion of another prominent resident of Rising Sun

¹⁹⁵ *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society of Pennsylvania, for Visiting the Nurseries and Gardens in the Vicinity of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: William F. Geddes, 1831), 11; Samuel L. Smedley, *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, map (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1862).

¹⁹⁶ *Report of the Committee*, 11.

¹⁹⁷ Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Civil War Diary of Sidney George Fisher*, ed. Jonathan White (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2007), 56.

¹⁹⁸ Walter C. Brenner, *Old Rising Sun Village, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: Walter C. Brenner, 1928), 94.

Village, Charles Megargee, which sat at the southwest corner of Germantown Avenue and Westmoreland Avenue.¹⁹⁹

Riddell's most prestigious commission came seven years prior to the publication of *Architectural Designs* and did not appear in connection to any of the designs in the book. This was his design for General John M. Bickel's Broad Street mansion in 1854.²⁰⁰ A former state treasurer and brigadier general in the Second Brigade of Schuylkill County, Bickel commissioned Riddell to design an urban mansion at 836 North Broad Street.²⁰¹ At the time, North Broad Street was becoming a fashionable middle- and upper-class neighborhood on par with Rittenhouse Square.²⁰² Large rowhouses, known as "urban mansions," populated the street. These rowhouses rose three to four stories with a street frontage of between 18 and 22 feet and possessed elaborately ornamented exteriors and interiors.²⁰³ Riddell's Italianate design for the Bickel mansion, which appeared early in North Broad Street's transformation into an elite neighborhood, fit exactly within the urban mansion type. "The dimensions of the main building," The Public Ledger reported on 10 July 1854,

are 22 feet front, 40 feet deep, and 3 ½ stories high, surmounted by a neat observatory; the back buildings 18 feet wide, 61 feet deep, and 3 stories high, with handsome verandahs and arbors. The front of the mansion is to be

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 92.

²⁰⁰ "Another Large Mansion," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), July 10, 1854.

²⁰¹ Ibid; Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for John M. Bickel, September 16, 1854, Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Policy Book 157, Policy 21256, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

²⁰² Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Building Survey* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1976), 288; Rachel Simmons Schade, *Philadelphia Row House Manual* (n.p.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2003), 7.

²⁰³ Ibid.

brown stone, rusticated to the entablature of the first story windows, and the door way and windows to be ornamented in an elaborate style. A bold projecting cornice, with an enriched blocking course, will surmount the front and side of the main building, supported by modillions and carved brackets. The whole interior is to be finished in magnificent style, with all the improvements yet introduced to the most convenient houses.²⁰⁴

The cost of the mansion, \$30,000 according to *The Public Ledger*, equaled the most expensive estimate Riddell provided for Mansion No. 21 and Mansion No. 22 in *Architectural Designs*.²⁰⁵ As a former state official and active speculator and investor in coal, iron, rail road, and land companies, Bickel probably possessed an important notoriety in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. More importantly, however, the Bickel commission and Bickel's business dealings provide insight into how Riddell gained clients.

Bickel formed several business partnerships with another Riddell client, John Anspach Jr. (also spelled Auspach). The Anspach family hired Riddell on three separate occasions. John Anspach, who operated a dry goods store with his brother William, commissioned Riddell to design the five-story Greek Revival store on the northwest corner of 3rd Street and Cherry Street described above in 1849.²⁰⁶ Five years later, Riddell designed a new store for John and William Anspach on the southwest corner of 3rd Street and Cherry Street. The new building possessed a five-story Greek Revival exterior, but it used the new cast iron technology for the first floor store front, which consisted of blocked iron and Corinthian pilasters.²⁰⁷ It

²⁰⁴ "Another Large Mansion."

²⁰⁵ John Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences* (Philadelphia, PA: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1861).

²⁰⁶ "More Improvements."

²⁰⁷ "Another Iron Store," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), May 27, 1854.

seems that John Anspach, William Anspach, and John Anspach Jr. belonged to the same family, though the dearth of sources obscure the exact nature of that relationship. Despite the appearance that John Anspach Jr. was the son of John Anspach, census records reveal the impossibility of a paternal relationship. John Anspach listed his age in the 1850 census as 39.²⁰⁸ John Anspach Jr., who apparently moved to Philadelphia in 1855, gave his age as 50 in the 1860 census.²⁰⁹ The decision by William Anspach and Charles Anspach, John Anspach's son and replacement after John Anspach died in 1857, to include John Anspach Jr. in their partnership, Anspach, Reed, and Company, without changing the name strongly suggests a familial relationship.²¹⁰

John Anspach Jr., who served as the president of the Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company before entering the mercantile partnership with William and Charles Anspach, founded several companies with Bickel, including the Virginia Iron and Manufacturing Company and a land company that laid out the plat for the town of Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, near mines owned by the Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company.²¹¹ Riddell included the Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company in the client list at the back of *Architectural Designs*. The Locust Mountain Coal and

²⁰⁸ "Seventh Census of the United States," 1850, Roll: M432_810; Page: 210B; Image: 425, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

²⁰⁹ 1860 United States Census, 1860, Roll: M653_1165; Page: 201; Image: 205, National Archives, Washington, DC.

²¹⁰ *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1857* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1857), 13; *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1858* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1858), 13; *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1860* (Philadelphia, PA: E. C. and J. Biddle, 1860), 18.

²¹¹ *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia Passed in 1855-1856 in the Eightieth Year of the Commonwealth* (Richmond, VA: William F. Ritchie, 1856), 259; Herbert C. Bell, ed., *History of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, IL: Brown, Runk, 1891), 659.

Iron Company possibly hired Riddell at the suggestion of John Anspach Jr., who may have met Riddell through John Anspach. Sources make it difficult to determine the exact timeline and progression of the Anspach and Bickel commissions – who suggested Riddell to who. Given that John Anspach hired Riddell first in 1849 and then prior to 27 May 1854, he presumably recommended Riddell to his relative John Anspach Jr. The year that Riddell worked for the Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company remains unknown, but the company may have hired Riddell to design the houses that it constructed for employees in small mining communities in and around Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, between 1853 and 1855.²¹² John Anspach's second store by Riddell followed prior to 27 May 1854, and the Bickel commission came nearly two months later prior to 10 July 1854. Bickel likely hired Riddell to design his Broad Street mansion at the suggestion of John Anspach Jr. The Anspachs and John S. Bickel all lived on Broad Street near Poplar Street after 1856, so it seems likely that familial, business, and social ties connected at least three of Riddell's clients.²¹³ North Broad Street thus represented one of the pockets of new wealth without Quaker connections that became central to the success of his career.

Riddell was no stranger to working for companies involved in land development. In fact, he became involved with the growth of Gloucester City, New Jersey, through the Gloucester Land Company. Now part of Camden County,

²¹² "Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company," *The Mining Magazine Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c.* 3 (Summer/Fall 1854): 210-214; *Mining Magazine: Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c*2 (Winter/Spring 1854): 92; *Mining Magazine: Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c*4 (Summer/Fall 1855): 100-101.

²¹³ *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1856*, 12, 43.

Gloucester City became an industrial hub in the mid-nineteenth century when David Sands Brown and his company the Washington Manufacturing Company began to build mills, “mill blocks,” and municipal buildings. Forced to purchase more land than he needed for his mills, Brown helped to incorporate the Gloucester Land Company in 1846 to “sell building lots and sites for manufacturing purposes for the 150 acres of the land the company owned.”²¹⁴ The Company attached a clause that stated the owner could not “vend, make, or sell, or permit or suffer to be made, sold, or vended any malt or spirituous liquors except when required as and for medicine.”²¹⁵ The Company also laid out streets to create a viable city.²¹⁶ Interestingly, the Gloucester Land Company became connected to one of the oldest and most prominent families in Philadelphia, the Chew family, when David Sands Brown’s daughter Mary Johnson Brown married Samuel Chew in 1861.²¹⁷

Riddell received his first commission in Gloucester City when the First Presbyterian Congregation hired him to design their new church on Monmouth Street in 1848.²¹⁸ The Gloucester Land Company donated a portion of the funds with which the congregation purchased the property but does not appear to have been directly involved in the design or construction of the church. Construction on

²¹⁴ Louisa W. Llewellyn, *First Settlement on the Delaware River, a History of Gloucester City, New Jersey* (Gloucester City, NJ: Louisa W. Llewellyn, John Corcoran, and William Gartland, 1976), accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.gcpl.us/firstsettlementebook.html>.

²¹⁵ As cited in Ibid.

²¹⁶ Gabriel Parent and Adrienne Parent, *Images of America: Gloucester City* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 8.

²¹⁷ Cathleen Miller, Wilhelm Echevarria, and Natalie Whitted, comps., *Collection #2050 Chew Family Papers 1659-1986* (n.p.: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2009), 6.

²¹⁸ George R. Prowell, *The History of Camden County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, PA: L. J. Richards, 1886), 599.

the First Presbyterian Church, a brick building that shared a basic visual similarity to St. Paul's German Lutheran Church, finished in May 1849.²¹⁹ The Public Ledger reported on 16 May 1849 that mastic intended to imitate brownstone initially covered the front façade and an octagonal spire stood on the roof. Riddell designed a cottage near the First Presbyterian Church for the Gloucester Land Company in January 1850.²²⁰ Given that the Gloucester Land Company developed land in Gloucester City, the cottage Riddell produced likely represented a speculative investment that the Company built to tempt people, typically mill workers and business owners seeking to serve the workers, to purchase lots in the city.²²¹

The development of Gloucester City partially parallels that of Riverton, New Jersey, "a summer colony on the riverbank just north of Camden."²²² The town's developers, who later incorporated the Riverton Village Improvement Company, hired Sloan to create "a town plan, a pier, and a line of large residences fronting the river" in 1851.²²³ Restrictive deed covenants limited commerce in the town to two blocks near the Camden and Amboy Railroad and prohibited the sale of alcohol.²²⁴ In contrast to Gloucester City, Riverton followed a suburban pattern of development, becoming an enclave for year-round residents who commuted by rail or ferry to jobs in Philadelphia.²²⁵ Riddell may have provided a similar service for

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ "Further Improvement Professed," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), January 28, 1850.

²²¹ Parent and Parent, *Images of America: Gloucester*, 8.

²²² Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 25.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid; "Borough of Riverton," Delaware River Heritage Trail, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.delrivgreenway.org/heritagetrail/Borough-of-Riverton.html>.

²²⁵ Ibid.

the Gloucester Land Company. Like Riverton, Gloucester City possessed a grid of streets that radiated out from the Delaware River, where industry clustered on the banks, to the West Jersey Rail Road on the east side of the town (Figure 2.8). Of course, the biggest difference between Gloucester City and Riverton lay in their demographics. Middle- and upper-class professionals who earned enough money to afford the daily commute by train, an expensive form of travel, or ferry lived in Riverton.²²⁶ The majority of residents in Gloucester City lived and worked in town.²²⁷ Whereas Sloan designed for the suburban lifestyle, Riddell, even if he only designed one speculative cottage for the Gloucester Land Company, designed for the working class, a rarity in his later career.

Riddell's residential commissions represented a combination of purpose-built and speculative houses. The clients who hired Riddell to design their personal residences often commissioned large villas and mansions, while those who built houses as part of their real estate speculation schemes opted for smaller villas and cottages. It was not uncommon for real estate speculators to hire architects or purchase residential designs from architects. Samuel A. Harrison and Nathaniel B. Browne famously hired Sloan to design their speculative developments in West Philadelphia in the 1850s.²²⁸ Walter sold a design for a "cottage" to a carpenter for speculative use in Germantown in 1850 for \$5.²²⁹ Other speculators built houses

²²⁶ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 74.

²²⁷ Parent and Parent, *Images of America: Gloucester*, 8.

²²⁸ "The Building of West Philadelphia: Emergence of the Suburb, the 1850s.," West Philadelphia Community History Center, accessed September 1, 2014, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/grubel/23develop1.html>.

²²⁹ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 269.

based heavily on the pattern book ideal of individualism, using it as a marketing tool. In fact, “some of the most distinctively ‘bookish’ houses built in Germantown,” Nancy Holst explains in *Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, “were speculative properties, employing the pattern-book concept of individualism as a market strategy, sometimes with mixed success.”²³⁰ Speculators hired architects, purchased their designs, or followed their advice regarding house design in pattern books in an effort to distinguish their speculative houses from the majority, which were commonly built by house-carpenters.

Speculative development of residential property was not confined to the suburban periphery in the mid-nineteenth century. As urban populations grew in the mid-nineteenth century, so too did the city’s residential neighborhoods. Although architectural history surveys often portray this period as one of rapid suburbanization in which middle-class families moved in droves to the outskirts of cities in search of the rural ideal popularized by Downing, the reality was much more complex. “[T]he mere prospect of moving year-round to the suburb,” Holst explains, “was still fraught with social risk” and one that not every middle-class American was ready to take.²³¹ Plenty of “businessmen, professionals, and even some clerical employees” and their families remained in or close to the city center, finding housing in large and attractive houses located in “less congested and less

²³⁰ Ibid., 352.

²³¹ Ibid., 242.

expensive parts of the city,” often the city’s eighteenth-century suburbs, or even in “attractive private homes not far from their downtown offices and stores.”²³² Speculators met the residential demands of the urban inhabitants in mid-nineteenth-century Philadelphia with variations on the city’s historically dominant housing type: the rowhouse. In contrast to the modest two-story rowhouses of the working classes, which increasingly clustered around the factories that provided their employment, the rowhouses erected by speculators for the middle class were large, rising three and sometimes four stories above the street, architecturally detailed, and located in residential neighborhoods in North Philadelphia, South Philadelphia, and West Philadelphia that adjoined the city’s commercial and business district.²³³

Like their suburban counterparts, urban residential speculators used a variety of strategies to create houses that would appeal to middle-class and even upper-class buyers. Some speculators hired architects to design suitable middle-class urban residences. In fact, Sloan designed “nine town dwellings on Logan square” as one of his first commissions in Philadelphia in 1851.²³⁴ Notman, likewise, designed townhouses for Philadelphia’s elite families. One of Riddell’s first commissions for speculative residential buildings came in 1850 when, according to an article published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on 28 January 1850, he designed “a block of fifteen handsome brick dwellings on Second st., near Oxford” for James

²³² Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 149-151.

²³³ Schade, *Philadelphia Row House Manual*, 7.

²³⁴ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 27.

Gay.²³⁵ Historically a working-class neighborhood, Kensington became more economically diverse in the mid-nineteenth century. While industrialization brought several carpet mills, and likely the working-class laborers who staffed them, to the neighborhood, it also brought middle-class professionals and their families to the area.²³⁶ In fact, page after page of the 1860 census lists the doctors, lawyers, merchants, brokers, manufacturers, and gentlemen who called Kensington home in the mid-nineteenth century. They ran the gamut from the comfortable physician, Francis Sims, who reported \$1,500 in personal estate and \$7,000 in real estate, to the wealthy gentlewoman, Mary Johnson, who possessed personal property valued at \$80,000 and real estate valued at \$50,000.²³⁷

Gay, who owned a carpet mill in Kensington, may have intended to market Riddell's rowhouses, like the speculators who hired Sloan, to middle-class residents like Francis Sims and Mary Johnson.²³⁸ Yet, a fire insurance survey for three of these rowhouses describes them as combinations of "stores and dwelling houses."²³⁹ While these three-story story rowhouses possessed "fancy fronts," the presence of a store at the front of each dwelling with a separate entrance suggests that Gay more likely intended them for prosperous artisans or middle-class business owners and

²³⁵ "Local Items," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), January 28, 1850.

²³⁶ "Kensington," in *WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD—A Selective Guide to the Industrial Archeology of Philadelphia*, ed. John R. Bowie (Philadelphia, PA: Oliver Evans Press, 1990), accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.workshopoftheworld.com/index.html>. See also Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved*.

²³⁷ 1860 United States Census.

²³⁸ "Kensington," in *WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD—A*.

²³⁹ Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for James Gay, June 25, 1855, Policy 22794, Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

their families.²⁴⁰ After all, the Franklin Fire Insurance Company valued these buildings as \$1200 each, a sum out of reach for manual laborers who only earned approximately \$288 a year in the 1850s.²⁴¹ Unfortunately, it is unclear if these are the rowhouses Riddell designed for Gay, who owned numerous properties in the surrounding area.

If the surviving rowhouses at the 1500 block of North 2nd Street provide an accurate picture of what Riddell's rowhouses looked like, at three stories tall and with modest ornamentation, these fell neatly between the modest rowhouses of the working class and the large urban mansions of the wealthy (Figure 2.9). Blumin's description of middle-class townhouses in nineteenth century New York applies to those built by Gay: "these were substantially built, even fairly impressive homes, although their unornamented exteriors reflect that they were intended for moderately prosperous families and not the very rich."²⁴² That the Philadelphia Inquirer called Gay's speculative dwellings "handsome" and added that they "will add another evidence of the rapid progress of this flourishing District (Kensington)" further suggests that these were middle-class townhouses, not working-class rowhouses.²⁴³

In contrast to the large-scale suburban development schemes of Harrison and Browne, which covered entire city blocks, most suburban real estate speculators in mid-nineteenth century practiced on a smaller scale, purchasing only

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 110.

²⁴² Ibid., 151.

²⁴³ "Local Items."

a few lots on which they constructed suburban houses.²⁴⁴ Whether real estate speculation served as their primary occupation or simply a way to earn additional money, speculators needed to build houses that minimized their financial risk by appealing to the tastes and needs of the middle-class families moving to the suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century. Although some speculators built houses that followed pattern book ideals to the letter, the majority combined the fashionable exterior of the new Italianate and Gothic Revival styles with the traditional plans, albeit it slightly modified for new social practices, of the urban townhouse and the Georgian mansion.²⁴⁵ Although the wealthy elite certainly hired architects to design individualistic houses that fit the country estate ideal advocated by Downing and his disciples, middle- and upper-class clients also commissioned the standardized buildings that became the dominant housing types of the mid-nineteenth-century suburbs.

Riddell's designs and business practices were ideally suited to the changing suburban landscape and residential speculative development that surrounded Philadelphia in the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in 1854, Riddell displayed a paradoxical belief that only supervision by an architect could ensure the construction of a satisfactory house and a willingness to continue to sell designs to "young architects and builders."²⁴⁶ "Gentlemen that are about building," he stated in an advertisement published in *The Public Ledger* on 26 April 1854,

²⁴⁴ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 238.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 26, 1854,

would do well to have their plans properly matured by a competent Architect, who charges a fair price for his plans, and receives no other remuneration, by intrigue, from cliques, and whose plans can be backed for ten thousand dollars that they will work right, if he is employed to superintend them.²⁴⁷

Riddell also demonstrated an ability to quickly create residential designs for individual clients. "Those contemplating to build Country Residences, by calling and having an interview of ten minutes to explain their ideas" he continued in The Public Ledger advertisement, "can see original designs that will please them."²⁴⁸ Presumably, Riddell would have shown prospective clients who visited his new office in the E.W. Clark building at 35 South 3rd Street (Figure 2.10), which he designed in 1852, his bound collection of designs entitled *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* and encouraged them to choose a design that he could adapt to suit their purposes and needs. Riddell continued to follow this business model, offering in *Architectural Designs* to furnish "the drawings requisite for the completion of any of these designs," including "plans for the cellar, first, second, and third stories and a side section" and "full size drawings of cornices, brackets, caps, and other detail drawings that may be necessary," at "the rate of three percent on the estimated cost of each design."²⁴⁹ In doing so, Riddell further departed from the ideal of the professional architect who created a highly personalized residential design for his client after taking the time to understand his/her needs, wants, and values.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Preface.

George W. Hummel, a leather merchant, apparently took Riddell up on his offer. Hummel either hired Riddell to directly design or purchased plans from Riddell for the moderately-sized villa that he built in 1858 at the corner of Tulpehocken Street and Wayne Street in Germantown (Figure 2.11).²⁵⁰ Riddell produced a design that combined an exterior that was a variation of the design for Villa No. 4 (Figure 2.12) and an interior that closely resembled Villa No. 6 (Figure 2.13) in *Architectural Designs*. He replaced the square observatory in the published design for Villa No. 4 with an octagonal tower and arranged the rooms in the rear ell, which included more pantry space, in a slightly different manner than he showed in the plan for Villa No. 6.²⁵¹ Evidently, his fashionable but standardized design for the Hummel house appealed to Riddell's target audience of middle- and upper-class suburban residents. Hummel sold the house, which probably matched the \$9,000 price tag Riddell estimated for Villa No. 4, to William Ferriday for \$15,500 in 1859. Even including the price of the lot, which Hummel purchased from John Fallon in 1858 for \$3,750, Hummel clearly made a profit on his speculative venture. Henry Howard Houston, a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, purchased the property at Sheriff's sale for \$15,000 in 1862 after Ferriday's family suffered financial difficulties.²⁵²

Another client listed in *Architectural Designs* either hired Riddell to design or purchased designs for speculative suburban residences. In contrast to Hummel,

²⁵⁰ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 267.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Mark F. Lloyd, "Houston Family" (unpublished manuscript, November 2, 1977).

William Levis, a real estate agent who lived and worked in the center of Philadelphia, likely earned his livelihood through speculative development in Philadelphia's mid-nineteenth century suburbs.²⁵³ Riddell designed two houses for Levis in 1855 that stood on Chestnut Street (East Walnut Lane) in Germantown. These houses sat on opposite sides of the street and possessed similar floor plans. Both houses were two story and attic stone dwellings with verandas that ran around three sides. The largest, which sat on the northwest side of Chestnut Street (now 125 East Walnut Lane), measured 44 feet 6 inches wide and 36 feet deep with two story stone kitchens that measured 20 feet wide and 30 feet deep.²⁵⁴ The floorplan resembled Villa No. 1 from *Architectural Designs* (Figure 2.14), though Riddell moved the bathroom and water closet from their location next to the stairs at the front of the nursery in the published design to the rear of the nursery in the Levis house.

The smaller house, which stood on the southwest side of Chestnut Street (now 162 East Walnut Lane), measured 39 feet 8 inches wide and 30 feet deep with a roughcast back building that measured 37 feet 3 inches wide and 20 feet deep (Figure 2.15).²⁵⁵ The exterior represented a modified and scaled down version of Villa No. 3 (Figure 2.16). Arched windows replaced the rectangular windows on the first and second stories, and the veranda was extended. The plan appeared similar

²⁵³ *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1855* (Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1855), 315.

²⁵⁴ Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William Levis, April 29, 1856, Policy 24095, Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

²⁵⁵ Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William Levis, April 29, 1856, Policy 24096, Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

to that for Cottage No. 12 (Figure 2.17), though Riddell again moved the bathroom and water closet from their location next to the stairs at the front of the nursery in the published design to the rear of the nursery in the Levis house and added a store room.²⁵⁶ Levis owned both houses when he insured them with the Franklin Fire Insurance Company in 1856. Levis sold 162 East Walnut Lane to Sarah K. Shoenberger on 29 October 1856 for \$10,350²⁵⁷ and 125 East Walnut Lane to Thomas A. Gummey on 18 October 1856 for \$14,000.²⁵⁸

Although residential commissions, both speculative and bespoke, dominated Riddell's career after 1854 and his domestic architecture, thanks primarily to the publication of *Architectural Designs*, became his claim to fame, Riddell produced a wide variety of buildings in the Philadelphia region. In fact, the majority of Riddell's earliest commissions grew out of the changing economic landscape of mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia and the subsequent demand for elegant and distinctive commercial buildings located in Philadelphia's original business district near the Delaware River. In contrast to Sloan, who designed only twelve commercial buildings, Riddell reported commissions for over 36 commercial buildings or stores.²⁵⁹ Riddell never achieved the national success of Sloan – only one of Riddell's commissions came from a state outside the Philadelphia

²⁵⁶ Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William Levis, April 29, 1856, Policy 24096, Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

²⁵⁷ "Deed between William Levis and Sarah K. Shoenberger," October 29, 1856, Deed Book RDW No. 100 Page 269, Philadelphia City Archives, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

²⁵⁸ "Deed between William Levis and Thomas A. Gummy," October 18, 1856, Deed Book RDW No. 104 Page 85, Philadelphia City Archives, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

²⁵⁹ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*.

metropolitan region and Pennsylvania.²⁶⁰ Though not unprecedented, his business practices, especially his willingness to sell his designs without demanding direct supervision to clients, other architects, and builders, deviated sharply from the vocabulary and behavioral mores of professionalism spoken and created by Latrobe, Walter, and Downing. Together, Riddell's life, career, commissions, and professional behavior raise an important question: where did Riddell fit within the perceived hierarchy of mid-nineteenth century architects and how, if at all, did he relate to his peers?

Riddell's precise relationship to his peers remains unclear. Whereas mid-nineteenth century architects, such as Davis and Ithiel Town and Sloan and John S. Stewart, sometimes formed partnerships, Riddell never listed a partner in any of his advertisements nor did newspaper articles or directories mention one.²⁶¹ Riddell may have known Sloan. At the very least, he was extremely familiar with Sloan's designs and may have owned a copy of *The Model Architect*. Two of the designs in Riddell's *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* were almost exact quotations of designs Sloan included in Volume 2. Design 28 (Figure 2.18) bore a striking resemblance to Sloan's "Italian Houses Design Forty-Second" (Figure 2.19), though the decorative details exhibited subtle differences and Riddell substituted cast iron pillars and scroll work for the wood pillars in Sloan's design.²⁶² Likewise, Design 32

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 111; Cooleage, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 39.

²⁶² Samuel Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations and Floor Plans for 56 Residences and Other Structures* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1980), Place XXXIX, originally published 1851 as *The Model Architect*.

(Figure 2.20) represented almost an exact copy of the design for “A Southern Mansion” in *The Model Architect* (Figure 2.21), though, again, subtle differences in ornamentation distinguished the two.²⁶³ Riddell also demonstrated a familiarity with Downing’s *The Architecture of Country Houses*, for Design 48 in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* (Figure 2.22) closely resembled Design XXI, “A Villa in the Norman Style” by W. Russell West (Figure 2.23) that Downing used in *The Architecture of Country Houses*.²⁶⁴ Riddell clearly possessed a thorough knowledge of mid-nineteenth century pattern books and the designs that they contained.

According to the professional hierarchy established by his peers, Riddell would probably have been labeled a “practical architect.” In fact, notices for *Architectural Designs*, such as the one T. B. Peterson and Brothers placed in The Evening Telegraph on 20 April 1867, often identified him as one.²⁶⁵ Although the lives, designs, and careers of Sloan and Riddell shared interesting parallels, Sloan was by far the more successful of the two. He came closest to fulfilling the definition of a true professional, with his regionally and nationally prominent residential, institutional, and government commissions, membership in the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects, publication of several extremely successful pattern books, and notable, albeit brief, foray into periodical publication.²⁶⁶ The clearest indications of Riddell’s status as an architect lie in his

²⁶³ Sloan, *Sloan’s Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Plate XLVII.

²⁶⁴ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, Figure 114.

²⁶⁵ *The Evening Telegraph* (Philadelphia, PA), April 20, 1867.

²⁶⁶ Cooleedge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 72.

willingness to sell his designs to customers for a simple fee and the institutional commissions that he received.

Like his contemporary Stephen Decatur Button, Riddell designed several firehouses: the United States Engine Company on Wood Street (Figure 2.24); the Harmony firehouse on Arch Street; the Humane Hose Company on Wood Street; the Mechanic Engine Company on Ridge Road; the Kensington Engine Company on Queen Street; the Hibernia Engine Company on Evelina Street; the Vigilant Hose Company in Southwark; and the Union Fire Company on Germantown Avenue in the Rising Sun Village.²⁶⁷ Before the establishment of the Philadelphia fire department in 1871, local communities funded and staffed their local brigades. “As such,” George E. Thomas explains, “fire companies focused neighborhood pride.”²⁶⁸ Architects who worked for Philadelphia’s traditional elite, such as John Notman, did not design firehouses.²⁶⁹ Likewise, religious institutions traditionally associated with the “native white working and middle classes,” the Baptists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians hired Riddell, not the Episcopalian, Catholic, or Quaker congregations to which Philadelphia’s wealthy elite belonged.²⁷⁰ Riddell’s one commission for a Catholic organization came at the beginning of his career and involved interior renovations for an asylum for poor women, not an important Catholic church. Although Riddell received a couple of prominent residential

²⁶⁷ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*.

²⁶⁸ George E. Thomas, “Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia between 1840 and 1920,” in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, ed. William W. Cutler, III and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 96.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

commissions, most notably the mansions he designed for Samuel Maupay and Charles Megargee in Rising Sun Village, the majority of his residential commissions sat near train stations other forms of public transportation in the growing middle-class suburban enclaves around Philadelphia where people lived year round. Even the mansions of Maupay and Megargee were fairly accessible from the city center as they sat on Germantown Avenue, one of Philadelphia's major thoroughfares. These were not the summer estates that Notman designed for his clients.²⁷¹ Of course, Riddell also designed houses in Philadelphia's older suburbs, such as the Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Southwark, and its growing residential neighborhoods, most notably Broad Street.²⁷²

Like Button's, Riddell's commissions overlapped with Notman's and other architects who worked for Philadelphia's elite in one area: commercial and business architecture. While Philadelphia's business center moved progressively westward along Market Street during the course of the nineteenth century, "efficiency of time demanded that most businesses be located near the municipal core around City Hall and the courts at Fifth and Chestnut streets or near the commercial and warehousing facilities that bordered the Delaware River."²⁷³ Even as the business and commercial center moved towards the new City Hall at Broad Street and Market Street, "public transit, communication, and other services all focused first on the old

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² George E. Thomas, "Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia between 1840 and 1920," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, ed. William W. Cutler, III and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 96.

²⁷³ Ibid., 96.

central business districts.”²⁷⁴ As such, Riddell’s commercial buildings appeared alongside buildings designed by Notman on South 3rd Street near the Merchant’s Exchange and the Girard Bank, on Front Street near the Delaware River, and on the major commercial thoroughfares of Chestnut Street and Market Street.²⁷⁵ Thus, the needs of business and commerce trumped the social divisions created by economic status and religious affiliation.²⁷⁶

The career of Robert Riddell, Riddell’s older brother, provides an interesting counterpoint to the path that Riddell followed. As noted above, Robert Riddell began his career as a carpenter, eventually becoming a national authority on stair-building and carpentry. He variously called himself a carpenter and stair-builder, but the public knew him primarily as a stair-builder. Stair-building was a branch of carpentry that required a great deal of skill. In fact, stair-building served as “the antebellum building mechanic’s litmus test of ability.”²⁷⁷ In calling himself a stair-builder instead of a carpenter, Riddell claimed a high level of expertise in a specialty known for its difficulty, thereby elevating himself above the average carpenter and building mechanic. Like Riddell, Robert Riddell advertised his services in *The Public Ledger* throughout his career. He reportedly developed a “new system of hand railing, on principles of unerring certainty” that allowed him to send the handrails “to any part of the Union, with a guarantee to fit.”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 72.

²⁷⁸ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), July 14, 1849,

After gaining a reputation “as one of the best mechanics in the State [Pennsylvania]” in the art of stair-building, Robert Riddell found a national audience by publishing several practical books on carpentry and stair-building.²⁷⁹ Sloan included a short chapter entitled “Circular Stair Building” by Robert Riddell, who Sloan referred to as “one of the most accomplished stair builders” of Philadelphia, in Volume 2 of *The Model Architect*.²⁸⁰ *The Scientific Stair-Builder* appeared in 1854.²⁸¹ *The Modern Carpenter and Builder* followed in 1867.²⁸² He went on to a distinguished international career, building “the great staircase for the London Exhibition Company” and the “grand suspension stair-case on George street, Sidney, Australia in 1863.”²⁸³

Robert Riddell redefined himself as an architect in the 1860s, first appearing with his new title in *Mc'Elroys Philadelphia Directory* for 1867, though no buildings have been attributed to him.²⁸⁴ Although Robert Riddell claimed the title of architect until his death in 1882, his published works and professional projects remained focused on carpentry and stair-building. *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair-Builder and Hand-Railer, The Mechanics' Geometry, Lessons on Hand Railing for Beginners*, and *The Artisan* appeared in 1871, 1874, 1876, and 1879 respectively.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ "The Construction of Stairways," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), November 28, 1851,

²⁸⁰ Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, 101.

²⁸¹ Robert Riddell, *The Scientific Stair-Builder* (Philadelphia, PA: W. S. Young, 1854);

²⁸² Robert Riddell, *The Modern Carpenter and Builder: New and Original Methods for Every Cut in Carpentry, Joinery, and Hand-railing* (Philadelphia, PA: H. Challen, 1867).

²⁸³ "Obituary," *Builder and Wood Worker for 1882* XVIII (1882): 109.

²⁸⁴ *Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1867* (Philadelphia, PA: A. McElroy, 1867), 761.

²⁸⁵ Robert Riddell, *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair Builder and Hand-Railer* (Edinburgh, UK: William Mackenzie, 1871); Robert Riddell, *Mechanics' Geometry* (Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1874); Robert Riddell, *Lessons on Hand-Railing for Learners* (Philadelphia, PA: Lessons

As with his career, practicality underlay each of Robert Riddell's books. Like the builders' guides of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, he addressed his books to "the young beginner in Carpentry" and intended for them to provide mechanics with practical instruction in construction principles, even providing cardboard models and diagrams in his later books. "The high standard of excellence," he explained in the introduction to *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair Builder and Hand-Railer*,

is within the reach of any one having a spark of ambition to be something more than the mere operative that plod, works, and never thinks. It was never intended that the whole of life be spent in toil and drudgery. The mind was made for better and nobler purposes, and he who exercises in the right direction, cannot fail to succeed in any pursuit. In a word, endeavor to aim at this point of excellence just alluded to, which gives dignity and respectability to mechanic art.²⁸⁶

Robert Riddell devoted his later career to the realization of this principle by teaching artisan's classes in Philadelphia's public schools.²⁸⁷ While he achieved the national and international fame that Riddell did not and, likely, never sought, the biggest difference between the careers of the brothers lay in the focus of their work. Despite his later claims to the professional status of the architect, Robert kept his feet firmly in the manual world of the building mechanic. While Riddell retained some regard for his former colleagues, addressing *Architectural Designs* in part at artisans and builders and advertising his willingness to provide young architects

on Hand Railing for Beginners, 1876); Robert Riddell, *The Artisan* (Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1879).

²⁸⁶ Riddell, *The Carpenter and Joiner*, 1.

²⁸⁷ "Obituary," 109.

and builders with designs, he certainly saw himself as their superior and designed *Architectural Designs* explicitly for middle- and upper-class potential customers.

John Riddell slowly faded into obscurity at the end of his career, disappearing from directories after 1871. The exact date and reason for the shuttering of his architectural office remain unknown, though it appears that he retired to his house at 3208 Germantown Avenue in the Rising Sun Village.²⁸⁸ A lifelong bachelor, Riddell lived with Jacob Campbell, a plasterer, his wife Angelina, and their two daughters.²⁸⁹ Although the 1870 Census listed Campbell as the head of household, Riddell was the only one in the household who owned property or listed personal property. The Census valued Riddell's real estate holdings at \$20,000. His personal property, in contrast, totaled only \$500. Taken together, this suggests that Riddell invested his earnings as an architect into real estate. He may have even speculated in real estate in Rising Sun, for he had advertised "a cottage and lot in the Rising Sun Village across from the Middle Rising Sun Hotel," which sat at the juncture of Germantown Avenue and Old York Road, for sale in *The Public Ledger* on 15 September 1860.²⁹⁰ Riddell, who had moved to Rising Sun Village with his mother Jane Riddell sometime prior to 1856, continued to live in the area until his death.²⁹¹

Unfortunately, the 1870 census does not reveal how Riddell met the Campbells, and it adds a decade to Riddell's age. He was between 55 and 56 years

²⁸⁸ John Riddell Directory Listings.

²⁸⁹ 1870 Federal Census, 1970, M593, National Archives, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.ancestry.com>.

²⁹⁰ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), September 15, 1860.

²⁹¹ John Riddell Directory Listings.

old in 1870, not 65. Jacob and Angelina Campbell evidently rented the house at 3208 Germantown Road from Riddell, who had become estranged from his family,²⁹² and paid “for the use of building by furnishing the architect with his board and attending to his wants.”²⁹³ He died only three years later, expiring due to a “softening of the brain accelerated by hemorrhage” at the age of 58 on 25 June 1873.²⁹⁴ Philadelphia newspapers took little notice of Riddell’s death, only reporting on 28 June 1873,

Died - On the 25th inst., Mr. John Riddell. The relatives and friends of the family are respectfully invited to attempt the funeral, this (Saturday) afternoon, at 2 o’clock from the residence of his brother, Mr. Robert Riddell, No. 1214 Hancock street.²⁹⁵

Riddell was buried in the family plot (Section C, No. 421) at Monument Cemetery on 28 June 1873.²⁹⁶

A posthumous scandal involving the disposition of Riddell’s estate in 1877 brought him roaring back into the press. Several articles published in *The Public Ledger* in the spring of 1877 documented this bizarre incident in Riddell’s afterlife. It involved questions about Riddell’s sanity, a secret marriage, and a struggle between multiple parties for possession of Riddell’s valuable house at 3208 Germantown Avenue. His will, which was found hidden behind a mirror in the

²⁹² "The Rising Sun Will Wrangle," *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), May 25, 1877.

²⁹³ "A Will Wrangle," *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), April 20, 1877,

²⁹⁴ John Riddell Death Certificate, June 25, 1873, 004010164, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia City Death Certificates, 1803-1915, Philadelphia City Archives and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, accessed April 30, 2015, <https://familysearch.org/>.

²⁹⁵ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), June 28, 1873, Obituaries,

²⁹⁶ Record of Burials in Monument Cemetery, Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ph.

house in 1875 and dated 18 May 1867, left the house, valued at \$15,000 at the time of Riddell's death in 1873, to Angelina Campbell. Riddell's older brother, Robert, contested the validity of the will, asserting that Riddell "was not in his sound mind when he executed the will" and that, as he died a bachelor, the Rising Sun property should revert to his immediate family.²⁹⁷ Campbell countered Robert Riddell's aspersions on his brother's sanity by stating that Riddell had supervised the construction of several buildings in 1867, including "a prominent hotel in Allentown."²⁹⁸ A man claiming to be Riddell's child and calling himself John H. Riddle Jr. then laid claim to the house, stating that his mother, Matilda H. Cave, married Riddell on 31 December 1851 in Rising Sun. The officiant, John H. Riddle, Jr. stated, had been a passing oysterman. The "Rising Sun Will Wrangle," as The Public Ledger dubbed the case, finally ended in January 1878 only after John H. Riddle Jr. broke into a neighbor's house in Rising Sun to locate the different version of Riddell's will that she had in her possession and Robert Riddell attempted to bribe a witness to the will.²⁹⁹ The jury found in favor of the Campbells, declaring Riddell's will valid and the house at 3208 their inheritance, and thus finally laid Riddell to rest.

²⁹⁷ "A Will Wrangle,"

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ "The Rising Sun Will"; "The Third Riddell Will Trail Ended," *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), January 21, 1878.



Figure 2.1 – St. Paul's German Lutheran Church at 220 Brown Street, Rebuilt by Riddell in 1848, Demolished, Courtesy of the Philadelphia Department of Records



Figure 2.2 – First Presbyterian Church of Gloucester City at 301 Monmouth Street, Gloucester City, New Jersey, Designed by Riddell in 1849, Courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 2.3 – Faust and Winebrenner Store at 124 North 2nd Street (Right), Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Photograph by author



Figure 2.4 – 120, 122, 124, 126 North 2nd Street, Photograph by author



Figure 2.5 – 61-63 North 3rd Street (Left), Designed by Riddell in 1852, View from the Historic American Buildings Survey PA – 1450, Courtesy the Library of Congress



Figure 2.6 – Kent Building at 45 N 2nd Street, Designed by Riddell c. 1852,
Photograph by author

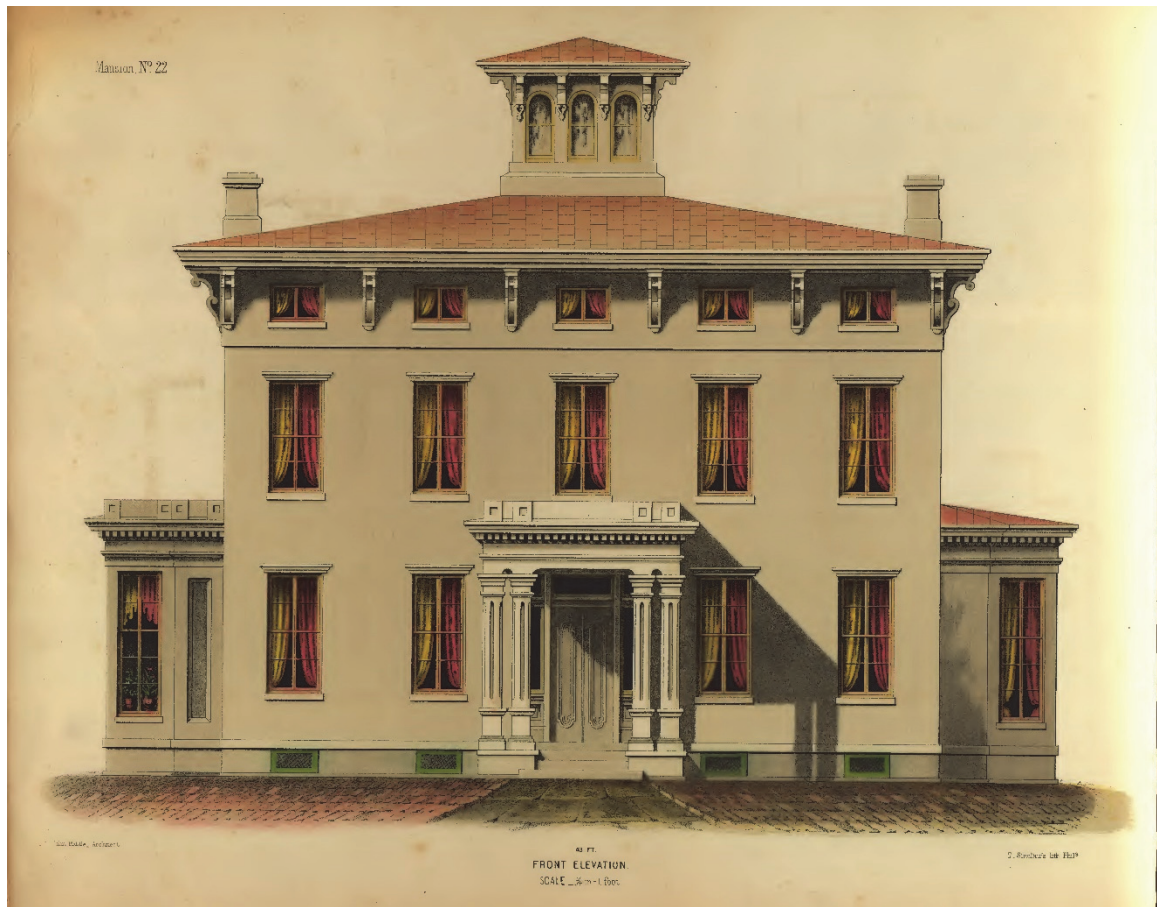


Figure 2.7 – Mansion No. 22, Designed by Riddell in 1854 for Samuel Maupay, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

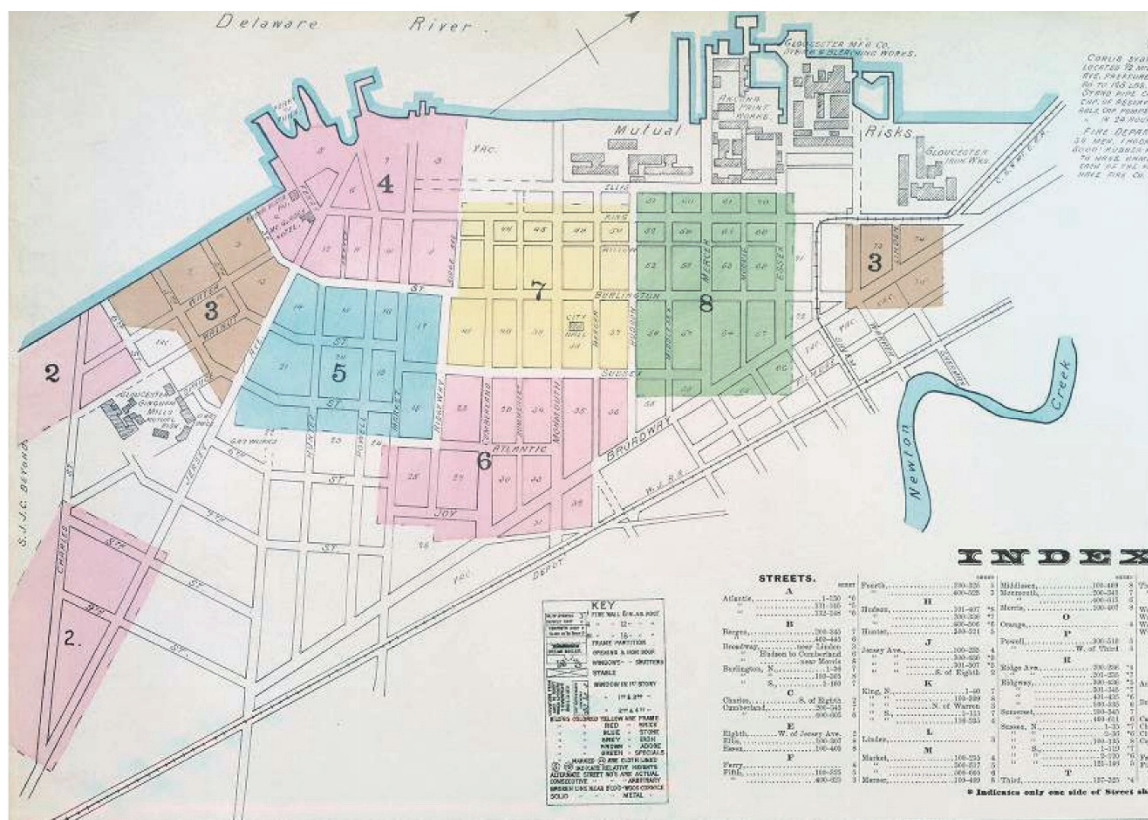




Figure 2.9 – Row Houses on the West Side of the 1500 block of North 2nd Street,
Courtesy Google Maps



Figure 2.10 – E. W. Clark Building at 35 South 3rd Street, Designed by Riddell in 1852, Photograph by author



Figure 2.11 – George Hummel House, Designed by Riddell in 1858, Northeast Corner of West Tulpehocken Street and Wayne Street, Photograph 2010.481.31, Photograph ca. 1870, Courtesy the Germantown Historical Society



Figure 2.12 – Villa No. 4, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

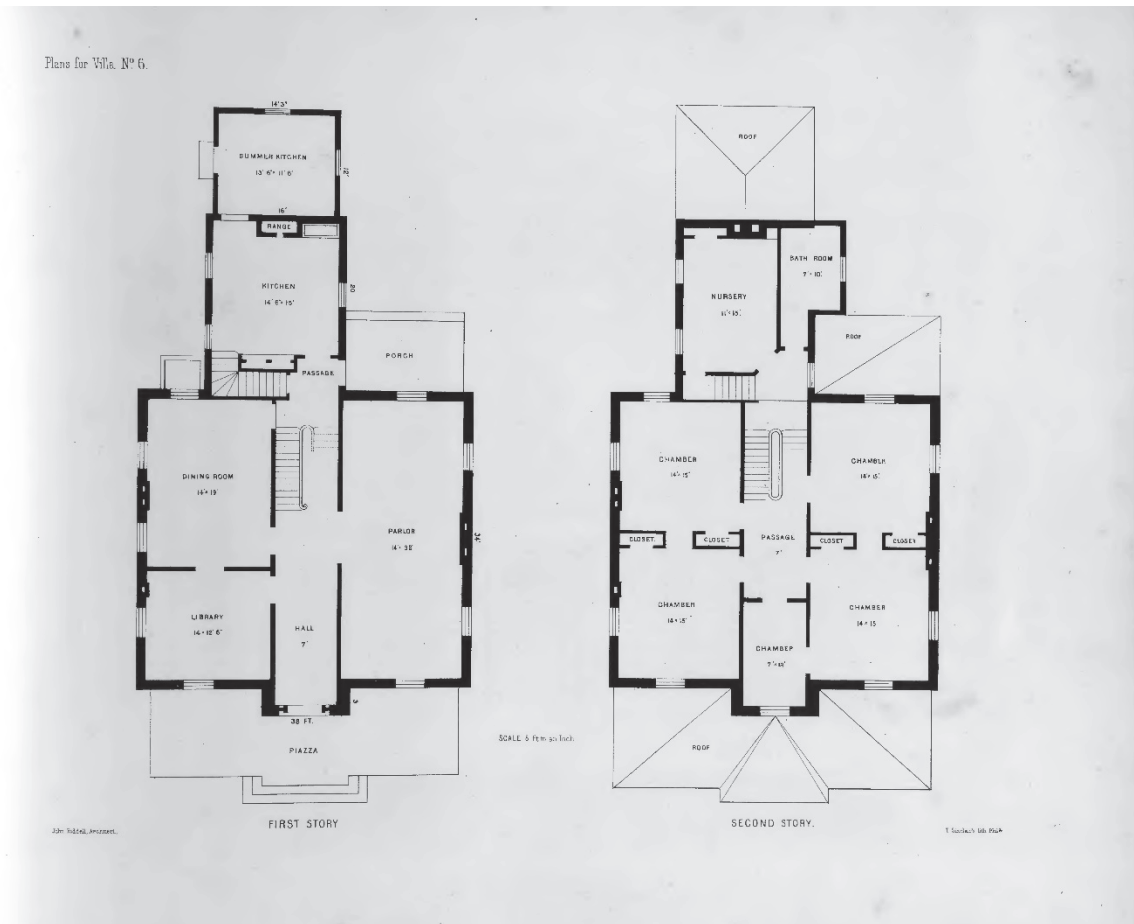


Figure 2.13 – Floorplan for Villa No. 6, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution



Figure 2.15 – 162 East Walnut Lane, Designed by Riddell in 1856, Photograph by author

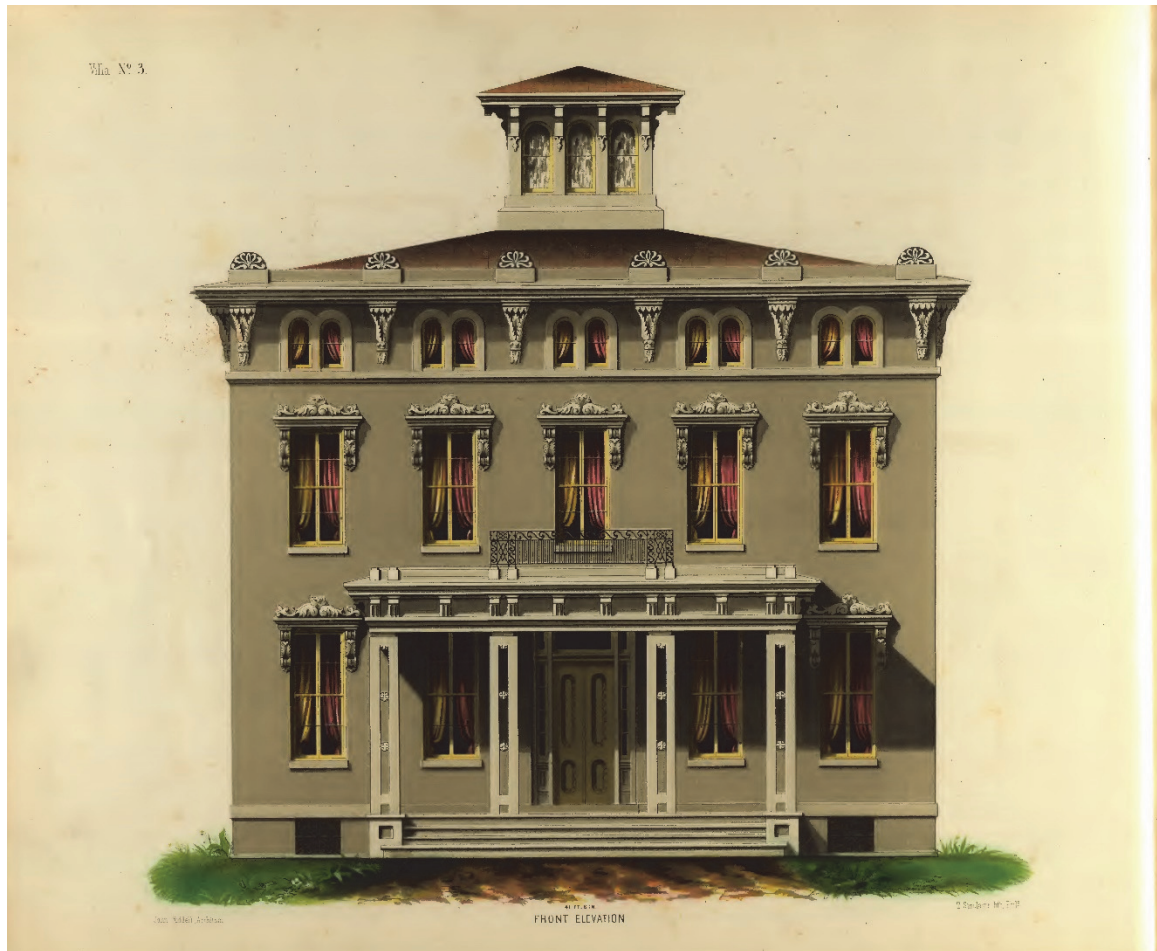


Figure 2.16 – Villa No. 3, Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

Architectural floor plans for the first and second stories of a house. The plans are oriented with the front of the house at the top.

FIRST STORY:

- Summer Kitchen: 13' 0" x 6"
- Kitchen: 15' 4" x 6"
- Dining Room: 16' x 18' 0"
- Parlor: 14' x 24' 0"
- Library: 14' x 12'
- Hall: 7'
- Porch: 10' 0" x 12' 0"
- Veranda: 30' 0" (front)
- Veranda: 10' 0" (left)
- Veranda: 10' 0" (right)
- Stairs: Up to second story (from Hall)
- Stairs: Down to basement (from Hall)

SECOND STORY:

- Nursery: 9' 0" x 11'
- Bath Room: 5' 0" x 11'
- Chamber: 14' 11' x 6'
- Chamber: 14' x 16' 0"
- Chamber: 20' 3' x 15'
- Closets: Multiple, including a large central closet and several smaller ones.
- Stairs: Up to third story (from Chamber)
- Stairs: Down to first story (from Chamber)

SCALE: 8 ft. to an inch.

108

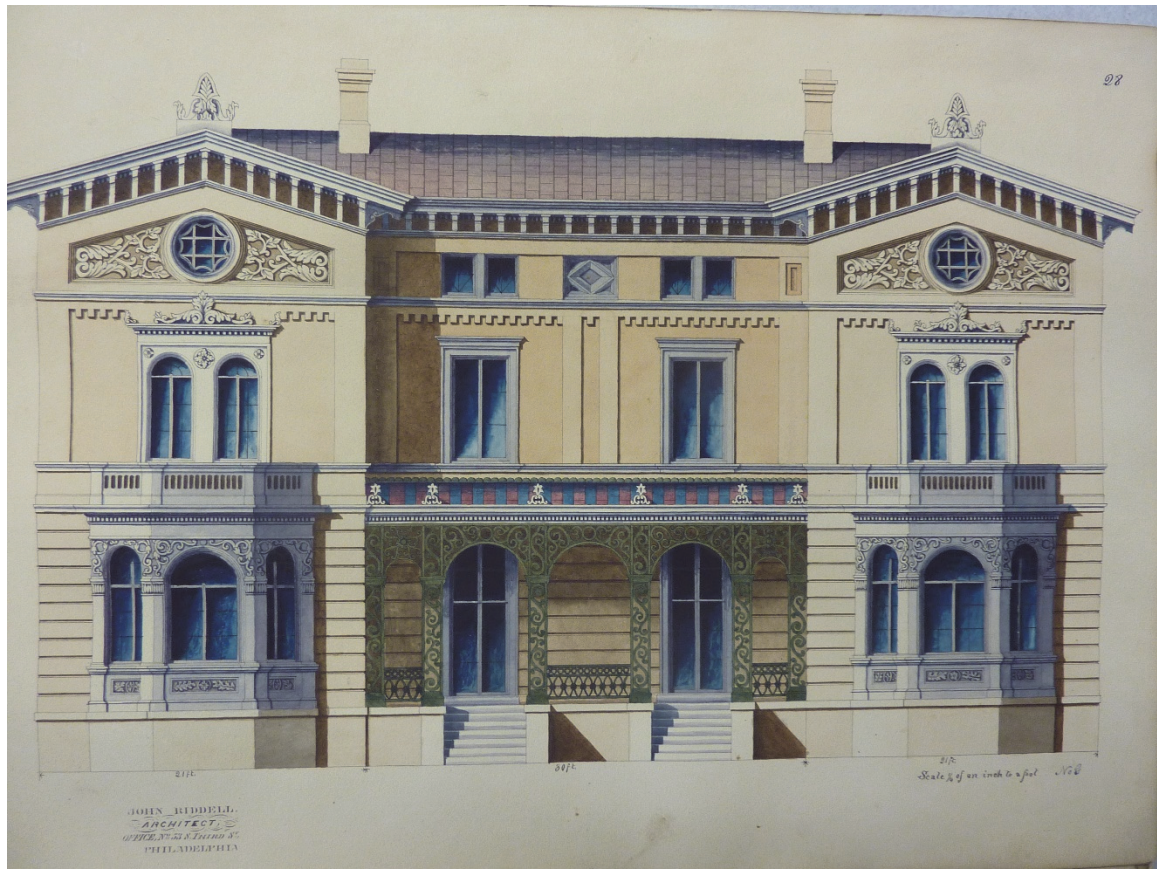


Figure 2.18 – Design No. 28, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison

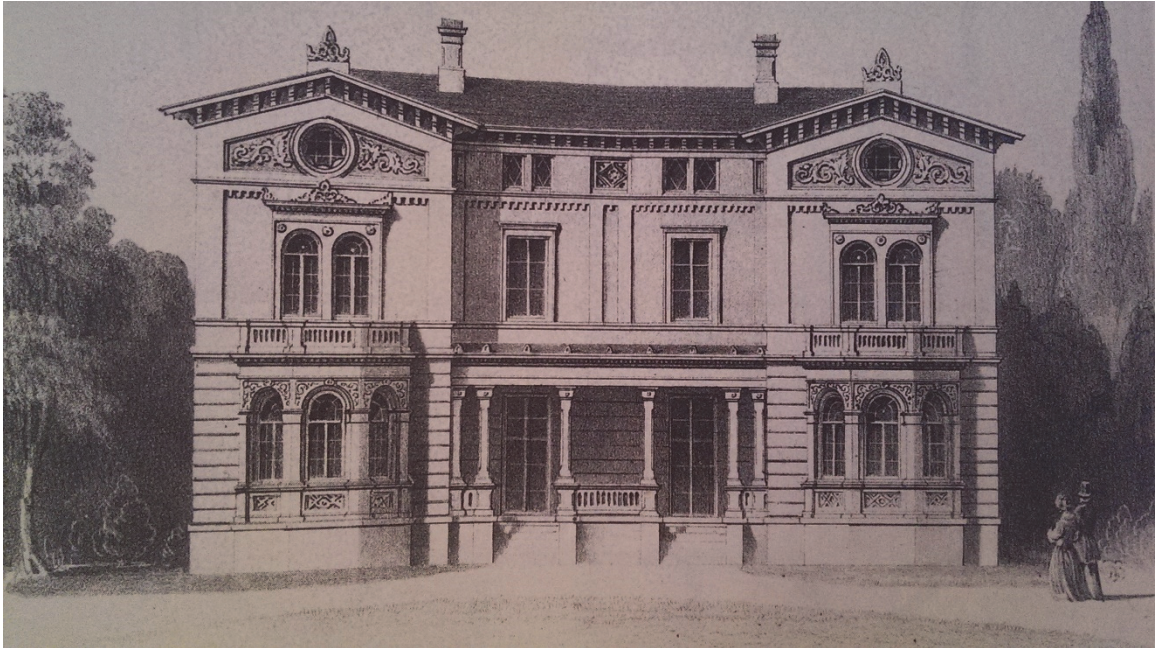


Figure 2.19 – Samuel Sloan, Italian Houses, Design Forty-Second, The Model Architect, 1851, Volume 2



Figure 2.20 – Design No. 32, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison



Figure 2.21 – A Southern Mansion, Design Forty-Fourth, Samuel Sloan, Italian Houses, Design Forty-Second, *The Model Architect*, 1851, Volume 2



Figure 2.22 – Design No. 46, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, Courtesy Bill Hutchison



Figure 2.23 – Design XXI, Villa in the Norman Style, Designed by W. Russell West,
The Architecture of Country Houses



Figure 2.24 – United States Engine Company, Designed by Riddell in 1852, 409 Wood Street, Photograph ca. 1865, Courtesy the Philadelphia Department of Records

Chapter 3: Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences

When Riddell published *Architectural Designs* in 1861, he became one of a growing number of self-proclaimed architects who used the medium as a tool of self-promotion and self-marketing. One of a spate of pattern books published in the mid-nineteenth century, *Architectural Designs* represented an oddity. It stood in sharp contrast to the pattern books published by Riddell's contemporaries, dispensing with the overview of architectural history and the principles of architectural design, the discussion of architectural taste, and the theoretical approach to architecture that had become the norm for pattern books published in the mid-nineteenth century. Measuring approximately 14.5 inches by 17.5 inches and costing \$15.00, *Architectural Designs* was larger, more elaborate, and more expensive than most mid-nineteenth-century pattern books.³⁰⁰ It served the practical purpose of showcasing Riddell's work and advertising his services, instead of seeking to provide the American public with a comprehensive architectural education or to advocate the professionalization of architecture. *Architectural Designs* even offered readers the unusual ability to mix and match facades and floorplans. "A person choosing any one of the ground plans of 38 feet front," Riddell wrote in the preface, "and not liking the elevation that accompanies it, may select any of the other elevations that are 38 feet".³⁰¹ In doing so, *Architectural Designs* anticipated by several decades the more militant promotionalism of later pattern

³⁰⁰ "Advertisement 2," 6.

³⁰¹ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Preface.

books and the catalogues of mail-order architectural designs that became popular in the early-twentieth century.³⁰²

Customarily divided into “broad categories,” pattern books evolved in form, content, and purpose during the course of the nineteenth century. Architectural pattern books appeared in the United States in the 1790s, decades before self-proclaimed architects co-opted the form in the mid-nineteenth century to advocate for the professionalization of architecture and to convince the general public of the necessity of hiring these new professionals. The authors of the first pattern books primarily addressed other members of the building trades. These builders’ handbooks were primarily “compendia of classical orders, decorative details, and solutions to particularly difficult problems in carpentry,” though some also contained designs for buildings. The earliest pattern books written and published in the United States, in a pattern that continued through the nineteenth century, often drew their format and content from European sources, most notably the English builders’ handbooks that began to appear in the mid-seventeenth century. Scholars pinpoint the builders’ handbook *Country Builder’s Assistant* by Asher Benjamin as the “first American handbook not derived from foreign sources,” which appeared in 1797, and the handbook that set the precedent for all subsequent American pattern books.³⁰³

³⁰² Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 85-89.

³⁰³ Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 107-109.

Like the English handbooks that provided Benjamin with much of his source material and format, *Country Builder's Assistant* sought to provide members of the building trades with information on new techniques and designs in a clear and straightforward manner. In doing so, he and other authors of builders' handbooks wanted to liberate and empower the building mechanic, freeing him from a reliance on experience and the tastes of his clients.³⁰⁴ As such, builders' handbooks became part of a greater social movement, which included the mechanics' institutes of the nineteenth century, to help laborers improve their economic and social standing through education and, paradoxically, to "order and control working-class life" as the traditional bonds between employers and employees broke down.³⁰⁵ They rested on the republican assumption of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American society that knowledge equaled economic and social mobility.³⁰⁶

The nature of pattern books changing dramatically in the mid-nineteenth century. Even as the authors of builders' handbooks such as Asher Benjamin wrote their books in an attempt to educate members of the building trades for their social and economic advancement, the first professional American architects began to argue for the difference and superiority of architectural design over building construction. Although the aims of handbook authors and professional architects contradicted each other, both groups used "the assertion that building required the mastery of a discrete, codifiable body of knowledge" to reinforce their "claims of

³⁰⁴ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 57; Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 110.

³⁰⁵ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 57.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

expertise.”³⁰⁷ This, coupled with the “growing professional consciousness” of some handbook authors, enabled professional architects to “co-opt the handbooks for the advancement of their professional project after 1830.”³⁰⁸ Fundamentally, this represented a business strategy. Instead of competing directly with building mechanics for their share of the construction opportunities created by the new industrial economy, architects claimed the “superior attainments” of professionalism to prevail over their manual competitors.³⁰⁹

As the nature of work and the social position of manual and nonmanual workers changed in the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of successful builders, “or even those who wished to be,” adopted “the consciousness and the style of the trained architect” after 1830.³¹⁰ Whereas Latrobe, in his efforts to create an architecture profession in the early-nineteenth century, had met with resistance from American builders, who thought of “architects and builders as variants of the same occupation” and saw the ability to draw as the only difference between the two, builders viewed the label of architect as a distinct advantage by the mid-nineteenth century.³¹¹ Even Benjamin, who had previously treated the young carpenters and mechanics who comprised the majority of his readers as young colleagues, began to view himself as belonging to a class separate from and superior to building mechanics.³¹² As such, almost every handbook author, with the

³⁰⁷ Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 111.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 119.

³¹¹ Ibid., 118.

³¹² Ibid., 119.

exception of a few amateurs, labeled himself an architect and distanced himself from builders after 1830. Although architects sought to prove their superiority over builders by portraying them as “a backward, ignorant, self-seeking lot from whom the public needed an architect’s protection,” their most common argument lay in claims of a superiority of taste.³¹³ Despite these vehement arguments, taste remained an amorphous concept and the American public was still reluctant to hire professional architects. This led to the creation of a new publishing genre, “the house pattern book,” designed specifically by architects for the general public.³¹⁴

Scholars credit Alexander Jackson Davis with creating the “house pattern book” or “stylebook” with his *Rural Residences* in 1837.³¹⁵ Besides addressing the prospective client over the builder, which “constituted a major strategic orientation,” stylebooks differed from their predecessors, builders’ handbooks, in three important ways.³¹⁶ They contained “perspective views of model buildings shown in naturalistic settings rather than in detailed architectural projections; plans; and extensive theoretical commentary designed to sway the reader’s judgement rather than to teach professional skills and attitudes.”³¹⁷ *Rural Residences* never reached a wide audience, but other architects, most notably Downing, built on the foundation laid by Davis.³¹⁸ They viewed it as their “duty to

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 122.

³¹⁵ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 84; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 122. Woods calls pattern books with house designs, architectural theory, and architectural history “house pattern books.” Upton labels these pattern books “stylebooks.”

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 84.

improve American taste,” providing their designs as examples for what domestic architecture could be if readers employed a professional architect.³¹⁹ Behind this lay a genuine belief, on the part of many architects, in the power of architecture and physical surroundings to affect the emotional, and even religious, state of people. While he never wrote a pattern book, Thomas Ustick Walter eloquently expressed this idea in his Franklin Institute lectures. “It [architecture] refines and ennobles the mind of man,” Walter stated, “vivifies his imagination - expands his ideas, and produces a purity of thought - a glowing and tender sensibility, whence he derives some of his sweetest and purest pleasures.”³²⁰ The true architect, thus, was the man who could “arrange the intellectual enjoyment of those who looked upon his works.”³²¹

At the same time, a belief in the power of architecture and the necessity of negotiating with the public forced architects to grapple with larger questions about what constituted taste, who possessed it, and how it developed. As professionals who relied on the cultivation of the market for their livelihood and success, architects could not risk alienating the public by claiming an unquestionable position of authority on all matters of taste. The question of taste complicated the creation of pattern books because ideas of fashion and progress were central to the “rhetoric of taste.”³²² The success of the pattern book and the architect depended on their ability to marry “the ameliorative theme of social progress with the marketing

³¹⁹ Ibid., 85.

³²⁰ Walter, *The Lectures on Architecture*, 205.

³²¹ Ibid., 219.

³²² Ibid., 128.

of specific changing architectural fashions.”³²³ The reality of American society and its effects on the real estate market, which appeared in the guise of an increasingly transient society where people rarely remained in one place for an extended period of time, imposed itself on the theoretical discussions of architects. It required that pattern books and architects recognize and perpetuate the existence of a general public taste despite the persistence of the ideology of individuality and elitism found in many pattern books.³²⁴ To do so, these “heralds of taste incorporated traditional house plans and house forms in their books, cloaking the designs in philosophical arguments that conferred the sanction of taste.”³²⁵ The American public proved exceptionally receptive to these new pattern books and the designs of the new professional architects who authored them. In fact, American publishers issued 188 architectural books between 1797 and 1860 with the number growing each decade. Whereas only 2 pattern books appeared in the 1790s, 93 new books hit the shelves between 1850 and 1860.³²⁶ These books ran the gamut from builders’ handbooks to the theoretically based stylebooks and everything in between. This all begs the question, where does *Architectural Designs* fit within the spectrum of nineteenth century pattern books?

Riddell could not have chosen a better place to establish an architectural career or to publish a pattern. Mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia not only possessed a reputation for architectural innovation, but it was also “one of the

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid., 129.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid., 108.

nation's centers of architectural book publishing."³²⁷ *Architectural Designs* was only one of many pattern books written by Philadelphia based architects and published by Philadelphia based publishers. Samuel Sloan's first pattern book, *The Model Architect*, was one of the most popular and influential of these Philadelphia pattern books.³²⁸ In many respects, *Architectural Designs* bore a striking resemblance to the pattern books of Samuel Sloan, most notably *The Model Architect*. In fact, Sloan's *Model Architect* and *City and Suburban Architecture* equaled or exceeded *Architectural Designs* in price in 1867.³²⁹ *The Model Architect*, which was published in two volumes, cost \$25.00, and *City and Suburban Architecture* matched the price of *Architectural Designs* at \$15.00. The result of the publishing firm E. S. Jones & Co.'s desire to capitalize on "Sloan's sudden rise to prominence" after designing Andrew M. Eastwick's mansion Bartram Hall in 1851, *The Model Architect* quickly proved too popular for the modest 24 paperbacked folios of designs that the company had originally agreed upon by E. S. Jones & Co. and Sloan.³³⁰ Consequently, the first volume of *The Model Architect* appeared in the summer of 1852, with the second volume following in 1853.³³¹ *The Model Architect* found commercial success from the beginning - "the first volume of the set," Cooledge reports in his

³²⁷ Harold N. Cooledge, Jr., introduction to *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations and Floor Plans for 56 Residences and Other Structures by Samuel Sloan*, by Samuel Sloan (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1980), originally published as *The Model Architect* (Philadelphia, PA: E. S. Jones, 1852).

³²⁸ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 38.

³²⁹ "Advertisement 2," 6.

³³⁰ Cooledge, introduction to *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*.

³³¹ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 36.

introduction to the reprinting of *The Model Architect*, “sold out before the second volume was issued in 1853” - and set a new standard for pattern books.³³²

The Model Architect mixed tradition and originality. It contained the standard contents established by Davis and Downing, including designs with printed descriptions and essays on construction, site planning, and architectural history.³³³ Sloan broke new ground, however, in producing a book that was both practical and beautiful.³³⁴ Although Davis had illustrated *Rural Residences* with lithographs, an expensive process in 1837, and some editions possessed hand-colored images, Sloan completely outdid him with the *The Model Architect*.³³⁵ Sloan gave it “snob appeal” with “two folio volumes, printed on heavy paper, with many lithographed illustrations.”³³⁶ It even included some three-color plates.³³⁷ The richness of *The Model Architect*’s lithographs, even those that showed the front or side elevation of a design straight on, put the engraved perspective views found in Downing’s books and Davis’s lithographs to shame. This attention to detail displayed Sloan’s desire to market his services by impressing potentially wealthy clients.

The changes that Sloan instituted to the stylebook format that Davis and Downing had established more than a decade before, most notably in the quality of illustrations used in *The Model Architect*, impacted *Architectural Designs*. Yet,

³³² Cooledge, introduction to *Sloan’s Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*.

³³³ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 36.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 84.

³³⁶ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 36.

³³⁷ Cooledge, introduction to *Sloan’s Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*.

Riddell departed more radically from the stylebook format established by Davis in 1837 and popularized by Downing in the ensuing decades than did Sloan. In fact, he placed *Architectural Designs* in direct opposition to other pattern books. "The author is well aware," he began,

that a great many persons have been led astray by various works treating on Rural Architecture, which have given estimates on the cost of dwellings, which, when owners have had completed according to their designs and specifications, far exceeded in cost the price published, and without having the convenience or appearance that was represented. Such works have had the tendency to depreciate the high standing of architects.³³⁸

Riddell was not the first to make this claim. In fact, Sloan voiced a similar sentiment in the preface to *The Model Architect*. "For some time previous to its [*The Model Architect's*] commencement," Sloan wrote,

the author had been engaged in preparing designs for a large number of country residences to be erected in widely distant places, and was forcibly struck with the great want of information displayed by those concerned in these matters. It is true that much has been written and read on the subject, and a great number of handsomely engraved designs on fine paper have been presented to the public, threatening annihilation to the architect's bill, but no one knows so well as he who has trusted in these promises, the difference between a beautiful picture and a comfortable dwelling. In short such works as have come under notice are quite inadequate to the end proposed. They are much better ornaments for the centre table, than guides to a practical man.³³⁹

Given that professional architects typically claimed that "a comprehensive technical understanding of the entire building process" and a highly developed aesthetic sensibility distinguished them from master builders and building mechanics, and even their clients, Riddell and Sloan both implied that architects, or at least those

³³⁸ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Preface.

³³⁹ Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, 7.

who authored pattern books, had failed in one extremely important aspect of professionalism.³⁴⁰ In effect, Riddell and Sloan accused other professional architects and pattern books with creating inconvenient and expensive homes. Calvert Vaux, in contrast, vocally defended architects in his pattern book *Villas and Cottages*. He blamed clients for causing their houses to far exceed original estimates by not understanding their domestic needs and hiring the wrong person to design their residence:

It is not unfrequently said that architects' designs cost, in execution, more money than their employers are led, in the first instance, to believe will be necessary; but these assertions are for the most part ill-grounded, and arise from there being, here as elsewhere, a class of employers who profess to want much less than they really require, and who positively assert that they need about half of what they are determined to have. Such persons easily find a corresponding class of designers, and, of course are always disappointed, as they richly deserve to be.³⁴¹

Other professional architects, most notably Thomas Ustick Walter, promoted the artistic qualities and originality of professional architects as more important than their grasp of architectural science, deriding those who they believed only possessed the latter as mere "imitative builders."³⁴² Riddell and Sloan, however, viewed both as equally important and sought to convince readers likewise. In doing so, they channeled the spirit of builders' handbooks, reflecting, perhaps, their carpentry roots and the profession's more practical approach to design and construction.

³⁴⁰ Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 113.

³⁴¹ Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages: A Series of Designs* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1872; Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books), xiii.

³⁴² Walter, *The Lectures on Architecture*, 219.

Although the American architecture profession had its roots in English professional practice, which encouraged architects to avoid payment for their designs and supervisory services, American architects relied on commissions from the beginning. In fact, the AIA focused almost exclusively on convincing American clients to depart from the lump-sum payment given to the master builder and to pay architects a “percentage fee tied to building costs” as first advocated by Latrobe.³⁴³ While this cost-based commission helped to distinguish the professional architect from the craftsmen who received a daily wage, it also became a stumbling block in the professionalization of architecture.³⁴⁴ As such, the job description of the professional architect extended beyond artist and constructor to businessman, especially when “an unprecedented prosperity in trade, manufacturing, and agriculture” precipitated higher rates of construction between 1820 and 1860.³⁴⁵ The necessity of simultaneously marketing his designs and the architecture profession in general forced architects to become entrepreneurs, and pattern books became one of their most common tools of self-promotion. Yet pattern books also created new difficulties for a profession deemed of dubious use by the public, for they could become practical guides for the general public. A reader could easily hire a local carpenter to build a new house based entirely on the “scaled architectural drawings, specifications, and cost estimates” provided by pattern book designs.³⁴⁶ While many architects, most notably Davis and Downing,

³⁴³ Ibid., 37.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 83.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 85.

regarded their pattern books as a valuable source of architectural knowledge for the general public, others saw them simply as a promotional and advertising tool.³⁴⁷ Riddell, in contrast to Downing and Davis, embraced the commercialism that characterized American architecture, and apparently approached *Architectural Designs* as a promotional tool.

The pattern book dilemma is indicative of the difficulties that professional architects faced as a whole in the nineteenth century. Despite the economic prosperity created by industrialization in the early- and mid-nineteenth century, it still proved difficult for architects to find enough work to sustain their practices.³⁴⁸ As a result, architects developed a variety of strategies to earn a livelihood. “Many early architects,” Woods reveals, “earned a living by selling designs and drafting services to craftsmen and speculative builders.”³⁴⁹ In the same vein, architects also taught drafting classes in their homes or offices or offered architecture classes at mechanics’ institutes and other educational institutions. For example, William Strickland and Thomas Ustick Walter taught architecture courses at the Franklin Institute in the early-nineteenth century. Other architects became directly involved in construction, working as builders, suppliers, or real estate developers.³⁵⁰ The professional office located in a stylish building at the center of the downtown commercial corridor served as the base of operations for

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 93.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 94.

professional architects with commercial commissions and business clients.³⁵¹ The economy and the marketplace thus became powerful forces in shaping the careers of professional architects in the nineteenth century.

The question of cost featured prominently in most pattern books as architects viewed socioeconomic status as the primary determinate of the appropriate form for residential architecture. As such, Downing included designs for simple cottages, the least expensive of cost between \$330 and \$400, which were conceivably within reach for the working-class family that paid \$500 to \$600 a year in living expenses.³⁵² To prevent the blurring of social boundaries, these cottage designs lacked ostentatious exterior ornament and the formal social rooms that became central to the middle-class and upper-class lifestyle. Downing's villa designs, which were explicitly designed for middle- and upper-class homeowners, ran the gamut from fairly small and simple at a cost of \$2,800³⁵³ to large and ornamental at a cost of \$14,000.³⁵⁴ Each of these villas contained the parlor and dining room that provided the space for the newly formalized social behaviors of the middle and upper classes. As such, ordinary nonmanual professionals, who received an annual salary of between \$1,500 and \$2,000 as clerks and \$3,000 to \$6,000 as business owners, could easily afford a villa that fit the new cultural and social ideals of the mid-nineteenth century.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Ibid., 104.

³⁵² Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 78; Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 110.

³⁵³ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 301.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 363.

³⁵⁵ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 114/

In contrast to Downing and the architects who provided designs for his pattern books, Sloan and Riddell produced designs for *The Model Architect* and *Architectural Designs*, which, regardless of their type, exceeded the cost of the majority of designs found in Downing's *Cottage Residences* and *The Architecture of Country Houses*. Although Sloan and Riddell both produced designs for what they referred to as cottages, the size, cost, and plans of these buildings placed them squarely in the category of villa as defined by Downing. Sloan even explicitly crossed the boundary between cottage and villa by publishing the design for "A Small Villa" that resembled his cottages in size and cost. In fact, with a price of \$1,050 to \$1,200, the "Small Villa" was more affordable than Sloan's cottage designs.³⁵⁶ Except for the designs for "A Small Cottage" and "A Laborer's Home," for which Sloan provided no cost estimate, Sloan included a long parlor, a form that became fashionable in the late-1840s, and a dining room in his plans for cottages and villas.³⁵⁷ Riddell carried this blurring between the cottage and villa type to the extreme and, in doing so, he redefined the meaning and form of the cottage in *Architectural Designs*.

Like Downing and Sloan, Riddell placed the cottage type at the bottom of the hierarchy of residential architecture with the villa and mansion at the top. Yet, like Sloan, Riddell placed his designs well beyond the financial reach of members of the working class. In fact, the least expensive design in *Architectural Designs*, Cottage

³⁵⁶ Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 1, 67.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Volume 2, 28.

No. 15 that Riddell priced at \$3,600, cost approximately ten times the amount of the least expensive cottage design in *The Architecture of Country Houses*.³⁵⁸ Although the modest ornamentation on the exterior of Cottage No. 15 reflected its cost (Figure 3.1), it equaled the more expensive cottage designs in size and contained the same three social rooms - parlor, dining room, and library - as the other cottage and villa designs (Figure 3.2). Riddell's decision to include three social rooms - parlor, dining room, and library or sitting room - in his designs regardless of type radically distinguished *Architectural Designs* from *The Model Architect* and *Cottage Residences* and *The Architecture of Country Houses*. Downing and the architects that he published included three social rooms only in the most elaborate of their villa designs, and Sloan typically limited the ground floor plans of all but his largest villa designs to three rooms: parlor, dining room, and kitchen (Figures 3.3 and 3.4). Riddell's villa designs, however, followed the financial precedent established by Downing and Sloan, ranging in cost from \$4,500 for Villa No. 5 (Figure 3.5) to \$11,500 for Villa No. 1 (Figure 3.6). Of course, Riddell published *Architectural Designs* approximately two decades after Downing and a decade after Sloan, during which time the suburban house type had become well-established. As such, *Architectural Designs* probably reflects the reality of the middle- and upper-class suburb, in which homeowners saw little practical and social difference between a cottage and a villa.

³⁵⁸ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*,

Riddell and Sloan, however, wanted their books to be visually attractive as well as useful. *Architectural Designs* shared the visual richness that was characteristic of *The Model Architect*, though with notable stylistic differences. Sloan actively sought to increase the public appeal of *The Model Architect* by increasing the richness and intricacy of its illustrations. “It was afterwards thought desirable,” Sloan explained,

to elevate its character, by adopting such features as would render it interesting and valuable to the general reader and projector, as well as the artizan. Accordingly, so far as practice would admit, the designs were embellished in various degrees, and the best artists were secured for the engraving. Great care and pains have been expended to make it handsome, interesting and creditable, without detracting in the least from its practical value.³⁵⁹

Accordingly, the large lithographs illustrating Sloan’s designs were finely detailed, and the buildings appeared in carefully rendered rural scenes. Many showed perspective views of the buildings and featured people admiring the houses or participating in activities associated with the rural lifestyle advocated by Downing. For example, the perspective view of Sloan’s “An Italian Villa, Design Sixth” depicted a couple strolling with a newspaper on the left and a man and a young girl admiring the view of a distant village (Figure 3.7). In using perspective views of his designs in their ideal rural settings populated by groups of people enjoying the benefits of this new lifestyle, Sloan mimicked the stylistic precedents established by Downing. Downing consistently depicted the designs featured in his pattern books from a perspective view that highlighted their natural surroundings

³⁵⁹ Sloan, *Sloan’s Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 1, 7.

and sometimes featured the inhabitants leading a quiet rural life. For example, Design IX for a “Regular Bracketed Cottage” in *The Architecture of Country Houses* pictured the cottage behind a carefully landscaped garden with blooming vines on the trellis and the owner sitting on the veranda while his wife stood by the door (Figure 3.8).

Like Sloan, Riddell produced a pattern book that relied heavily on the visual appeal of its illustrations. Riddell, however, surpassed even the “snob appeal” of *The Model Architect* with *Architectural Designs*. Each design received a full-page colored lithograph drawn to a scale of a quarter of an inch to the foot (Figure 3.9), and a second page showing the first and second floor plans drawn to a scale of an eighth of an inch to the foot (Figure 3.10). Sloan had placed two plates showing each design, or sometimes two plates showing two different designs, on one page (Figure 3.11). *Architectural Designs* differed most notably from *The Model Architect*, however, in the artistic choices, or lack thereof, that Riddell made in displaying his designs. In contrast to Sloan’s reliance on perspective views, Riddell only depicted the front facade of each building. Additionally, apart from the grass or ground on which each building stood, nature and landscaping was noticeably absent from the lithographs in *Architectural Designs*. Furthermore, no people appeared in Riddell’s designs. This certainly represented a conscious decision on Riddell’s part.

In contrast to Downing’s designs and writing, in which the landscape was almost as or more important as the house, and even Sloan’s illustrations, in which Sloan implied the appropriate siting for his designs, Riddell left that decision up to

the imagination of his reader. "Placed among fine groups of trees, with a well-wooded background," Downing wrote in describing Design VI for "A Gate-lodge in the English style," "this design would have a striking and most agreeable effect, because the variety and irregularity of its outline would be supported by the varied forms of foliage and bough."³⁶⁰ Sloan, likewise, stated when discussing his "An Italian Villa, Design Sixth," "This presents another Villa in the Italian style, quite regular and symmetrical in plan, and therefore best adapted to a level situation."³⁶¹ Riddell, unlike Downing and Sloan, made no written or visual suggestions regarding the placement of his designs on the landscape. As such, his cottages, villas, and mansions could have appeared in the suburbs as well as the rural country. In other words, *Architectural Designs* was all about the architecture, not the landscape or the rural lifestyle. This set it apart from the stylebooks of the mid-nineteenth century.

Although *Architectural Designs* and *The Model Architect* shared certain aesthetic principles, *The Model Architect* still adhered closely to the standard format and content of mid-nineteenth century pattern books. Given the practical emphasis of *Architectural Designs*, Riddell dispensed with the explanation of architectural history that had become common in pattern books published after Davis. Even Sloan, who primarily conceived of his pattern books as tools of self-promotion, included brief architectural histories of each style found in *The Model Architect* and

³⁶⁰ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 100-101.

³⁶¹ Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 1, 32.

short theoretical discussions on the principles of architecture and taste, albeit ones copied almost directly from other sources.³⁶² Like his predecessors, Sloan was not shy about borrowing information almost word for word from his sources. In fact, he openly admitted the borrowing. “For the letter-press, the same degree of originality is not claimed,” he wrote, “On the contrary, facts have been collected from every available and reliable source.”³⁶³ Riddell, in contrast, made no effort to discuss architectural theory or the philosophy of taste in *Architectural Designs*. In fact, the word “style” in *Architectural Designs* functioned mostly as a synonym for “manner” or “appearance.” For example, the “plastering inside . . . done in a workmanlike style,”³⁶⁴ “eight cellar windows . . . made in plank front style,”³⁶⁵ and the “summer kitchen door same size and style.”³⁶⁶ His one reference to architectural style functioned not as a theoretical discussion but as a way to claim the originality of his designs and to prevent readers from simply hiring a master builder copy them. “For the designs in this work,” Riddell insisted, “have been prepared in a style which has never been attempted in any work in this country or Europe.”³⁶⁷ “Furthermore, the naming schema Riddell employed in *Architectural Designs* eschewed any mention of architectural styles. Pattern book authors typically based the labels affixed to each design in their pattern books based on the style of the design. As such, Downing referenced “A small Cottage of Brick and Stucco, in the Gothic Style” for Design IV in

³⁶²³⁶² Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 36-38.

³⁶³ Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 1, 8.

³⁶⁴ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Villa No. 4.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Villa No. 11).

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Preface.

The Architecture of Country Houses, and Sloan called Design X “A Norman Villa” in *The Model Architect*.³⁶⁸ Riddell, in contrast, labeled his designs, whether they resembled Italianate villas or Gothic Revival cottages, by numbers. As a result, *Architectural Designs* resembled a catalogue of options for potential clients to peruse more than a pattern book designed to improve the architectural taste of the American public.

While Sloan, like other mid-nineteenth century architects approached pattern books as marketing tools, Sloan also saw his pattern books, especially *The Model Architect* as more than “propaganda.”³⁶⁹ He followed the tradition set by Davis and Downing by also portraying them as tools with which he could improve the tastes of the American public and educate them “as to the demands upon and the responsibilities of an American architect.”³⁷⁰ He sought to do his duty as a professional architect by making a strong theoretical argument in favor of his adopted profession. As such, he made a clear and cogent argument for the necessity of developing American architecture and the importance of the architecture profession in the “Concluding Remarks” to the second volume of *The Model Architect*.³⁷¹ “All these causes,” Sloan remarked,

conspire to create a demand for the services of professional architects, and for a building literature adapted to our wants and condition. Yet, strange to say, it is only within a few years that such a profession has been recognized in our large cities, and in the country at large, carpenters, master masons and others are made to perform its duties while we have been, and still are

³⁶⁸ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 92; Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 1, 52.

³⁶⁹ Coledge, introduction to *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*,

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

dependent upon foreign publications for hints and suggestions upon the subject.³⁷²

Continuing his theoretical reticence, Riddell did not call for the creation of an American architecture of body of American architectural literature in the manner of Sloan. Yet, Riddell did emphasize the importance of hiring a professional architect despite the plethora of available pattern books that offered practical advice and artistic inspiration. "It is not the intention of the author," he wrote,

to give the reader the idea, that he may dispense with the services of an architect in consulting this book, as it is very essential that he should employ one of integrity and ability. We have two cases given us in Holy Writ where two great buildings were commenced. The first one mentioned, is the Tower of Babel, in the construction of which we cannot learn that any architect was employed, and where all came to confusion, and the building was left unfinished. The other was the Temple built by Solomon, who, in wisdom, the world has never had an equal, but yet he did not think himself wise enough to do without the services of an architect, and his Temple was completed and became celebrated throughout the world for magnificence and grandeur.³⁷³

Here, Riddell performed an unusual feat for a professional architect. Instead of citing the well-established secular theory on the superior education, practical knowledge, cultivated taste, and aesthetic sensibilities of professional architects in support of the profession, Riddell put a new spin on Biblical stories. Sloan, Downing, and Vaux never drew on scripture to support their advocacy of the architecture profession. Walter referenced the Tower of Babel in his Franklin Institute lectures, but he only did so to explain the origins of Babylon and its ancient architecture.³⁷⁴ Riddell's tactic for advocating the architecture profession in

³⁷² Sloan, *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations*, Volume 2, 99.

³⁷³ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Preface.

³⁷⁴ Walter, *The Lectures on Architecture*, 36.

Architecture Designs, thus, was highly unusual, unprecedented, and perhaps an original thought.

The biggest difference between *Architectural Designs* and other mid-nineteenth century pattern books lay in its timing. *Architectural Designs* appeared at an odd point in Riddell's career and an extremely precarious time in American history. When Riddell published *Architectural Designs* in 1861, he had been practicing successfully as an architect for approximately sixteen years. After announcing his foray into the architecture profession in 1845 and advertising his services regularly in *Public Ledger* for the next two years, Riddell gained an impressive array of clients and commissions. Many of these commissions, which included commercial buildings, suburban villas, and fire houses, were constructed between the mid-1840s and the mid-1850s. By the time he published *Architectural Designs*, which was “undertaken through the solicitations of a number of [his] patrons,” Riddell could include the names of 137 clients on a list at the back of *Architectural Designs*, though this list only represented a portion of the complete list.³⁷⁵ This stood in sharp contrast to most pattern book authors in the mid-nineteenth century, who published pattern books at the height of their popularity or to cement their architectural credentials and to find new clients. *The Model Architect* appeared only three years after Sloan transitioned from carpenter to builder and only a year after the commission for Bartram Hall brought him instant celebrity. It became a powerful promotional tool for Sloan, bringing him

³⁷⁵ Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, Preface.

“commissions from all over the United States.”³⁷⁶ Downing, likewise, published *Cottage Residences* only a year after *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America* brought him national attention in 1841 at the age of twenty-six.³⁷⁷ Even Davis’s *Rural Residences* appeared relatively early in his career in 1837, well before he became one of the most sought after architects for country houses in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁷⁸ Given that he published *Architectural Designs* halfway into his career and dispensed with the typical display of architectural knowledge, Riddell clearly did not intend for the book to justify his professional credentials. Instead, Riddell probably saw it purely as a marketing tool.

The economic climate surrounding the publication of *Architectural Designs*, however, was hardly conducive to producing new business for architects. A financial panic in 1857 “virtually halted all business in Philadelphia,”³⁷⁹ led Philadelphians to reject speculator values, and produced “a distrust of those adroit speculators who only a year before had been admired and imitated.”³⁸⁰ The panic caused Sloan to dissolve his partnership with John S. Stewart in 1858 due to a lack of business, and though Sloan kept his office open, he received no architectural commissions in 1858 or 1859. The advent of the Civil War in 1861 precipitated

³⁷⁶ Coledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 38.

³⁷⁷ Johnson, “Introduction to the Dover,” introduction to *The Architecture of Country*, xi.

³⁷⁸ “Davis, Alexander Jackson,” University of Rochester Libraries, accessed May 9, 2015, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=3477>.

³⁷⁹ Coledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 65.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

additional difficulties, for it made construction impossible.³⁸¹ If Riddell hoped to gain new clients and commissions from the publication and distribution of *Architectural Designs*, he certainly chose an inopportune moment to market his services. Despite these economic difficulties, *Architectural Designs* must have enjoyed some success, for a second edition appeared from J.B. Lippincott & Co. in 1864, and Lindsay & Blakiston issued a third edition in 1867. The designs and text remained unchanged in these later editions, though advertisements did appear at the back of the 1867 edition.³⁸² Riddell did not add any new clients to the back of the book, making it difficult to determine if *Architectural Designs* brought him new clients and commissions. How then, did Riddell's book and designs actually function?

Most scholars emphasize that pattern book authors dispensed with traditional forms in their designs and emphasized individuality of expression for clients and the creativity of professional architects. In reality, however, "the heralds of taste incorporated traditional house plans and house forms in their books, cloaking the designs in philosophical arguments that occurred the sanction of taste."³⁸³ Most pattern book plans retained the center-passage hall that defined Georgian houses in the eighteenth century. In fact, "the full Georgian block, in both plan and elevation, was the most popular of the traditional forms presented in nineteenth-century architectural publications."³⁸⁴ Other pattern book plans

³⁸¹Ibid., 77.

³⁸² Riddell, *Architectural Designs for Model*, microfilm, 82, 77, 1005.

³⁸³ Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 130.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 131.

retained the interior arrangement of the “side-passage two-thirds Georgian house” that had been favored for urban dwellings.³⁸⁵ Even Downing, who vociferously decried the incompatibility of the side-passage urban row house with the rural lifestyle and the “meagerness, and want of variety” of country houses where “the plan is, indeed, a hall running directly through the house,” published designs that were variations on the center-passage plan.³⁸⁶ For example, Design XXV, “A Plain Timber Cottage-Villa,” in *The Architecture of Country Houses* showed a first floor plan in which a large hall divided the drawing room and parlor on the left from the dining room and kitchen on the right (Figure 3.12). Although Downing promoted the irregularity of the picturesque as an important feature of relative beauty, many pattern book authors, including Downing, produced designs with symmetrical exterior. As such, the traditional floor plans, massing, and architectural principles of the eighteenth century continued to appear well into the nineteenth century, albeit disguised in the garb of fashion and style.

Riddell’s designs displayed this mixture of traditional forms and fashion. Seventeen of the twenty-two designs published in *Architectural Designs* were rigidly symmetrical with central passage plans. The other five designs were variations on the side-passage plans. For these designs, Riddell heavily favored the rectangular form popularized by the Georgian style with differences between designs largely resulting from decorative details. As such, they displayed “an

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 33-34.

unmistakable cook-cutter quality”³⁸⁷ and closely reflected the “aesthetic standards and spatial arrangements” that came to define suburban houses around Philadelphia in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸⁸ Taken together, the designs featured in *Architectural Designs* suggested to previous scholars that Riddell behaved more like a carpenter than an architect, using the same basic form as the foundation for decorative details that differentiated designs only on a superficial level.³⁸⁹ “Most of his plans and facades,” Nancy Holst writes, “betray a limited number of basic templates, on which a host of details are used interchangeably.”³⁹⁰ This, along with the “straightforward elevation drawings of his facades,” made sure that *Architectural Designs* functioned more as “an easily legible catalog of architectural parts, illustrating popular varieties of windows, dormers, porches, towers, observatories, and other ornamental details” than as a pattern book that created a cogent argument in favor of professional architects.³⁹¹ Consequently, Riddell produced a pattern book with easily reproducible elements that carpenters and builders hired to build suburban houses, most notably in mid-nineteenth century Germantown, could and did copy.³⁹²

Yet, Riddell’s designs for suburban residences did not have to be original or individualistic. As a suburban architect and the author of a pattern book directed at a middle-class suburban audience, Riddell walked a fine line between conformity

³⁸⁷ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 267.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 266.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 268.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 267.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

and the development of a signature style.³⁹³ He, like Sloan and Sidney, had to balance the existing tastes of the American public, which frowned on ostentatious architectural displays and overzealous ornamentation as the mark of a low-class homeowner pretending to a higher social status, with innovative trends.³⁹⁴ Moreover, the realities of the nineteenth-century real estate market, which had to respond to a newly mobile population, demanded houses with fashionable exterior skins and traditional interiors because they could be built as speculative investments and because they had to and would be sold to highly transient families. The general public did not want the highly individualistic, multi-generational estate lauded by Downing, and the realities of American society and the real estate market often prevented it from coming to pass for anyone but the wealthy elite.³⁹⁵ “For most people,” Holst explains, “the home was a critical financial investment whose risks could be mitigated by choosing popular house types . . . [and] the custom-built, long-term family home was a folly available only to the wealthy.”³⁹⁶ The suburban residential type with a superficially fashionable exterior and a center-passage plan that developed in the mid-nineteenth century avoided any appearances of ostentation and social ambition while accommodating the new middle- and upper-class lifestyle that called for a long parlor and a linked library and dining room.³⁹⁷

³⁹³ Ibid., 270.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 394-395.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 395.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 279.

In practice, however, Riddell demonstrated a wider grasp of architectural styles than suggested by *Architectural Designs*. A collection of drawings that date to 1853, which Riddell collected into a booklet entitled “Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture” that presaged his formatting choices for *Architectural Designs*, contained buildings in a variety of styles, ranging from a variation on the Norman style found in pattern books by Downing and Sloan to the Greek Revival. These designs, like those of Sloan and numerous other mid-nineteenth century architects, were eclectic and highly derivative and reflected designs published by Downing, J.C. Sidney, Davis, Sloan, and John Notman. Of course, it was impossible to avoid eclecticism in the mid-nineteenth century American society that “demanded every modern convenience and comfort but was frightened of visible innovations that might overstep the bounds of fitness.”³⁹⁸ Riddell presented these in the same straightforward manner as those in *Architectural Designs* in large chromolithographs drawn to a scale of one quarter an inch to a foot. Although symmetrical rectangular forms still predominated in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*, it also showed Riddell’s interest in the irregularity of the picturesque. Each of the seven designs from *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* that Riddell eventually included verbatim in *Architectural Designs* was symmetrical, while other designs found in *Architectural Designs* are clearly variations on earlier drawings from *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*. Evidently, Riddell grasped that the mid-nineteenth century American

³⁹⁸ Cooledge, *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia*, 8.

suburban aesthetic preferred the regular symmetry of traditional forms hidden behind a fashionable skin over individuality and the irregularity of the picturesque. Like Sloan, Riddell understood the architectural needs and desires of the American public.³⁹⁹ The practical approach that he evidenced towards architecture in *Architectural Designs* suggest Riddell's background as a carpenter led him, like Sloan, to view architecture as a service and "the architect as an educated version of the old Jacksonian 'mechanic.'"⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 115.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

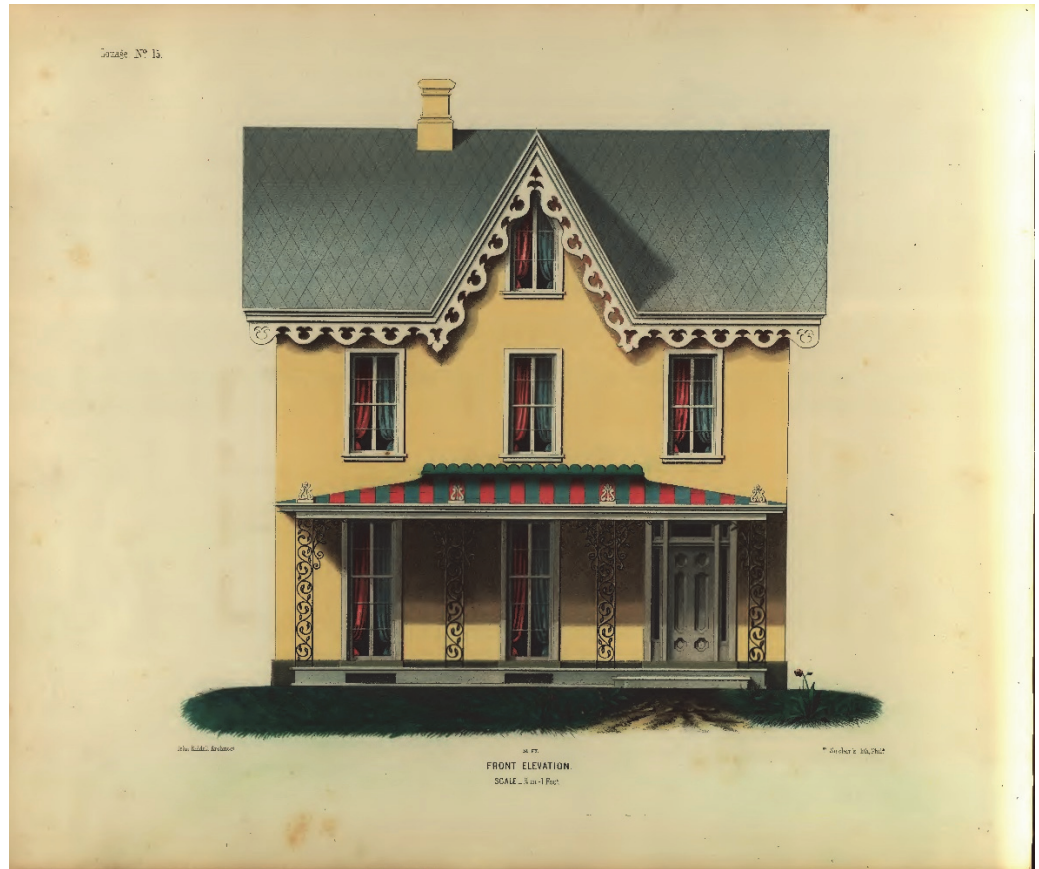


Figure 3.1 – Cottage No. 15, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution



Figure 3.2 – Cottage No. 15 Floorplan, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

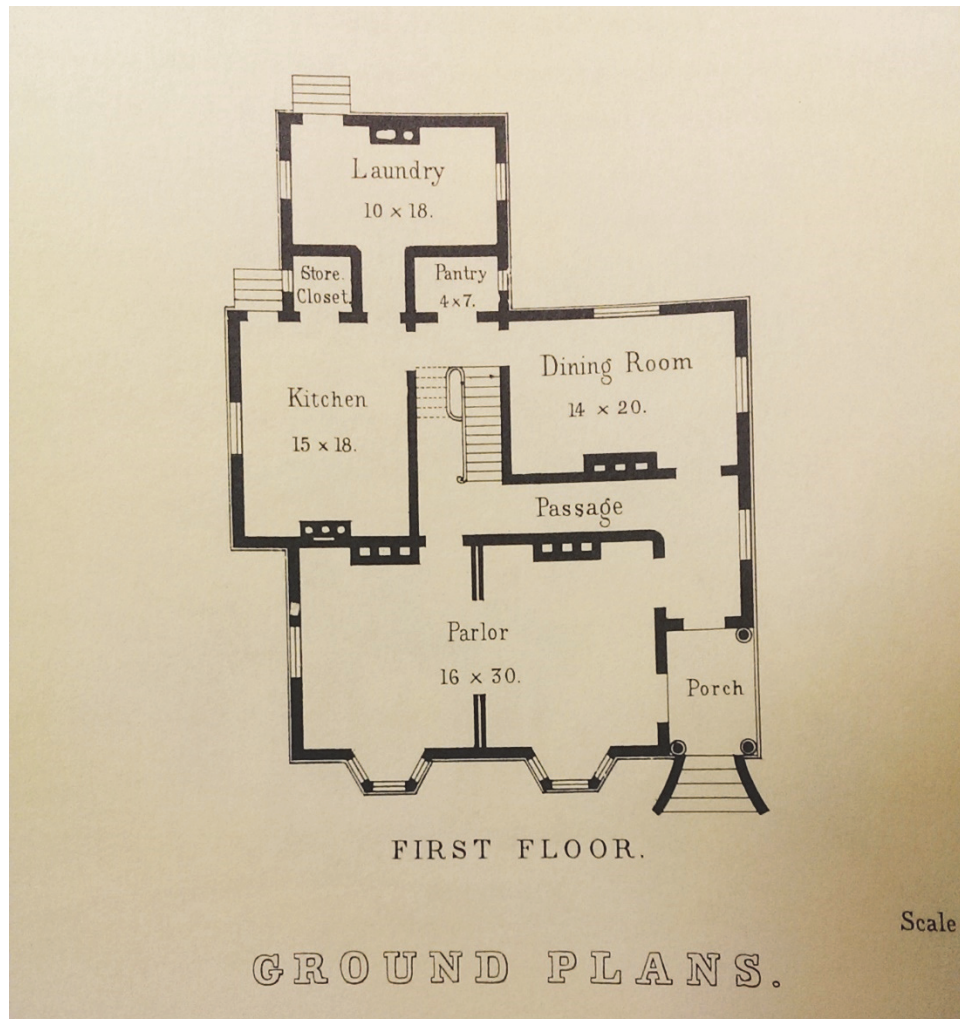


Figure 3.3 – An Old English Cottage Design Twenty-Fourth Floorplan, *The Model Architect*, 1851, Volume 1

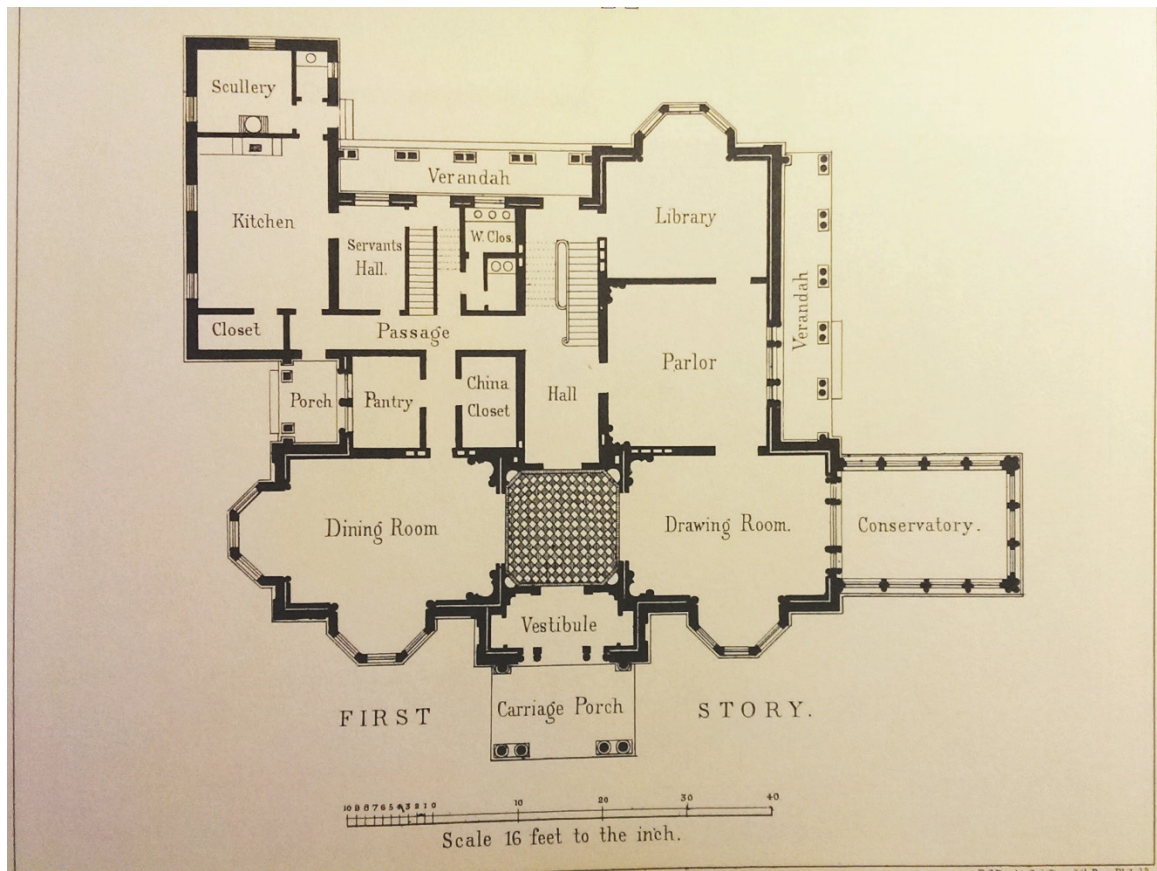


Figure 3.4 – A Country Residence Design Twenty-Sixth, *The Model Architect*, 1851, Volume 1



Figure 3.5 – Villa No. 5, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution



Figure 3.6 – Villa No.1, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution



Figure 3.7 – An Italian Villa Design Sixth, *The Model Architect*, 1851, Volume 1



Figure 3.8 – Design IX, A Regular Bracketed Cottage, *The Architecture of Country Houses*



Figure 3.9 – Villa No. 8, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

Architectural floor plans for the first and second stories of a house. The plans are oriented with the front of the house at the top.

FIRST STORY:

- Summer Kitchen: 16' x 12'
- Kitchen: 17' x 16'
- Dining Room: 20' x 16' 6"
- Parlor: 34' 6" x 36' 9"
- Library: 14' 6" x 16"
- Hall
- Portico: 11' x 5'
- Passage
- Closet
- Store Room
- Piazza
- Roof

SECOND STORY:

- Nursery: 17' 3" x 12' 6"
- Bath Room: 6' x 9' 6"
- Chamber: 14' 6" x 23'
- Chamber: 14' 6" x 17'
- Tower
- Balcony
- Passage: 11' x 8'
- Closet
- Roof

SCALE: 3/8" = 1' to 1/4" inch

Architect: T. Fowler's son, Philadelphia

155

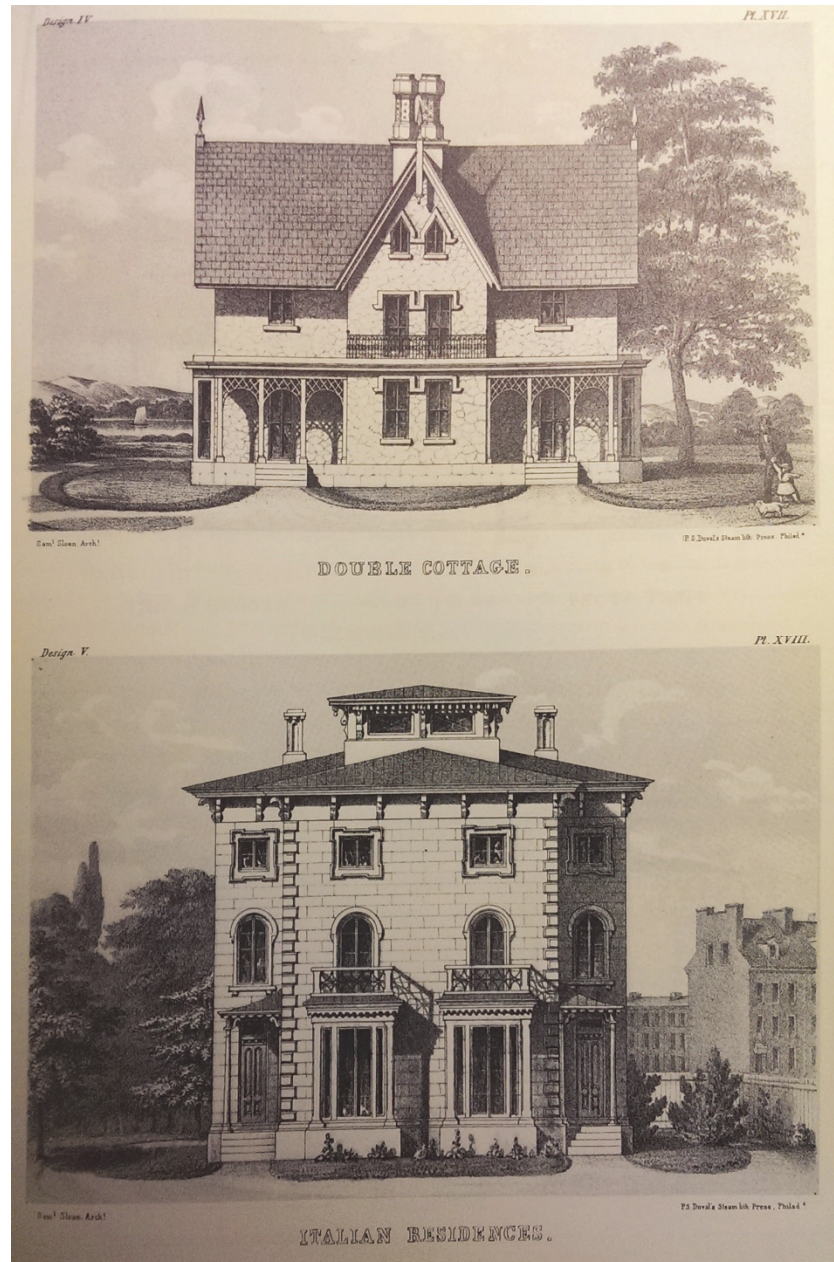


Figure 3.11 – Double Cottage Design Fourth and Italian Residences Design Fifth, *The Model Architect*, 1851, Volume 1

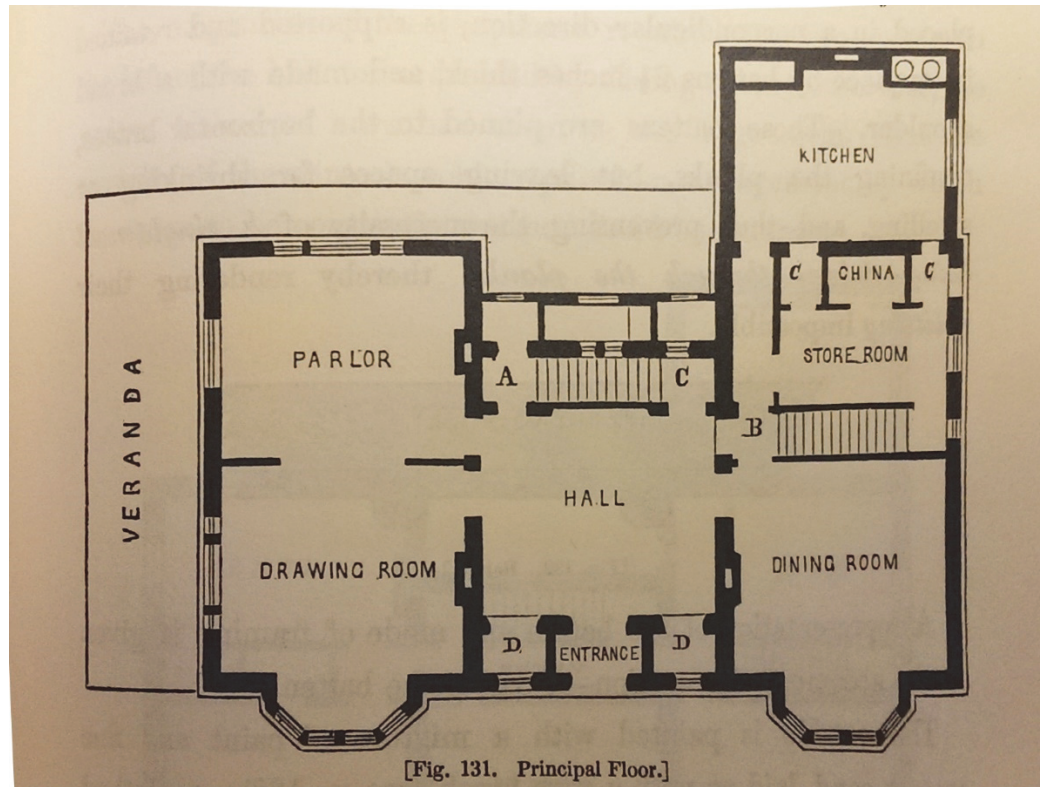


Figure 3.12 – Design XXV, A Plain timber Cottage-Villa, Designed by Gervase Wheeler, *The Architecture of Country Houses*

Chapter 4: Defining Riddell the Architect

Riddell became an architect at a time of extreme instability and change in the profession. Nationally renowned architects such as Andrew Jackson Downing and Thomas Ustick Walter espoused a doctrine of professionalism and a new hierarchy that placed the architect at the pinnacle of the building trades, placing him as the ultimate arbiter and authority over taste, design, and construction. Following the lead of European architects who immigrated to the United States, most notably Benjamin Latrobe in the early-nineteenth century, and their students, Downing, Walter, and many of their contemporaries redefined the architect as a nonmanual professional and artist, who designed individualized and beautiful buildings for their clients based on a quantifiable set of architectural principles and an innate artistic sense and monitored the realization of these unique visions by supervising the building artisans who constructed them. In doing so, Downing, Walter, and other advocates for the profession sought to permanently separate the architect and architecture from the master builder and the craftsmen who had simultaneously served as designers, supervisors, and builders for American buildings since the colonial era. Riddell's career, commissions, and professional attitudes, however, demonstrate that the divide between architect and craftsman was not as clear-cut as Downing and Walter hoped.

The story is a familiar one. The nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of the professional architect over the master builder. Reflecting the social and cultural elevation of nonmanual careers and the people who performed them, architecture

and architects became “white-collar” professionals who exchanged their knowledge of artistic principles, design theory, and construction for a fee. At the same time, the path to becoming an architect underwent a similar refinement. The craft apprenticeship of the eighteenth century gave way to the mechanics’ institutes and office training of the early- and mid-nineteenth century and, finally, to the first university programs of the late-nineteenth century. As such, the mark of the architect evolved from the familiarity with the classical orders and the ability to construct complicated building elements, most notably stairs, that characterized the eighteenth-century architect or master builder to the drafting skills and the education in existing architectural and artistic theory that denoted the proto-professional of the mid-nineteenth century to the university diploma, the impeccable professional pedigree, and the unique artistic vision that signified the professional architect of the late-nineteenth century. The mid-nineteenth century, the decades spanning 1820-1860, thus became a crucial period in the history of American culture, when architecture went from a craft to a profession.⁴⁰¹

Modern architectural historians know the end product of these developments: the cult of the “starchitect,” or what Woods alternatively labels the “Roarks,” of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and the well-established professional apparatus within which they operate. As a result, their accounts focus on the “conventions and institutions of American professional identity and values” that arose in the mid-nineteenth century and the architects who established

⁴⁰¹ Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 4.

them. Celebrated architects from the early-nineteenth century, such as Benjamin Latrobe, Asher Benjamin, Ithiel Town, Alexander Jackson Davis, William Strickland, Thomas Ustick Walter, and Richard Upjohn – the first “starchitects” – loom large in such accounts. These men “defined the professional architect as a designer and supervisor standing between clients who commissioned the work and artisans who constructed it.” In contrast to craftsmen and master builders, the professional architect “combined theoretical knowledge with a practical understanding of building.” To cement this new professional approach to architecture, especially in the face of opposition from members of the building trades, the first architects “worked for professional organization, education, accreditation, and compensation.”⁴⁰² In doing so, they created a new standard and self-image for those seeking the title architect that favored theoretical knowledge over practical knowledge and peer recognition over public recognition, a standard by which, architectural historians imply, the majority of mid-nineteenth-century architects lived and worked.

In reality, however, the history of American architecture did not march in a straight line from craft to profession. The master builder tradition continued into the mid-nineteenth century, and “virtuosic feats” of building art remained an important badge of the proto-professional architect. The question of money introduced an additional complication into the American architecture profession. In contrast to the European conception of the professional architect, which depicted

⁴⁰² Ibid., 1, 4, 4, 9, 4-5.

him as “a man of chivalrous instincts and refined feelings” who received authority but not payment for his advice, the American architect sold his expertise and artistic sensibilities as he would good or services.⁴⁰³ Some American architects resisted the inherent commercialism of their practice, insisting on portraying architecture as an art and the true architect as a person who could “stamp both feeling and imagination, as well as utility, upon his work.”⁴⁰⁴ According to this ideal, the architect became intimately acquainted with “the wants and the means, the domestic life and the enjoyments, the intelligence and the tastes” of clients before designing the individualized cottage, farmhouse, villa, or mansion that expressed their personality and lifestyle.⁴⁰⁵

Other architects, however, readily embraced the paradoxical nature of the American architecture profession, which represented an uneasy union between the demands of art and capitalism. These men recognized that the American public generally did not want and, sometimes, could not afford the individualism advocated by Downing and his disciples. Instead, they capitalized on the newly commercialized culture of American society, creating styles and buildings that quickly became ubiquitous, thereby destroying the regional differences that persisted into the early-nineteenth century. The Italianate style, which Holst so vividly characterizes as a box onto which the architect arranged a few chosen details from a defined set of ornaments, represented the natural culmination of a culture

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁰⁴ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 38.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 39.

that favored social conformity, absolute beauty, and convenience over what Downing termed “Relative Beauty.”⁴⁰⁶ Although the other popular architectural styles of the mid-nineteenth century, the Gothic and Greek Revival, sometimes presented the opportunity for greater individuality, they also provided architects with quotable features that they could add to traditional building forms to hide convention beneath a skin of fashion. In contrast to the proto-professionals of the mid-nineteenth century celebrated by modern architectural historians, Riddell openly treated architecture as a commercial venture. Delving into his life, career, and professional attitude reveals the complexity of the American architecture scene in the mid-nineteenth century and the unique cultural, technological, and economic circumstances that created the brief moment and fleeting environment in which he and other like-minded peers could flourish.

Riddell began his architectural career in a unique social, technological, and cultural milieu that both enabled his success and ensured his eventual anonymity. As mentioned above, industrialization wrought dramatic changes in the physical form of American urban centers and borderlands. Specialization and technological innovations, most notably in transportation, encouraged the creation of neighborhoods that housed specific uses. For example, Philadelphia’s waterfront neighborhoods near the Delaware River, especially those along Market Street and Chestnut Street, gradually transitioned from mixed residential, commercial, and industrial uses forced into existing buildings to primarily commercial uses with

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 20.

purpose-built stores and offices.⁴⁰⁷ Precipitated in part by the elevation of nonmanual labor, this specialization coincided with the gradual formation of a new middle class comprised primarily of men who earned their livelihoods through the new nonmanual careers and professions and who pursued, along with their families, a new lifestyle centered on the domestic ideal of the rural or suburban single-family cottage or villa.⁴⁰⁸ At the same time, industrialization produced the inexpensive “mass marketed consumer goods,” such as brass clocks, rugs, and chairs, that became the necessary accoutrements of this parlor-centered middle-class lifestyle and, in doing so, replaced the artisan-produced luxury goods that previously distinguished elites from “middling sorts.”⁴⁰⁹

A variety of cultural attitudes towards the objects, buildings, and technology of industrialism also marked the transformative decades of the mid-nineteenth century. These often resolved themselves into opposing viewpoints, though overlap and agreement did occur between proponents on either side. The economic, technological, and social changes of the mid-nineteenth century often spurred the formation of these viewpoints, demanding that America’s intellectual leaders share and promote their opinions in print. As such, the importation of anastatic printing from Germany by John Jay Smith, the Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, in the 1845 helped focus an ongoing debate about the merits of

⁴⁰⁷ City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Old City Historic District*, 6-16.

⁴⁰⁸ Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle*, 149.

⁴⁰⁹ David Jaffee, *A New Nation of Goods: The Material Culture of Early America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), xi.

replication, especially with relation to published works.⁴¹⁰ Smith used anastatic printing, a system that permitted the “copying of texts and images through acid-engraved zinc plates,” and the absence of international copyright to produce three pattern books: *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets: Adapted to Rural cemeteries, Church Yards and Chapels; A Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone*; and *Two Hundred Designs for cottages and Villas (Two Hundred Designs)*.⁴¹¹ Produced in partnership with one of Philadelphia’s leading architects, Thomas Ustick Walter, *Two Hundred Designs* presented residential designs by British architects and their American counterparts, including Walter, James Charles Sidney, Alexander Jackson Davis, and John Struthers.⁴¹² Echoing proponents of replication and mass production, who “saw in large-scale manufacturing the fulfillment of a democratic vision,” Walter and Smith introduced the book as part of the larger democratic project to educate the taste of the American public.⁴¹³ It brought “costly works of art” to the people who had previously been unable to “command access to them” and, most importantly, used them as an educational tool to allow the reader to reach “his own conceptions and useful.”⁴¹⁴

Anastatic printing represented the generally mimetic environment of the mid-nineteenth century. The result of the mass production of the new industrial consumer economy, this mimetic environment quickly raised the ire of intellectuals

⁴¹⁰ Aaron Wunsch, “Parceling the Picturesque: ‘Rural’ Cemeteries and Urban Context” (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2009), 159.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 158.

⁴¹² Ibid., 160-161.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 156.

⁴¹⁴ As cited in Ibid., 161-162.

and professionals who viewed copyists as riding on the coattails of a few geniuses.⁴¹⁵ “It is rather a disagreeable fact to reflect upon,” Sarah Josepha Hale wrote in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*,

to reflect upon, that in this country imitations are so numerous and so unblushingly made of everything that is not secured to the originator by copyright . . . But the evidence of this curse of the times is not confined to literary, commercial, mechanical, and agricultural enterprises; we behold the same servility in the senate, in the pulpit, in the rostrum, and lecture-room; nay, we behold them at every term, among the monuments of our otherwise beautiful cemeteries.⁴¹⁶

Hale’s harsh indictment of mid-nineteenth century culture revealed the inherent incompatibility of two of the period’s most dominant cultural discourses, that of “artistic professionalism” and “knowledge as a public resource and taste as an improvable faculty.”⁴¹⁷ Revealing his conservatism, Downing identified this incompatibility in his review of *Two Hundred Designs*. Downing, who authored several highly didactic pattern books, criticized Walter’s and Smith’s decision to omit text descriptions from *Two Hundred Designs*, declaring it impossible to teach good taste solely through visual examples: “This is asking from the architecturally uneducated person . . . a good deal of the highest inventive powers of the best architect, for we think no houses positively so bad as those *made up* by such persons, from odds and ends that are borrowed from half a dozen different designs.”⁴¹⁸ Downing did not condemn Smith and Walter for publishing replicated designs, but he did take issue with the possibility that they created for uneducated

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 156.

⁴¹⁶ As cited in Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 157.

⁴¹⁸ As cited in Ibid., 163.

readers to invent their own houses from borrowed designs. In implicitly declaring good taste, which could only be acquired through a proper education, as necessary for replication, Downing sought to demarcate design as the sole domain of professional architects.

Like Walter and Smith, Downing was no stranger to borrowing from other sources. In fact, Johnson labels him a “popularizer” and not an “innovator” because of his penchant for quoting and relying on the ideas and words of others.⁴¹⁹ In general, the contents of Downing’s pattern books drew on the work of other architects and theorists. For the content of *The Architecture of Country Houses*, for example, Downing drew on the ideas of other architects and writers, “reproducing many designs by the former and quoting liberally from the latter.”⁴²⁰ Likewise, he quoted British sources without naming his sources in his *Treatise*.⁴²¹ Many of the ideas and theories Downing quoted in his books came from the work of John Claudius Loudon, a British expert on landscape and design.⁴²² Downing was hardly the first American design professional to borrow information and images from other sources. “For decades,” Wunsch reveals, “authors of American architectural books had borrowed freely from English sources while also warning readers against copying.”⁴²³ Some authors frankly acknowledged their sources. Asher Benjamin, whose *The Country Builder’s Assistant* was the first pattern book published in the

⁴¹⁹ Johnson, “Introduction to the Dover,” introduction to *The Architecture of Country*, vii.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., viii.

⁴²¹ Wunsch, “Parceling the Picturesque: ‘Rural,’” 161.

⁴²² Ibid., x.

⁴²³ Wunsch, “Parceling the Picturesque: ‘Rural,’” 161.

United States, readily admitted to borrowing information and content from British builders' guides by Chambers, Nicholson, and William Pain in *The American Builder's Companion*. Haviland, likewise, reported that he reproduced portions of Nicholson's *Principles of Architecture* "nearly in his own language" in his book *The Builder's Assistant*.⁴²⁴ In the brief moment of the mid-nineteenth century, before the line between the view of culture as "iteration not origination" and "artist-centered originality" became absolute, imitation in American architectural practice was accepted, if not expected.⁴²⁵

Although the propriety and "cultural significance of mass production remained unclear" to the intellectual leaders of the mid-nineteenth century, the general public apparently embraced mass production and commercial replication.⁴²⁶ Whereas the craft-based economy of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century typically placed luxury goods, such as portraits, rugs, and clocks, outside the reach of most Americans, including "middling sorts," industrialization and the growth of mass-produced goods made formerly luxury goods accessible to even the working class. Historian David Jaffee reveals the changes in American material culture that industrialization produced by comparing the possessions of families in eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Delaware:

In the 1770s, few in Delaware's Kent County could display furniture fashioned from such costly woods as walnut and mahogany; only a third of the wealthiest households owned such items. By the 1840s, a third of the

⁴²⁴ Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 117.

⁴²⁵ Wunsch, "Parceling the Picturesque: 'Rural,'" 165.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 156.

poorest families possessed some item made of walnut or mahogany, while they were ubiquitous in better-off households.⁴²⁷

Thanks to advances in transportation, new types of business relationships, and wider circulation of print materials, these newly affordable luxury items spread rapidly from urban centers into the countryside, where they became endowed with a social significance that drastically altered their meaning. "The new middle class," Jaffee explains, "announced their arrival by display; fashionable clothes and elaborate furnishings set the middle class apart from their poorer neighbors."⁴²⁸ As a result, however, "Once-singular objects lost their stature and became mere elements of a standardized and commodified design vocabulary by mid-century."⁴²⁹

At the same time, rural consumers imposed their own aesthetic standards upon the versions of fashionable urban goods that they demanded.⁴³⁰ For example, Jaffee notes that rural consumers expanded their ideas of "what constituted a proper family portrait" from paintings to daguerrotypes.⁴³¹ In other words, the aesthetic standards that characterized the oil portraits produced by country artists in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century influenced how customers thought their daguerrotype portraits should appear. "Customers' expectations," Jaffee writes, "along with continuities in personnel resulted in the persistence of a rural aesthetic marked by the forthright qualities of composition, lighting, and pose

⁴²⁷ Jaffee, *A New Nation of Goods*, 318.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., xiii.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 290.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 292.

common to both painting and daguerrotyping"⁴³². As such, daguerrotypists complained about customers who wanted plain daguerrotypes that lacked expression and detail instead of the more "artistic" image they sought.⁴³³

Yet, the availability and affordability of consumer goods and the elevation of the parlor as the center of middle-class social life produced a single dominant middle-class aesthetic, the infamous Victorian clutter. This aesthetic, which appeared by 1840, was "a densely decorative style, an interior stuffed with things."⁴³⁴ As individual items no longer held meaning in isolation and without placement in the parlor and, as a result, could not construct or display the homeowner's middle-class identity, clutter and heavy ornamentation became the norm.⁴³⁵ The embrace of mass-produced consumer goods by the middle class thus produced an "aesthetic of artifice" complemented by one of abundance and, as it encouraged replication, transformed imitation into "the foundation of middle-class culture."⁴³⁶ Derivation and token personalization thus became the defining feature of American material culture in the mid-nineteenth century.

The consumer-driver, derivative mass culture of the mid-nineteenth century manifested itself most clearly in the buildings designed and constructed during this period. Whereas the middle-class parlor aesthetic and its implicit "codified cultural rules" hid itself in the semi-private space of the front parlor, American buildings

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ As cited in Ibid., 324.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 320.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 324.

from the same period flamboyantly, and even joyfully, expressed the dramatic increase in wealth in America in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴³⁷ While architectural theorists such as Downing and Walter worried about and debated the suitability, meaning, and associations of various architectural styles, the general public and the majority of clients embraced styles that accommodated their desire to visually display the new wealth they had acquired through the new industrial economy.⁴³⁸ The “picturesque styles” – these included the Italianate style, the Second Empire style, and the Richardsonian Romanesque style, among others – favored by American architects in the mid- and late-nineteenth century easily fulfilled these desires with their exuberant use of ornamentation and emphasis on visual pleasure.⁴³⁹ In emphasizing visual pleasure over moral or historical messages, the “picturesque styles” functioned, architectural historian Alan Gowans explains, as an affirmation of egalitarianism in the face of growing class and wealth disparity.⁴⁴⁰ In many ways, the “picturesque styles” were the architectural counterpart of the cluttered middle-class parlor; apart the pieces possessed no meaning, but together they signified a certain social status.

At their most basic, the “picturesque styles” of the mid-nineteenth century fulfilled the dictates and desires of the mass produced, consumer oriented, and imitation driven culture that briefly dominated American society during these

⁴³⁷Alan Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression* (New York, NY: IconEditions, 1993), 165.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 171.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 174.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

decades. By reducing architectural style to a collection of decontextualized ornamentation from which the architect or craftsman simply had to select the appropriate combination, the “picturesque styles” became a versatile skin that easily covered both traditional forms and new technologies.⁴⁴¹ The advent of new construction materials and technology, most notably elevators, cast iron and, eventually, steel frame construction, drastically altered the shape, height, and meaning of commercial buildings in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁴² At the same time, the forms and layouts of mid-nineteenth century houses differed little – apart from the appearance of the single, long parlor – from the traditional side-passage and center-passage, rectangular boxes of eighteenth-century Georgian houses.⁴⁴³ According to Holst, architects and builders wrapped these traditional forms and plans in fashionable “picturesque styles” because they combined “customary social practices, familiar standards of comfort, and recognized symbols of status” with “a modern image and the sentimental impression of individual character.”⁴⁴⁴ Like the mass-produced knickknacks and furnishings that crowded the century middle-class parlor in the mid-nineteenth century, the “picturesque styles” thus served as a medium through which new entrants to the new middle class “competed for social and cultural authority” and justified their wealth and social position.⁴⁴⁵ As such, mid-nineteenth-century architecture, especially domestic architecture, symbolized

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 172.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 178-181.

⁴⁴³ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 259; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 130-131.

⁴⁴⁴ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 241-242.

⁴⁴⁵ Jaffee, *A New Nation of Goods*, x

the social ambition of the owner or inhabitant as much as, or more than, his/her “life and history . . . [and] tastes and associations.”⁴⁴⁶

As the first of the “picturesque styles,” however, the Italianate retained stylistic and ideological connections to the Greek Revival and Gothic Revival styles. In fact, architectural historian Mark Gelernter describes these buildings as picking up “the strand of Palladianism and Neoclassicism from the previous century.”⁴⁴⁷ These visual connections or similarities, almost naturally, carried “ideological overtones.”⁴⁴⁸ The Italianate projected an image of wealth and culture without an eccentricity contrary to American republican dignity.⁴⁴⁹ The variety inherent to the Italianate style created a range of possibilities for architects and builders, who applied it to nearly every type of building. These ranged from high style and extremely asymmetrical mansions, which were often Gothic castles in disguise, to simpler and symmetrical commercial structures, and everything in between.⁴⁵⁰ Thanks to its versatility, variety of substyles, and range of available ornamentation, the Italianate represented an extremely fluid style that sometimes bordered on ubiquity in the fastest growing urban centers of the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁵¹

Riddell’s professional attitude and, indeed, his success relied heavily on the culture of commercialism and imitation that dominated the mid-nineteenth century. Although Riddell produced Greek Revival and Gothic Revival buildings during the

⁴⁴⁶ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 262.

⁴⁴⁷ Gelernter, *A History of American*, 156.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 191.

⁴⁵⁰ Gowans, *Styles and Types of North*, 191.

⁴⁵¹ Gelernter, *A History of American*, 161.

first few years of his career, he quickly transitioned to the increasingly popular Italianate style in the 1850s. In fact, thirty-six of the fifty-two designs included in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* and eighteen of the twenty-two designs published in *Architectural Designs* were distinctly Italianate. Yet, the styling extended only skin deep. Switching out Italianate brackets, arched windows, a belvedere, and a flat or shallow gable roof for a steep gable roof, intricate vergeboards, a centered gable, and square or pointed arched windows created a Gothic Revival building. Likewise, the substitution of arched supports and quoins with Ionic columns and pilasters transformed an Italianate mansion, such as Mansion No. 20 (Figure 4.1) in *Architectural Designs*, into a Greek Revival or Neoclassical mansion, such as Mansion No. 21 (Figure 4.2). Fundamentally, the majority of Riddell's designs possessed the same basic rectangular form. Although Riddell's more extensive use of irregularity in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* – only three of the twenty-two designs in *Architectural Designs* possessed asymmetry as opposed to ten of the fifty-two designs in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* – displayed an architectural sophistication generally denied him, he, like his more celebrated contemporaries, used it as yet another tool in his design repertoire, producing picturesque Gothic Revival and Italianate designs.⁴⁵² Of course, the Greek Revival demanded rigid symmetry. While Downing gave architectural irregularity a theoretical basis, declaring buildings in “an

⁴⁵² Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 267.

irregular style” more “expressive of character and individuality,”⁴⁵³ other architects, including Riddell, appear to have approached it from an artistic standpoint, treating it as a way to increase the visual appeal of their designs by breaking up horizontal lines.⁴⁵⁴

Riddell’s commercial commissions illustrate how Riddell assembled designs from an established vocabulary of architectural ornament and, in the process, created a certain stylistic unity across these buildings. Although Gowans describes the mixing of “spaces, colors, textures, and ornament” as a defining feature of the “picturesque styles,” some of Riddell’s earliest Greek Revival and Gothic Revival buildings displayed a mixture of architectural elements from these styles.⁴⁵⁵ For example, the Faust and Winebrenner store at 124 North 3rd Street (Figure 4.3) and the last building of the block of stores belonging to George Sheaff at 440 Market Street, both of which were constructed in 1849, possessed Greek Revival style pilasters on the first story and Gothic Revival style pointed arch windows supported by three cluster columns on the second story. Demonstrating the imitative culture of the mid-nineteenth century, Riddell “proposed very nearly the same design he carried out on Mr. Sheaff’s beautiful stores” for John Anspach’s store at 132 North 3rd Street (Figure 4.4).⁴⁵⁶

Riddell continued to produce visually similar commercial designs as he transitioned from the Greek and Gothic Revival to the Italianate in the 1850s, though

⁴⁵³ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 15.

⁴⁵⁴ Gowans, *Styles and Types of North*, 172-175.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁴⁵⁶ “More Improvements,”

for these later buildings he drew more heavily on Italianate decorative details and architectural elements. Paneled and rusticated pilasters, elaborate column capitals, and bracketed cornices characterized Riddell's Italianate commercial buildings, though he assembled these in a variety of combinations. As such, Riddell gave the E.W. Clark building at 35 South 3rd Street (Figure 4.5) rusticated pilasters on the first story, two-story paneled pilasters on the second and third story, which supported a third-story bracketed cornice, and two-story rusticated pilasters on the fourth and fifth story topped by a second bracketed cornice. In contrast, the façade of the Howell building at 125 South 2nd Street (Figure 4.6) consisted of two-story paneled pilasters, which supported a dentilled cornice above the second story. Three pair of folding sash doors with round arched heads and a cast iron balcony on the second story called to mind the Renaissance palazzos that inspired, in part, the Italianate style. Rusticated three-story pilasters adorned the top three stories and supported an elaborate bracketed cornice. Riddell owed his ability to combine and recombine such elements in large part to the advent of architectural cast iron, which he used extensively in his designs. In fact, Riddell ranked as one of the preeminent designers of cast iron buildings in mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia.⁴⁵⁷

Cast iron storefronts and cladding lent themselves perfectly to the design approach that characterized the "picturesque styles" and the imitative culture of the mid-nineteenth century. As mentioned above, cast iron enabled the production of

⁴⁵⁷ Antoinette J. Lee, "Cast Iron Architecture," The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, last modified 2015, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/cast-iron-architecture/>.

inexpensive decorative elements. The affordability of cast iron lay in the fabrication process, which involved the repeated production of decorative elements and motifs from a limited number of molds. As such, identical elements and motifs could be continually repeated on one building, used on additions to an existing building, or even employed as decoration on new buildings.⁴⁵⁸ While architects used cast iron structural elements, such as columns and girders, to create large interior spaces with little visual obstruction and to construct the building frame, the majority of architects exploited cast iron primarily for its decorative possibilities. "The cast-iron buildings built in Philadelphia during the 1850's," Ralph Chiumenti explains,

illustrate to varying degrees an attitude towards this new building material which tended to emphasis[e] its capacity for heavy ornamentation and deception, rather than exploiting its full potential for heavily glazed and more structurally open facades.⁴⁵⁹

In other words, architects used cast iron to replace the brick and stone decorative elements of previous decades with increasingly elaborate ornamentation.⁴⁶⁰ This focus on lavish decoration eventually led commentators to question and criticize cast-iron architecture in the late-nineteenth century, especially after fires in Boston and Chicago in the 1870s proved it was not fireproof. "A building bedizened with cast-iron ornamentation," architect Leopold Eidlitz stated,

⁴⁵⁸ "Cast Iron History," Endangered Cast-Iron Buildings in NYC, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://www.castironnyc.org/history.htm>.

⁴⁵⁹ Chiumenti, "Cast Iron Architecture of Philadelphia's," 14.

⁴⁶⁰ Lee, "Cast Iron Architecture," The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia.

would give to the question, for what purpose the building is erected, would be plain to me as though it was written upon it with large cast iron letters: FOR SHOW MORE THAN ANY OTHER PURPOSE.⁴⁶¹

Cast-iron architecture, in short, was for show. As such, it represented the ideal medium for the visually showy “picturesque styles” of the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁶²

As his commercial commissions and residential designs illustrate, Riddell generally did, as Holst astutely notes, operate from a “limited number of basic templates” onto which he “interchangeably” added details from his repertoire to create Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, and Italianate buildings that only differed from each other superficially.⁴⁶³ Riddell’s business model and professional approach explicitly referenced his design process and turned it into a selling point. He portrayed his ability to quickly produce suitable designs for fashionable country residences as a desirable feature of his practice, promising prospective clients “original designs that will please them” after an “interview of ten minutes to explain their ideas.”⁴⁶⁴ Apparently the “gentlemen” to whom Riddell addressed his advertisements responded favorably to his designs and business model, for Philadelphia newspapers reported an increase in the number of residences designed by Riddell under construction after the publication of the advertisement quoted above. The Public Ledger noted the construction of six country and urban

⁴⁶¹ As cited in Mona Domosh, “Creating New York’s Nineteenth-Century Retail District,” in *American Architectural History: A Contemporary Reader*, ed. Keith Eggener (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 221.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 267.

⁴⁶⁴ *The Public Ledger*.

residences on 24 June 1854, an urban mansion located on Broad Street on 10 July 1854, and four suburban and rural houses on 19 January 1856.⁴⁶⁵

Judging from the client list at the back of *Architectural Designs*, the gentlemen targeted by Riddell were members of the new middle class, who earned their livelihoods and fortunes from the new professions and businesses created by the industrial economy of the mid-nineteenth century. For example, Phineas Hagar, who hired Riddell to design three cottages at 131 (Figure 4.7), 149 (Figure 4.8), and 155 West Walnut Lane (Figure 4.9) in Germantown, worked in the stove manufacturing business, even opening his own firm, Cox, Hagar, and Cox, in the 1850s, and the gas meter manufacturing sector in 1858.⁴⁶⁶ Likewise, John M. Bickel invested in several coal and iron manufacturing companies.⁴⁶⁷ For men like Hagar and Bickel, owning a fashionable house designed by a well-known local architect like Riddell probably served as a public marker of their financial success and as evidence of their social stature. As such, Riddell's design approach was ideally suited to the commercial culture of the mid-nineteenth century, which favored imitation over individualization and located social meaning in the entire ensemble instead of individual pieces.

On the surface, Riddell's professional practices run against the standard design behavior of professional architects in the mid-nineteenth century. According to this ideal, which Downing and other advocates of professionalization advanced

⁴⁶⁵ "Costly Improvements," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), June 24, 1854; "Another Large Mansion"; "Improvements."

⁴⁶⁶ "Odd Plates," *The Metal Worker* 50 (Summer/Fall 1899): 47.

⁴⁶⁷ *Acts of the General*, 259; Bell, *History of Northumberland County*, 659.

during this period, the professional or amateur architect had to understand “the habits, education, tastes, and manners – in short, the life of the proprietor” to design a house that met the three requirements of good domestic architecture: beauty convenience and truth.⁴⁶⁸ Downing argued that such knowledge was necessary for the design of cottages, farmhouses, and villas.⁴⁶⁹ In practice, however, architects usually devoted such consideration only to the houses and country estates of the wealthy elite. “With the exception of large, expensive showcase houses,” Holst writes, “many architects viewed domestic design as bread-and-butter work and not as professionally significant as other kinds of commissions.”⁴⁷⁰

As such, Walter could dash off a cottage design for Lewis Leeds, a carpenter in Germantown, for \$5 in 1850 and end his involvement at that level and, in the same year, design a villa for Edward Coleman on East Penn Street in Germantown that involved “numerous interviews with the client, visits to the site, preparation of drawings, and an agreement to supervise the construction for a five percent fee.”⁴⁷¹ John Notman, who embodied the professional ideal advocated by Downing and Walter, certainly followed a similar procedure when designing Fern Hill (Figure 4.10), the rural estate of the McKean family in Germantown. Notman offered the McKears at least two alternative designs, the Italianate villa that the McKears chose and a Tudor style mansion.⁴⁷² While the Italianate Fern Hill owed a certain stylistic

⁴⁶⁸ Downing, *The Architecture of Country*, 261.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁷⁰ Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization,” 269.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 358.

debt to the Edward King villa by Richard Upjohn in Newport, Rhode Island, the McKens (Figure 4.11), a family of wealth and an “impeccable social pedigree,”⁴⁷³ never received criticism for “betraying an imitative tendency that conflicted with the sincere expression of individual character.”⁴⁷⁴ The McKens may have chosen the Italianate design because of the associations that Downing described when he published Upjohn’s design for the King villa in *The Architecture of Country Houses*.⁴⁷⁵ Downing called the King villa “a gentleman’s residence” that exuded “dignity, refinement, and elegance” and spoke of “a life of refined leisure.”⁴⁷⁶ Thus, the imitative culture of consumerism and the inherent ubiquity of the Italianate style penetrated even the upper echelon of architectural design.

From available evidence, Riddell treated his designs as “bread-and-butter” work instead of great works of art. He reinforced this impression in the preface to *Architectural Designs* when he offered to mix and match floorplans and elevations with the same frontage. Riddell treated the floorplans and elevations of his designs like the individual decorative details from which he developed them, as interchangeable parts to rearrange as clients demanded. Of course, Riddell’s practical approach probably stemmed from his clients and their desires. None of Riddell’s clients belonged to the same social sphere as those of Notman or Walter. Riddell’s client list featured prominent regional and national political figures. Bickel, a former state treasurer, commissioned Riddell to design his Broad Street

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 357.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 358.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ As cited in Ibid.

mansion in 1854.⁴⁷⁷ Riddell designed a house in West Philadelphia for William D. Kelley in 1850.⁴⁷⁸ A judge in the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas when he hired Riddell, Kelley established a successful political career as a congressman and founder of the Republican party in the late 1850s.⁴⁷⁹ Yet, these were not the “reputable old family society” that Notman worked for but new money.⁴⁸⁰ Bickel came from Orwysburg, Pennsylvania,⁴⁸¹ and Kelley, although born in Philadelphia, was the son of a jeweler who met with financial disaster during the War of 1812.⁴⁸² At the same time, even Philadelphia’s reputable old families, such as the McKeanes, requested imitative designs. Riddell approached architecture as the assemblage of parts and an imitative process because it allowed him to meet the visual and social requirements of mid-nineteenth century Americans.

When Holst dismisses Riddell’s designs as “cookie-cutter,” however, she misses the larger cultural and professional context behind them.⁴⁸³ Riddell’s contemporaries followed a similar pattern of design behavior. Ammi Burnham Young’s approach to architecture and his designs for eighty federal customhouses constructed across the United States in the 1850s vividly illustrate the prevalence of this behavior and provide insight into the reasons it occurred. As the new

⁴⁷⁷ "Another Large Mansion."

⁴⁷⁸ "Further Improvement Professed," *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), January 28, 1850.

⁴⁷⁹ Charles O'Neill, speech presented at Funeral of William D. Kelley, Washington, DC, January 11, 1890, in *Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of William D. Kelley (A Representative of Pennsylvania)* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890), 12-14.

⁴⁸⁰ Fisher as cited in Thomas, "Architectural Patronage and Social," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social*, 93.

⁴⁸¹ "Mortuary Record, 1881," *Star Almanac Compiled Expressly for the New York Star*, 1882, 52.

⁴⁸² O'Neill, speech, in *Memorial Addresses on the Life*, 12.

⁴⁸³ Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization," 267.

supervising architect for the Treasury Department, Young was tasked with designing dozens of new customhouses across the United States.⁴⁸⁴ Recruited in 1852 in the midst of a congressionally supported building boom, Young quickly recognized the necessity of developing a standardized design to facilitate the construction of “dozens of similar buildings in different cities” and, as a result, needed to commit to a single architectural style.⁴⁸⁵ The Greek Revival loomed large in the background. Federal customhouses built in the 1830s and 1840s incorporated Greek Revival elements, and Young rose to prominence and his federal position based on his Greek Revival designs for the Boston customhouse and the Vermont State House. Furthermore, local building commissioners and civic leaders, who hoped to “imbue their cityscapes with grandeur by erecting a monumental federal building,” favored neoclassical designs because “they intimated the cultivation and refinement of local residents.”⁴⁸⁶ Civic leaders viewed neoclassical buildings as important means of population and economic growth because they endowed towns with an air of civilization and prosperity, which leaders thought would attract people and investment.⁴⁸⁷ Despite these precedents and biases, Young opted for an Italianate palazzo model for the federal customhouses.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ Daniel Bluestone, “Civic and Aesthetic Reserve: Ammi Burnham Young’s 1850s Customhouse Designs,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 25, no. 2/3 (Fall 1990): 131, accessed April 24, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1181329>.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

In large part, Young's decision to rely on an Italianate model responded to a growing public backlash against the Greek Revival. Whereas Greek Revival buildings required expensive building materials, namely stone, and assumed a form, the Greek temple, that was inappropriate for the administrative functions of a customhouse, the Italianate placed "'durability and convenience' over 'Architectural display.'"⁴⁸⁹ The transition to the Italianate reflected Young's growing emphasis on utility over "idealistic notions concerning the civic value of monumental public architecture"⁴⁹⁰ and his attempt "to develop a 'street architecture' in which utility and expression were not so easily divided and thus not so easily open to challenges from critics within the Congress, from professional architects, or from the general public."⁴⁹¹ The inherent flexibility of the Italianate style enabled Young to easily adjust each customhouse to the unique environmental and physical qualities of its site and to expand the size of the building to accommodate the administrative needs of each city.⁴⁹² It also simplified the Treasury Department's calculations for the cost of each customhouse.⁴⁹³ "Fundamentally an additive system of identical window bays extended across the façade of the building," Bluestone explains,

the Italianate style permitted Young quickly to adapt a standard building model to meet the pricewise urban and spatial requirements of a series of individual projects . . . At the same time, by tinkering with the stylistic treatment of the window frames, Young introduced considerable variety into his buildings' facades for different cities.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 136.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 138.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 143-144.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 144.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

The flexibility and ubiquity of the Italianate style proved a boon to Young, for it allowed him to quickly develop appropriate designs for numerous customhouses that fit with the business districts in which they stood and, most importantly, reflected the limited power of the federal government and the limited expenditure of federal tax money.⁴⁹⁵

At the same time, the Italianate opened Young to charges of plagiarism. Interestingly, Young did not defend the originality of his customhouse designs or claim their artistic integrity. In response to a controversy surrounding his designs for the customhouse in Mobile, Alabama, during which local architect Thomas S. James accused Young of stealing his design, Young denied that his designs were completely original. "I have never claimed," he wrote in defense against James's accusations,

my plans to be entirely original and shall be content to receive what an intelligent community may award to a *native born American architect, who knows in his professions no North nor South, no East nor West* and is determined in all cases to do his whole duty while in the employment of the government to the best of his knowledge and ability (emphasis in original).⁴⁹⁶

Clearly, Young, like Riddell, approached architecture, or at least the Italianate style, as an interchangeable set of parts and design as the process of combining these parts. Both Riddell and Young demonstrated a professional attitude that placed emphasis on utility and beauty over truth in the architectural triad and, ultimately, viewed buildings as products, not works of art. As a result, they thrived in the

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁹⁶ As cited in Ibid., 141.

imitative and commercial culture of the mid-nineteenth century. Of course, these practices and behaviors stood in sharp contrast to the ideal of the professional architect beginning to take shape in the mid-nineteenth century and the professional ethic it fostered.

Like Riddell, Robert Riddell's career opposed the ideal of the professional architect. According to the continuum described by Upton, Robert Riddell's books were not pattern books. Rather, they fit more closely within the parameters of the builders' guides published in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. Like Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant* and Owen Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant*, Robert Riddell's builders' guides primarily contained plates illustrating methods of construction and designs for different building elements, such as stairs, handrails, and moldings, and explanatory text for these plates. Yet, like John Riddell, Robert Riddell departed from the tropes established by his predecessors. Where John Riddell dispensed with the architectural and artistic theory, architectural history, and professional justification that became common to pattern books published in the mid-nineteenth century, likely because he considered this information extraneous to the purpose of *Architectural Designs*, Robert Riddell eliminated the drawings and explications of the ancient architectural orders and the designs for finished buildings that appeared regularly in builders' guides published in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. Even Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, which appears rudimentary when compared to his *American Builder's Companion* and Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant*,

contained plates detailing the “Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders, with their Bases, Capitals, and Entablatures.”⁴⁹⁷ Understandably, given his international reputation as a stair-builder, Robert Riddell’s books focused almost exclusively on the details of stair and handrail construction. Of course, the titles, such as *The Scientific Stair-Builder* and *Lessons on Hand Railing for Beginners*, emphasized the specificity of Robert Riddell’s books. As such, Robert Riddell’s books could be more accurately classified as stair-builders’ guides.

Robert Riddell’s final book represented the most general of his books. Published in 1879, *The Artisan* covered a wider variety of topics than his previous works; only seven of the forty plates in the book pertained to the construction of stairs or handrails.⁴⁹⁸ The other plates and the explanatory text that accompanied them covered more basic topics related to carpentry, including geometry, how to create geometrical drawings, the construction of joints, and the construction of wall niches.⁴⁹⁹ Similar topics and illustrations appeared in earlier builders’ guides. For example, Owen Biddle included three plates covering the geometrical knowledge and techniques he believed necessary for carpenters in the *Young Carpenter’s Assistant*.⁵⁰⁰ Likewise, Asher Benjamin provided two plates on roof framing and construction in *The American Builders’ Companion*.⁵⁰¹ Despite these similarities, *The*

⁴⁹⁷ Asher Benjamin, *The Country Builder’s Assistant* (1797; repr., Bedford, MA: Applewood Books),

⁴⁹⁸ Robert Riddell, *The Artisan* (Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1879).

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Owen Biddle, *Biddle’s Young Carpenter’s Assistant* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006), 3-10, originally published as *The Young Carpenter’s Assistant; or, A System of Architecture Adapted to the Style of Building in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Benjamin Johnson, 1805).

⁵⁰¹ Asher Benjamin, *The American Builder’s Companion*, 6th ed. (R. P. & C. Williams, 1827; New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1969), 83-84.

Artisan clearly differed from these earlier precedents. Like Robert Riddell's earlier construction books, which set themselves apart from the works of Benjamin and Biddle by focusing almost exclusively on a topic that their books covered superficially, *The Artisan* devoted over one-third of its content to geometry and its use in construction. As shown above, Benjamin and Biddle devoted a minor portion of their builders' guides to geometrical instruction. Written during or after Robert Riddell's tenure at the Philadelphia High School, *The Artisan's* content grew directly out of the lessons he taught. In fact, Robert Riddell clearly indicated in his "Introductory Remarks" that the book resulted from the lack of "public provision for a thorough education in industrial art" and implied that he developed the techniques it contained while "teaching the artisan class at the Philadelphia High School."⁵⁰² As such, *The Artisan* functions more as a textbook than a builders' guide in the tradition of *The Country Builder's Assistant* or *The Young Carpenter's Assistant*.

A fundamental practicality drove Robert Riddell's career, especially his builders' guides. Recognizing that the new industrial economy had destroyed the public's respect for the building crafts and, by extension, the mechanic and reduced previously skilled artisans to mere day-laborers, Robert Riddell sought to use his books to reinvigorate craftsmen with pride in their work and to return the building crafts to their rightful, and traditional, social prominence. "Besides in many industries," Robert Riddell lamented, "the necessity of producing articles at the least labor and expense, to compete with others in the market, requires skilled laborers . .

⁵⁰² Riddell, *The Artisan*,

. who come from the overstocked markets of the old country” (*The Artisan*). In contrast to the majority of middle-class Americans in the mid-nineteenth century and professional architects, who saw building mechanics as inferior, Robert Riddell saw social value in every artisan. “Even the poorest workman,” he wrote in *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair builder, and Hand-Railer*, “is entitled to respect, who may, perhaps, advance some idea that will be of service.”⁵⁰³ Three years after the publication of *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair Builder and Hand-Railer*, Robert Riddell made it his express goal in *The Artisan* to return “industrial and scientific training” to national prominence by demonstrating that the manual professions required “intelligence” and “culture” and establishing “industrial and scientific schools and workshops, by the side of our present high schools and academies.”⁵⁰⁴ As such, Robert Riddell clearly viewed architecture, in direct opposition to the new professionals of the mid-nineteenth century, as a craft that required practical expertise.

Yet, Riddell also kept one foot in the master builder tradition of the early-nineteenth century. Although Robert Riddell aligned himself most closely with the tradition of the master builder, even John Riddell went against the increasingly dominant discourse of professionalism. He, in contrast to Sloan, did not court the new trappings of the professional architect, most notably membership in the AIA. Most importantly, Riddell displayed, like his elder brother, an interest in educating

⁵⁰³ Riddell, *The Carpenter and Joiner*, 1.

⁵⁰⁴ Riddell, *The Artisan*.

and helping other members of the building trades. In fact, John Riddell provided “instructions in geometrical lines, as applied to Groin Arches, Hand Rails, and Carpentry in general” from his office in 1847, even scheduling these classes in the evening after building mechanics seeking an architectural education would have finished with work,⁵⁰⁵ and willingly provided “young architects and builders” with drawings and designs.⁵⁰⁶

Riddell and Robert Riddell, however, were not the only mid-nineteenth-century proto-professional architect in Philadelphia to maintain some ties with architecture’s craft foundation and to use knowledge of construction methods to claim the status of professional architect. Even Samuel Sloan, who allied himself with the idea of professionalism as espoused by Downing and Walter through his published works and institutional relationships, recognized the utility of advertising his construction expertise. Although best known for his elaborate pattern books that demonstrated a “snob appeal” aimed at middle- and upper-class readers, *The Model Architect* and *City and Suburban Architecture*, Sloan also published a pattern book that resembled the builders’ guides of his distinguished master builder predecessors, most notably Owen Biddle and Asher Benjamin.

Published in 1859, *Constructive Architecture* contained designs, essays, and instructions on structural elements, including domes, roofs, and spires, craftsmanship, such as the principles of carpentry and joinery, and the five orders of

⁵⁰⁵ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), March 4, 1847.

⁵⁰⁶ *The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 26, 1854.

architecture, Grecian Doric, Grecian Ionic, Roman Doric, Roman Ionic, and Roman Corinthian.⁵⁰⁷ In contrast to *The Model Architect* and *City and Suburban Architecture*, Sloan marketed *Constructive Architecture* to members of the building trades, describing it as “a volume specifically designed to meet the wants of the practical builder or mechanic.”⁵⁰⁸ Echoing Biddle and Benjamin and resembling Robert Riddell, Sloan intended for *Constructive Architecture* “to place within the reach of every mechanic the more advanced principles of his art.”⁵⁰⁹ While Sloan’s decision to include essays on the history of each structural element set *Constructive Architecture* apart from the builders’ guides of Biddle, Benjamin, and Robert Riddell and closer to the pattern book type, *Constructive Architecture*’s content indicated that Sloan intended it to serve as a practical book full of useful knowledge for the building mechanic working in the new industrial economy of the mid-nineteenth century.⁵¹⁰ Sloan thus sought to serve, albeit in a limited manner, as a mentor to young artisans in master builder tradition of apprenticeship.

The majority of architectural histories portray the mid-nineteenth century as the crucial period in which modern American society and the modern architecture profession began to take shape. Knowing the outcome of this process, architectural historians highlight the appearance of professional institutions, ethics, and ideal of artistic originality and focus on the proto-professionals who established and

⁵⁰⁷ Samuel Sloan, *Sloan's Constructive Architecture: A Guide to the Practical Builder and Mechanic* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1859), 5-6.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

advocated for them. Yet, the mid-nineteenth century was fundamentally an era of transition in which continuity with past architectural traditions and practices existed. At the same time, the industrialization of the American economy and society created a consumer and imitation driven culture that encouraged “architects” to treat buildings as collections of decontextualized ornamentation and architectural elements and the design process as the assembly of these pieces into a cohesive and, hence, meaningful whole. In embracing the commercial aspects of architecture and treating his designs as a set of interchangeable parts, Riddell achieved the financial success denied to many of his predecessors, most notably Benjamin Latrobe. While Riddell, in this respect, was purely an architect of the mid-nineteenth century, he, Sloan, and Robert Riddell, to a much greater extent, maintained their ties to their artisan roots and treated architecture as a craft. In doing so, they continued the master builder tradition of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century and advanced an alternative definition for the term professional architect. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, the space for architects like Riddell, Robert Riddell, and Samuel Sloan completely disappeared and their definition for the term along with them.

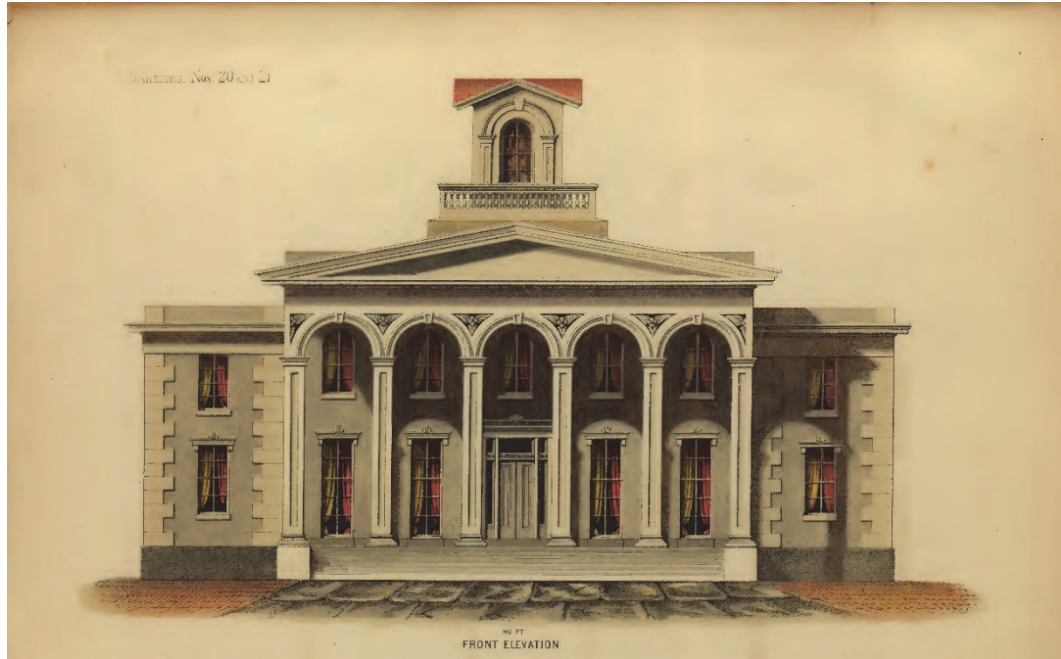


Figure 4.1 – Mansion No. 20, *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*, Lindsay and Blakinston, 1861, Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution

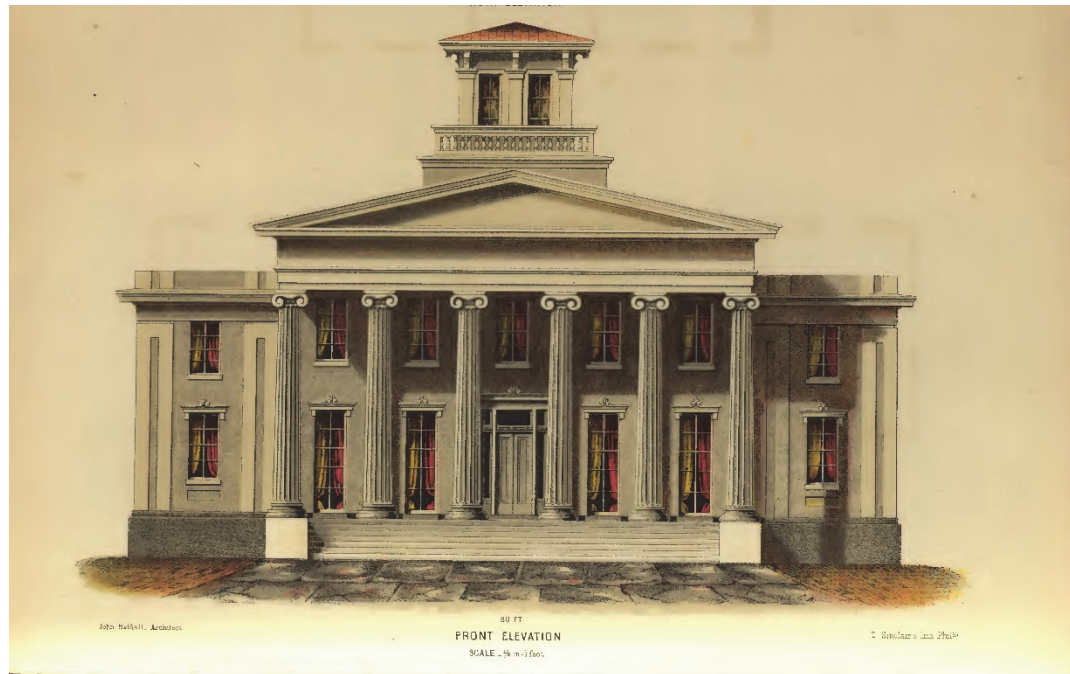




Figure 4.3 – Faust and Winebrenner Store at 124 North 2nd Street (Right), Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Photograph by author



Figure 4.4 – Anspach Store at 132 N 2nd Street, Designed by Riddell c. 1849, Only Original Two Stories Remaining, Photograph by author



Figure 4.5 - E. W. Clark Building at 35 South 3rd Street, Designed by Riddell in 1852, Photograph by author



Figure 4.6 – Robert Howell Building, 125 South 2nd Street, View from the Historic American Buildings Survey 51-PHILA-620, Courtesy the Library of Congress



Figure 4.7 – 131 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1854, Philadelphia Historical Commission 12397-34-88219, Courtesy the Philadelphia Department of Records



Figure 4.8 – 149 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1855, Photograph by author



Figure 4.9 – 155 West Walnut Lane, Built by Phineas Hagar, Designed by John Riddell c. 1856, Photographed by Eryn Boyce



Figure 4.10 – Fern Hill, Designed by John Notman for the McKean family, Courtesy <http://www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/wh/nnnw.html>



Figure 4.11 – Design XXVIII, A Villa in the Italian Style, Designed by Richard Upjohn,
The Architecture of Country Houses

Conclusion

Like many of his contemporaries, Riddell made the transition from building mechanic to professional architect. The rapid transformation of American society and the built fabric of the country's urban centers in the mid-nineteenth century created opportunities for these new architects to set themselves apart from their artisan backgrounds and to finally distinguish the architecture profession from the manual building trades. The concentration of the majority of American capital in a few large cities, including Philadelphia, allowed governments, institutions, and private individuals to undertake numerous large-scale building projects that had occurred only rarely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These clients finally began to turn to professional architects instead of master builders to handle the design and management of these increasingly complex projects. At the same time, the growth of the middle class and the popularity of the rural lifestyle that Downing and other architects advocated via pattern books generated a public interested in the principles of domestic architecture and homeowners desirous of owning a house in the latest fashion. Real estate speculators met the growing demand for suburban housing in the mid-nineteenth century with speculative houses designed by architects and master builders and copied directly from pattern books. Finally, the homogenization and specialization of American city centers into places of business and commerce and advances in building technology, most notably the advent of cast iron cladding, fueled a rapid rebuilding of these old neighborhoods as merchants and businessmen sought to create distinctive and

memorable buildings to house their stores and elevate their nonmanual workplaces over the factories staffed by the working class.

Riddell established a successful career in mid-nineteenth century by both understanding and following the dynamic forces that irrevocably altered the United States during his career. His designs, whether residential or commercial, appealed to his middle-class clients because they balanced the new architectural triad popularized by Downing: truth, beauty, and convenience. Although the residential designs he published in *Architectural Designs* shared a “cookie-cutter quality” and relied on a stylistic vocabulary that was highly derivative, he created a product that successfully combined the traditional interiors of the eighteenth century, room types that accommodated the new behavioral mores of middle-class society, and the fashionable yet standardized exterior which his typically middle-class clients wanted to buy. Riddell was not an elite architect like Walter or Notman, nor did he pretend to be. In contrast to Sloan, who felt it necessary to cloak his self-promotional pattern books in architectural theory, Riddell created a pattern book that was openly materialistic and commercial. Riddell was neither a tastemaker nor a trendsetter. In openly advertising his designs for sale and designing a pattern book that presented his designs in a straightforward manner, Riddell anticipated the mail-order architectural catalogues of the early-twentieth century. As such, his career shows the diversity that existed in the architectural profession in the mid-nineteenth century and allows for a deeper understanding of the process of

professionalization that traditional architectural histories with their focus on the “starchitects” of the nineteenth century generally lack.

Appendix A – Riddell Client List

Client Names	Profession	Historic Address (From Architectural Designs)	Date	Modern Address	Extant	Image	Additional Information
Mr. Alter and Mr. Wellister		112 South Front Street, Philadelphia		112 S Front Street	N	Y	
John Anspach	Merchant; dry goods	Corner of Third and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia	1849	132 N 3rd Street	Y	N	Appears only first two stories are left
John Anspach	Merchant; dry goods	Corner of Third and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia	1854	130 N 3rd Street	N	Y	Image a fire insurance survey
William Agnew	Merchant; dry goods	Chestnut Street, Philadelphia		732 Chestnut Street	N	Y	
John Bullock		Sixth Street above Market Street, Philadelphia					
John Berger		Allentown, PA					
Charles T. Bush		Allentown, PA					
John Y. Bechtel		Allentown, PA					
Michael Bouvier	Furniture manufacturer	Broad Street, Philadelphia	1853	1240 N Broad Street	N	Y	
Mr. Bockius		Franklin and Brown Streets, Philadelphia					
Joseph Brooks		Kensington, Philadelphia					
Thomas (John) Blair	Manufacturer	Front Street below Master, Philadelphia	1849	1300 block N Front Street	N	N	
John M. Bickel	President, coal company	Broad Street below Poplar, Philadelphia	1854	849 N Broad Street	N	N	
Barcroft, Beaver, and Co.	Dry goods	Market Street above Fourth Street, Philadelphia	1852	407 Market Street	N	Y	
Mr. (Henry A.) Bowers	Druggist	Sixth and Green Street, Philadelphia	1853	601 N 6 th Street	N	Y	Franklin Fire Insurance Survey Book 136 Policy 18018
Bailey and Co.		Library Street, Philadelphia					

Bun and Raiguel	Dry goods	Third Street, Philadelphia	1851	137 N 3rd Street	Y	Y	
Mr. Brock		Third and Quarry Street, Philadelphia					
Charles W. Bender		Dock Street, Philadelphia					
Butchers' and Drovers' Hotel		West Philadelphia	1855	Vine Street and 65th Street	N	Y	
H. Cowperthwait		Ingersol's Lane, Philadelphia					
Edwin R. Cope	Paper manufacturer	Germantown, Philadelphia	1855	123 W Tulpehocken Street	N		
Thomas Callahan		Bristol, PA					
Thomas Craig		Kensington, Philadelphia					
E. W. Clark	Stock broker	Third above Chestnut Street, Philadelphia	1852	35 S 3rd Street	Y	Y	
H. Cowperthwait	Merchant	Third above Race Street, Philadelphia	1849	222 N 3rd Street	N		
Edmund G. Chase		Germantown, Philadelphia					
Mr. Cadwallader		Philadelphia					
George Carpenter		Germantown, Philadelphia					
Chambersburg Hall		Chambersburg, PA					
Mr. Davids	Clerk/attorney	Mount Airy, PA	1850				
Mr. Dreer		West Philadelphia					
Mc. Daniels		Wilmington, DE					
Louis Dreka	Piano manufacturer	West Philadelphia	1854	3517 Haverford Avenue	N	Y	Fire Insurance Survey (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)
(Ferdinand J.) Dreer and Hayes; Goldsmith's Hall	Jewelers	Library Street, Philadelphia	1851	418-422 Sansom	N	Y	
Davis and Co.		Strawberry Street opposite	1851				

		Trotter's Alley, Philadelphia					
Mr. Freedly		Norristown, PA					
(David) Faust and (David) Winebrener	Hardware Merchants	Third Street below Cherry Street, Philadelphia	1849	124 N 3rd Street	Y	Y	Fire Insurance Survey (Athenaeum)
Fletcher and Bennet		Chestnut Street, Philadelphia					
James Gowen		Mount Airy, PA	1850	7301 Germanto wn Ave	Y	Y	
Gloucester Land Company		Gloucester, NJ					
John Gibson; Hotel Caledonia		Elk County, PA					
Anthony Groves		Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia					
James Gay		Kensington, Philadelphia					
Globe Saving Institute		Second Street above Noble Street, Philadlephia					
Mr. (Frederick) Graff		Northeast corner of Fifth and Market Streets, Philadelphia	1856	443 Market Street	N		
Marshal Hill		Wilmington, DE					
Charles Hepburn		Bath Springs, PA					
Mr. (Phineas) Hagar	Stove manufacturer	Germantown, Philadelphia	1856	149 W Walnut Lane	Y	Y	
Mr. (Phineas) Hagar	Stove manufacturer	Germantown, Philadelphia	1856	131 W Walnut Lane	Y	Y	
Mr. (Phineas) Hagar	Stove manufacturer	Germantown, Philadelphia	1856	155 W Walnut Lane	Y	Y	
Franklin Hughes		Pottsville, PA					
Charles Hepburn	Broker	40 South Third Street, Philadlephia		40 S 3rd Street	N	N	
William Hopkins		Germantown, Philadelphia					
Jesper Harding		Corner of Third and Carter Street, Philadelphia	1850	141 S 3rd Street	N	N	

Howell and Brother	Wallpaper manufacturers and hangers	Chestnut Street, Philadelphia	1851	604-606 Chestnut Street	N	Y	
John Horn	Druggist	Third and Brown Street, Philadelphia	1852	737 N 3rd Street	Y	N	
Robert Howell and Co.		Second Street and Gray's Alley, Philadelphia	1852	125 S 2nd Street	N	Y	
Mr. Hummel	Leather manufacturer	Germantown, Philadelphia	1858	6201 Wayne Avenue	N	Y	
Johnson and Ely		Southeast Corner of Third and Arch, Philadelphia	1852	61-63 N 3rd Street	Y	Y	
Richard Jones Jr.		Dock Street, Philadelphia					
Judge Kelley	Judge, Court of Common Pleas	West Philadelphia	1849	4057 Parrish Street	N	N	
George Kewn		Southwark, Philadelphia					
John Kiehl		Second Street above Chestnut, Philadelphia					
Mr. Kent		45 North Second Street, Philadelphia	1852	45 N 2nd Street	Y	Y	
William H. Kern		Philadelphia					
Kay's Estate		South Sixth Street, Philadelphia					
Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company		Locust Mountain, PA					
Mr. (William) Levis	Real estate broker	Germantown, Philadelphia	1856	125 E Walnut Lane	N	N	
Mr. (William) Levis	Real estate broker	Germantown, Philadelphia	1856	162 E Walnut Lane	Y	N	
Mr. Lockland		Kensington, Philadelphia					
William Long		Third Street below German Street, Philadelphia					
John Lyle		Harmony Court west of Third Street, Philadelphia					
Charles S. Lewars		Southeast corner of					

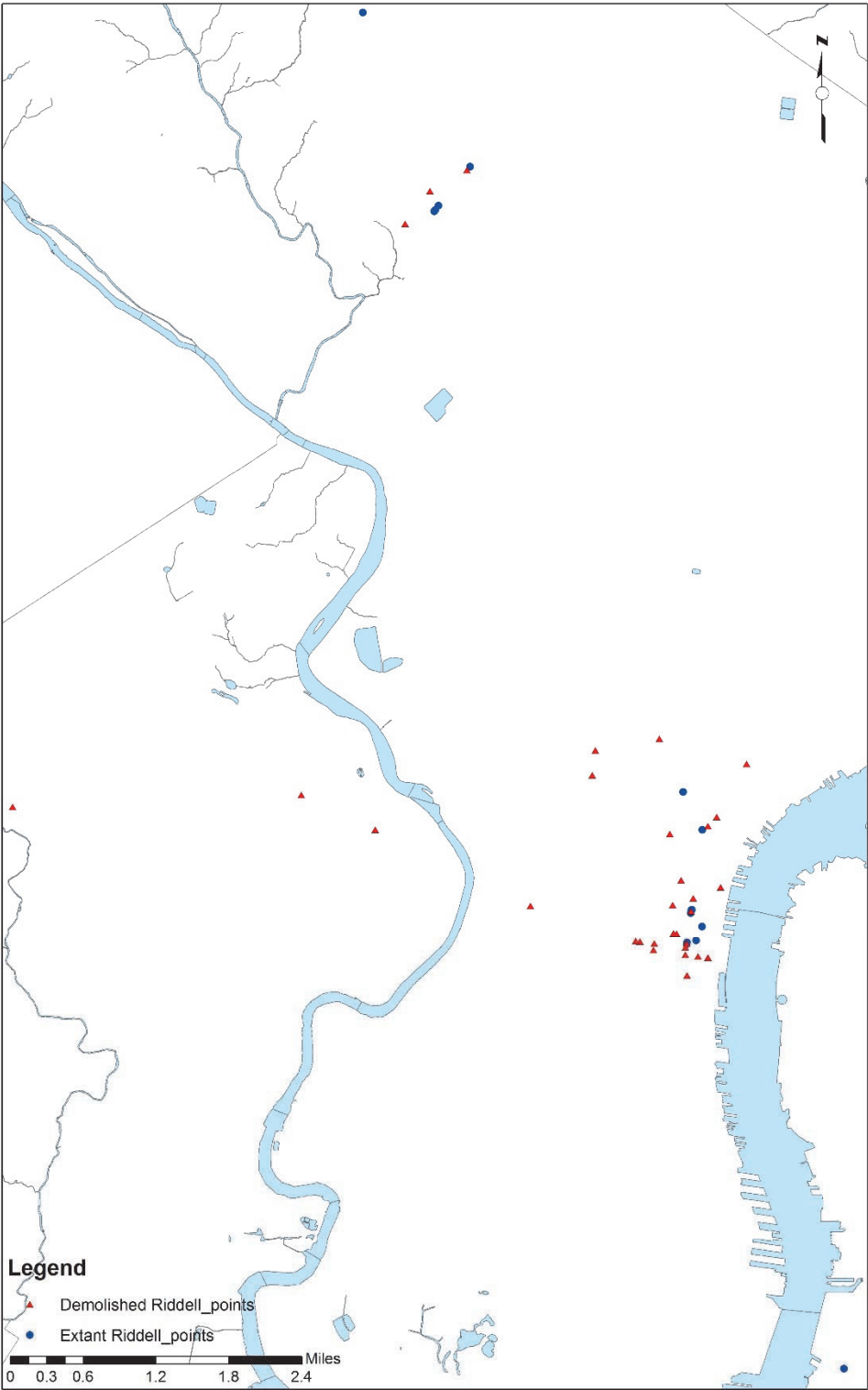
		Spring Garden and Ninth Streets, Philadelphia					
Charles Megargee		Rising Sun, Philadelphia					
Samuel Maupay	Nurseryman	Rising Sun, PA	1854				
Mr. Morris		Philadelphia					
Justice Mitchell		Willow Grove, PA					
Dr. F. Knox Morton	doctor	Hunting Park, Philadelphia					
Matthew T. Miller and Co.		South Third Street, Philadelphia					
Andrew Manderson and Bro.		Corner of Third and Harmony Street, Philadelphia	1851				
Mr. (William H.) Moore	Coach builder, varnisher, plumber	Fifth and Cherry Street, Philadelphia	1850	507 Cherry Street	N	Y	Fire insurance survey
Thomas J. Natt	Looking glasses	Chestnut Street, Philadelphia	1850	716 Chestnut Street	N	Y	
Mc. Neleigh		Kensington, Philadelphia					
Robert Newlin		Race Street below Third Street, Philadelphia					
George Nelis		Philadelphia					
William Neely		Atlantic City, NJ					
Thomas P. Potter		Fetter's Lane, Philadelphia					
Philip Price		Old York Road near Hunting Park, PA					
Michael Price		Frankford Road, Philadelphia					
Mr. Philips		Virginia					
William F. Potts		Lower Merion Plank Road, West Philadelphia					
Isaac Potts		Germantown, Philadelphia					
Pollock and Co	Dry goods	Strawberry Street between Market and Chestnut, Philadelphia	1856	11-13 Strawberry Street	Y	N	
Mr. Ralston		Norristown, PA					

George Richmond		Pottsville, PA					
Mr. (Bayard) Robinson		Broad Street, Philadelphia	1851	1535 N Broad Street	N		
Eugene Roussell		Chestnut Street, Philadelphia					
Mr. Robinson		Chestnut Street, Philadelphia					
Mayer Sternberger		Chelton Hills, PA					
Dr. Schools		Kensington, Philadelphia					
David. S. Siner	Brass Founder	Fifth Street above Poplar Street, Philadelphia	1849	924 N 5th Street	Y	Y	
Mr. (Thomas) Suteliffe (Sutcliffe)	Plumber	Second Street above Poplar Street, Philadelphia	1850	901 N 2nd Street	N	N	
Richard T. Shepherd		West Side of Fourth Street above Chestnut Street					
Mr. Sheaf		Fifth and Market Streets	1849	432-440 Market Street	N	Y	
Swain, Abel, and Simmons	Public Ledger	Chestnut Street above Third Street, Philadelphia	1848	300 Chestnut Street	N	Y	
Mr. Smith		Philadelphia					
Richard T. Shepherd		Atlantic City, NJ					
Salts and Hines		Southwark, Philadelphia					
Enoch Taylor		Germantown, Philadelphia					
David Taylor		West Philadelphia					
Vetterlin and Co.		Second Street near Callowhill Street, Philadelphia					
Mr. Van Rensselaer		NJ					
James D. Whetham		Old York Road near Hunting Park, Philadelphia					
Mr. Walker		Germantown, Philadelphia					
William S. Weil		Allentown, PA					

Mr. Weider		Allentown, PA					
Mr. Weaver		Weaverville, PA					
Charles Warnick		Franklin and Brown Streets, Philadelphia					
John Wilson		Kensington, Philadelphia					
William Wilson		Sixth Street below Market Street, Philadelphia					
J. A. Woodside		South Front Street, Philadelphia					
Edward Wright	Distiller	Front and New Streets, Philadelphia	1856	250 N Front	N		
James Yocum Sr.		Germantown, Philadelphia					
Baptist Church	North Baptist Church	East side of Eighth Street above Master Street, Philadelphia	1852	1435 N 8 th	N		
Zion's Church		Southeast corner of Schuylkill Third and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia					
St. Paul's Lutheran Church		Corner of St. John and Brown Street, Philadelphia	1848	220 Brown Street	N	Y	
Fourth Reformed Presbyterian Congregational Church		Eighteenth and Filbert Streets, Philadelphia	1850	1811 John F. Kennedy Boulevard	N	Y	
St. Paul's Church (colored)		Southwark, Philadelphia					
Presbyterian Church		Gloucester, NJ	1849	301 Monmouth Street, Gloucester City, NJ	Y	Y	
English Lutheran Church		Chambersburg, PA					
United States Engine Company		Wood Street between York Avenue and Crown Street, Philadelphia	1852	409 Wood Street	N	Y	
Harmony		South side of Arch Street	1852				

		below Eighth Street, Philadelphia					
Humane Hose Company		Wood Street below Third Street, Philadelphia					
Mechanic Engine Company		Ridge Road near Coates Street, Philadelphia					
Kensington Hose Company		Queen Street below Wood Street, Philadelphia					
Hibernia Engine Company		York Street below Third Street, Philadelphia	1852	281 Locust Street	N	Y	
Vigilant Hose Company		Southwark, Philadelphia					
Union Fire Company		Rising Sun, Philadelphia					
Additional Clients (Not Listed in Book)							
Robert Laughlin	Distiller	Frankford Road and Duke Street, Philadelphia	1849				

Appendix B – Map of Riddell’s Commissions in the Philadelphia Region



Bibliography

- Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia Passed in 1855-1856 in the Eightieth Year of the Commonwealth*. Richmond, VA: William F. Ritchie, 1856.
- "Advertisement 2." *Horticulturist: Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 22, no. 258 (December 1867): 6.
- Allibone, S. Austin. *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors Living and Deceased*. Vol. 2. London, UK: Trubner, 1870.
- Amundson, Jhennifer A. "The Context and Character of America's First Architectural Theory." Introduction to *The Lectures on Architecture, 1841-1853*, by Thomas Ustick Walter, 1-29. Edited by Jhennifer A. Amundson. Philadelphia, PA: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 2006.
- "The Annual Show of the Pennsylvania Society." *The Horticulturist and Journal Rural Art and Rural Taste* 1 (1847): 192-93.
- Bell, Herbert C., ed. *History of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania*. Chicago, IL: Brown, Runk, 1891.
- Benjamin, Asher. *The American Builder's Companion*. 6th ed. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1969. First published 1827 by R. P. & C. Williams.
- . *The Country Builder's Assistant*. 1797. Reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books.
- Biddle, Owen. *Biddle's Young Carpenter's Assistant*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006. Originally published as *The Young Carpenter's Assistant; or, A System of Architecture Adapted to the Style of Building in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Benjamin Johnson, 1805).
- Bluestone, Daniel. "Civic and Aesthetic Reserve: Ammi Burnham Young's 1850s Customhouse Designs." *Winterthur Portfolio* 25, no. 2/3 (Fall 1990): 131-56. Accessed April 24, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1181329>.
- Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- The Boston Traveler* (Boston, MA), April 20, 1867.
- Brenner, Walter C. *Old Rising Sun Village, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Walter C. Brenner, 1928.

Census Directory for 1811. Philadelphia, PA: Jane Aitken, 1811. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

Chiumenti, Ralph. "Cast Iron Architecture of Philadelphia's Old City." Unpublished typescript, August 1975.

Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia, 1862-1902. Philadelphia, PA: Union League of Philadelphia, 1902.

City of Philadelphia Philadelphia Historical Commission. *Old City Historic District*. By Powers & Company, Inc. Research report no. 80-522. Philadelphia, PA: n.p., 2003. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.phila.gov/historical/PDF/Old%20City%20Nomination.pdf>.

Cohen, Jeffrey A. "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 2 (June 1994): 139-83. Accessed February 7, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/990890>.

Coolidge, Harold N., Jr. Introduction to *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations and Floor Plans for 56 Residences and Other Structures by Samuel Sloan*, by Samuel Sloan. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1980. Originally published as *The Model Architect* (Philadelphia, PA: E. S. Jones, 1852).

———. *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia, 1815-1884*. New York, NY: Ishi Press, 2010. First published 1986 by University of Pennsylvania Press.

Costa, Isaac, comp. *Gospill's Philadelphia City Directory for 1871*. Philadelphia, PA: James Gospill, 1871.

Death Certificate for James Riddell. March 1846. Reel: 179. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Church and Town Records, 1708-1985. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.ancestry.com>.

"Deed between David E. Brady and Enoch Taylor." May 11, 1853. Deed Book TH No. 143 Page 284. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between Frederick R. Backus and Frederick S. Kimball." August 8, 1859. Deed Book ADB No. 75 Page 371. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between John Pastorious and Enoch Taylor." July 27, 1853. Deed Book TH No. 169 Page 163. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between Phineas F. Hagar and Eliza M. Needles." November 17, 1868. Deed Book JTO No. 187 Page 123. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between Phineas F. Hagar and Frederick R. Backus." August 2, 1858. Deed Book ADB No. 28 Page 242. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between William Levis and Sarah K. Shoenberger." October 29, 1856. Deed Book RDW No. 100 Page 269. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

"Deed between William Levis and Thomas A. Gummy." October 18, 1856. Deed Book RDW No. 104 Page 85. Philadelphia City Archives. Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

Delaware River Greenway Partnership. "Borough of Riverton." Delaware River Heritage Trail. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.delrivgreenway.org/heritagetrail/Borough-of-Riverton.html>.

Desilver's Philadelphia City Directory and Stranger's Guide, 1830. Philadelphia, PA: Robert Desilver, 1830. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

DeSilver's Philadelphia Directory and Stranger's Guide for 1835 & 36. Philadelphia, PA: Robert Desilver, 1835. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

Domosh, Mona. "Creating New York's Nineteenth-Century Retail District." In *American Architectural History: A Contemporary Reader*, edited by Keith Eggener. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.

Downing, Andrew Jackson. *The Architecture of Country Houses*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1969. First published 1850 by D. Appleton & Company.

———. *Victorian Cottage Residences*. Dover Architectural Series. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1981. Originally published as *Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and the Gardens and Grounds Adapted to North America* (New York, NY: John Wiley and Son, 1873).

Dreer & Hayes, refiners & bullion dealers. Image. 1856. Volume 78, Pages 35-36. Jane Campbell Scrapbooks. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

1860 United States Census. 1860. Roll: M653_1165; Page: 201; Image: 205. National Archives, Washington, DC.

1870 Federal Census. 1970. M593. National Archives. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.ancestry.com>.

The Evening Telegraph (Philadelphia, PA), April 20, 1867.

Fire Insurance Survey No. S07746-001A for David Faust and David Winebrenner. 1849. Policy No. S07746-001A. The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire. The Philadelphia Contributionship Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

Fisher, Sidney George. *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Civil War Diary of Sidney George Fisher*. Edited by Jonathan White. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2007.

Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for Bayard Robinson. April 26, 1851. Policy Book 105 Policy 13566. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for James and Andrew Manderson. 1851. Policy Book 115 Policy 14806. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for James Gay. June 25, 1855. Policy 22794. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for Jesper Harding. 1850. Policy Book 95 Book 12135. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for John M. Bickel. September 16, 1854. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys, Policy Book 157, Policy 21256. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

- Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for Louis Dreka. March 5, 1856. Policy 23899.
Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA.
- Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for Phineas F. Hagar. 1854. Policy 20110. Franklin
Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William D. Kelley. December 7, 1849. Policy
11043. Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA.
- Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William Levis. April 29, 1856. Policy 24095.
Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA.
- Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for William Levis. April 29, 1856. Policy 24096.
Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys. Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA.
- Freedley, Edwin Troxell. *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures*. Applewood's American
Cities Series. Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books. First published 1859 by
Edward Young.
- Gayle, Margot, and Carol Gayle. *Cast-Iron Architecture in America: The Significance of
John Bogardus*. New York, NY: Norton & Company, 1998.
- Gelernter, Mark. *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and
Technological Context*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999.
- Goldsmiths' Hall on Library St., W from 130 S 4th St.-123 S 5th. Image. 1866. Volume
78, Pages 35-36. Jane Campbell Scrapbooks. Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Gowans, Alan. *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and
Cultural Expression*. New York, NY: IconEditions, 1993.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*. New
York, NY: Vintage Books, 2003.
- Holst, Nancy A. "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown,
Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." PhD diss., University of
Delaware, 2008.

- Ingham, John N. "Harding Jesper, and William Harding." In *H-M*, 544-46. Vol. 2 of *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Jaffee, David. *A New Nation of Goods: The Material Culture of Early America*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- John Riddell Death Certificate. June 25, 1873. 004010164. Pennsylvania, Philadelphia City Death Certificates, 1803-1915. Philadelphia City Archives and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. Accessed April 30, 2015. <https://familysearch.org/>.
- John Riddell Directory Listings. Unpublished manuscript, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, n.d.
- John Riddell Project List. Unpublished typescript, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, n.d.
- Johnson, J. Stewart. "Introduction to the Dover Edition." Introduction to *The Architecture of Country Houses*, by Andrew Jackson Downing, v-xv. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1969. First published 1850 by D. Appleton & Company.
- Journal of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia*, 1883.
- "Kensington." In *WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD—A Selective Guide to the Industrial Archeology of Philadelphia*, edited by John R. Bowie. Philadelphia, PA: Oliver Evans Press, 1990. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.workshopoftheworld.com/index.html>.
- Lee, Antoinette J. "Cast Iron Architecture." *The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*. Last modified 2015. Accessed May 8, 2015. <http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/cast-iron-architecture/>.
- Lewis, Michael J. "The First Design for Fairmount Park." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* CXXX, no. 3 (July 2006): 283-97.
- "Literary Notices." *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* 75, no. 445 (July 1867): 81.
- Llewellyn, Louisa W. *First Settlement on the Delaware River, a History of Gloucester City, New Jersey*. Gloucester City, NJ: Louisa W. Llewellyn, John Corcoran, and

William Gartland, 1976. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.gcpl.us/firstsettlementebook.html>.

Lloyd, Mark F. "Houston Family." Unpublished manuscript, November 2, 1977.

———. Interview by the author. University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA. October 27, 2014.

———. "Tulpehocken Street." Speech, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA, April 15, 2015.

"Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company." *The Mining Magazine Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c.* 3 (Summer/Fall 1854): 210-14.

Magaziner, Henry Jonas. *The Golden Age of Ironwork*. Illustrated by Robert D. Golding. N.p.: Henry Jonas Magaziner, 2000.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1860. Philadelphia, PA: E. C. and J. Biddle, 1860.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1858. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1858.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1867. Philadelphia, PA: A. McElroy, 1867.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1845. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1845. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1844. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. Biddle, 1844.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1856. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1856.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1857. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1857.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1848. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1848.

Mc'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1855. Philadelphia, PA: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1855.

- A. M'Elroy's *Philadelphia Directory, for 1839*. Philadelphia, PA: A. M'Elroy, 1839.
Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.
- M'Elroy's *Philadelphia Directory for 1842*. Philadelphia, PA: Orrin Rogers, 1842.
Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.
- A. M'Elroy's *Philadelphia Directory for 1840*. Philadelphia, PA: Isaac Ashmead & Co., 1840. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.philageohistory.org/geohistory/>.
- A. M'Elroy's *Philadelphia Directory for 1837*. Philadelphia, PA: A. M'Elroy, 1837.
- M. Grubel. "The Building of West Philadelphia: Emergence of the Suburb, the 1850s." West Philadelphia Community History Center. Accessed September 1, 2014. <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/grubel/23develop1.html>.
- Miller, Cathleen, Wilhelm Echevarria, and Natalie Whitted, comps. *Collection #2050 Chew Family Papers 1659-1986*. N.p.: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2009.
- Mining Magazine: Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c 4* (Summer/Fall 1855).
- Mining Magazine: Devoted to Mines, Mining Operations, Metallurgy, &c, &c 2* (Winter/Spring 1854).
- "Mortuary Record, 1881." *Star Almanac Compiled Expressly for the New York Star*, 1882.
- Moss, Roger W. "Riddell, John (c. 1814-1873)." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. Accessed September 1, 2014. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/100383.
- Moss, Roger W., and Sandra L. Tatman. "Sloan, Samuel (1815-1884)." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. Accessed September 1, 2014. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/21518.
- NY Metropolitan Chapter of the Victorian Society in America. "Cast Iron History." Endangered Cast-Iron Buildings in NYC. Accessed May 8, 2015. <http://www.castironnyc.org/history.htm>.
- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. *The Literary History of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: George W. Jacobs, 1906.
- "Obituary." *Builder and Wood Worker for 1882* XVIII (1882): 109.

"Odd Plates." *The Metal Worker* 50 (Summer/Fall 1899).

"Old Church Now a Garage." August 1, 1907. Volume 15, Page 39. Jane Campbell Scapbooks. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

O'Neill, Charles. Speech presented at Funeral of William D. Kelley, Washington, DC, January 11, 1890. In *Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of William D. Kelley (A Representative of Pennsylvania)*, 11-21. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890.

Parent, Gabriel, and Adrienne Parent. *Images of America: Gloucester City*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.

Passenger List for the Raleigh. May 24, 1808. Pennsylvania, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1800-1963. National Archives, Washington, DC. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.ancestry.com>.

Passenger List for the St. George. M237, rolls 1-95. Registers of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919. National Archives, Washington, DC. Accessed April 30, 2015. <https://familysearch.org/>.

Philadelphia Contributionship Fire Insurance Survey for Edward Bacon and Robert Pollock. 1856. S09835. Cancelled Fire Insurance Surveys. Philadelphia Contributionship Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), December 27, 1862.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), December 29, 1862.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), February 15, 1848.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), December 15, 1848.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), June 28, 1873.

The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA). "Local Items." January 28, 1850.

The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society Accounts. 1838. Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Prowell, George R. *The History of Camden County, New Jersey*. Philadelphia, PA: L. J. Richards, 1886.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), March 26, 1845. Accessed April 30, 2015.
<http://www.newspapers.com>.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), April 8, 1845.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), April 14, 1845.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), April 15, 1845.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), October 26, 1846.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), October 28, 1846.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), September 13, 1847.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), August 21, 1847.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), December 15, 1848.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), April 26, 1854.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), April 16, 1852.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), March 4, 1847.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), July 14, 1849.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), July 1, 1852.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA), September 15, 1860.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "Another Iron Store." May 27, 1854.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "Another Large Mansion." July 10, 1854.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "The Construction of Stairways." November 28, 1851.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "Costly Improvements." June 24, 1854.

The Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "Further Improvement Professed." January 28, 1850.

Public Ledger (Philadelphia, PA). "Improvements." January 19, 1856.

- The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA). "Improvements." July 1, 1852.
- The Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA). "More Improvements." April 17, 1849, 2.
- Record of Burials in Monument Cemetery. Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ph.
- Register of the Second Presbyterian Church of Germantown Vol. 1. V M146 G311s+. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.
- Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society of Pennsylvania, for Visiting the Nurseries and Gardens in the Vicinity of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: William F. Geddes, 1831.
- Riddell, John. *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences*. Philadelphia, PA: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1861.
- . *Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences: Illustrated by Twenty-two Colored Drawings of Front Elevations and Forty-four Plates of Ground Plans*. 1861. Reprint, Philadelphia, PA: T. B. Peterson, 1867. Microfilm.
- . "Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture." 1853. Bill Hutchison.
- Riddell, Robert. *The Artisan*. Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1879.
- . *The Carpenter and Joiner, Stair Builder and Hand-Railer*. Edinburgh, UK: William Mackenzie, 1871.
- . *Lessons on Hand-Railing for Learners*. Philadelphia, PA: Lessons on Hand Railing for Beginners, 1876.
- . *Mechanics' Geometry*. Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1874.
- . *The Modern Carpenter and Builder: New and Original Methods for Every Cut in Carpentry, Joinery, and Hand-railing*. Philadelphia, PA: H. Challen, 1867.
- . *The Scientific Stair-Builder*. Philadelphia, PA: W. S. Young, 1854.
- Schade, Rachel Simmons. *Philadelphia Row House Manual*. N.p.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2003.

Scharf, J. Thomas, and Thompson Westcott. *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*. Vol. 3. Philadelphia, PA: L. H. Everts & Company, 1884.

"Seventh Census of the United States." 1850. Roll: M432_810; Page: 210B; Image: 425. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, DC.

Shoe and Leather Reporter 49 (Spring/Summer 1890).

"Short Runs." *Progressive Age - Gas, Electricity, Water* XVII, no. 2 (January 16, 1899).

Sloan, Samuel. *Sloan's Constructive Architecture: A Guide to the Practical Builder and Mechanic*. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1859.

———. *Sloan's Victorian Buildings: Illustrations and Floor Plans for 56 Residences and Other Structures*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1980. Originally published 1851 as *The Model Architect*.

Smedley, Samuel L. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*. Map. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1862.

"Tenth Census of the United States." 1880. Roll: 1176; Family History Film: 1255176; Page: 252D; Enumeration District: 309; Image: 0509. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, DC. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.ancestry.com>.

Thomas, George E. "Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia between 1840 and 1920." In *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, edited by William W. Cutler, III and Howard Gillette, Jr., 85-123. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.

The Times (Philadelphia, PA). "The Rising Sun Will Wrangle." May 25, 1877.

The Times (Philadelphia, PA). "The Third Riddell Will Trail Ended." January 21, 1878.

The Times (Philadelphia, PA). "A Will Wrangle." April 20, 1877.

University of Rochester Libraries. "Davis, Alexander Jackson." University of Rochester Libraries. Accessed May 9, 2015. <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=3477>.

- Upton, Dell. "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860." *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1984): 107-50.
- Vaux, Calvert. *Villas and Cottages: A Series of Designs*. Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books. First published 1872 by Harper and Brothers.
- Walter, Thomas U. *The Lectures on Architecture, 1841-1853*. Edited by Jhennifer A. Amundson. Philadelphia, PA: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 2006.
- Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- . *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Webster, Richard. *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Building Survey*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1976.
- White, William P., D.D., and William H. Scott, eds. *The Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1895.
- Woods, Mary N. *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.
- Wunsch, Aaron. "Parceling the Picturesque: 'Rural' Cemeteries and Urban Context." PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2009.

Index

A

American Institution of Architects
AIA, 35
architect, ix, 16, 19, 31, 32, 35, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46,
47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 56, 63, 68, 83, 84, 89, 93, 95, 96,
126, 128, 129, 133, 135, 145, 146, 147, 152, 155,
168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176, 182, 188, 190, 194,
196, 197, 201, 202, 204, 217, 218
Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences,
ii, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, 62, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 105, 110,
111, 112, 114, 115, 123, 156, 157, 160, 161, 164,
165, 205, 206, 241
artisan, 23, 38, 47, 95, 174, 200, 201, 204, 217
Asher Benjamin, 12, 31, 124, 125, 170, 177, 197,
198, 199, 202

C

carpenter, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 78, 92, 136, 148, 152,
155, 191
cast iron, 14, 57, 60, 62, 73, 88, 182, 187, 188, 218
commercial, 15, 16, 23, 38, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61,
62, 63, 65, 66, 79, 87, 91, 131, 137, 148, 172, 173,
175, 178, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 197, 204,
218
Constructive Architecture, 203, 242
cottage, 26, 29, 76, 77, 78, 96, 137, 138, 139, 142,
171, 173, 191
craftsmen, 1, 15, 32, 34, 135, 136, 168, 170, 200

D

Davis
Alexander Jackson, 5, 24, 30, 31, 35, 49, 88, 127,
128, 131, 132, 136, 144, 145, 148, 149, 154,
170, 175, 222, 243
Downing
Andrew Jackson, 5, 6, 12, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,
35, 63, 65, 66, 79, 83, 87, 88, 89, 128, 131, 132,
133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143,
145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154, 168, 171,
172, 176, 177, 181, 183, 185, 190, 191, 192,
202, 217, 218, 233, 236
downtown, 55, 56, 79, 137

F

Franklin Institute, 35, 43, 47, 48, 50, 128, 137, 147

G

Germantown, ii, iii, vi, 7, 10, 20, 70, 71, 78, 84, 85,
90, 95, 96, 97, 109, 152, 190, 191, 221, 222, 223,
224, 225, 226, 227, 236, 241
Gloucester, v, 52, 75, 76, 77, 100, 106, 222, 228, 237,
239
Gothic Revival, 16, 55, 61, 63, 82, 145, 183, 184, 185,
186, 189
Greek Revival, 16, 25, 55, 57, 58, 60, 63, 72, 154,
172, 183, 184, 185, 189, 194, 195

H

Haviland, 43, 46, 178
Hayden
Dolores, 4, 5, 6, 13, 17, 19, 235
Holst
Nancy, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 45, 64, 68, 77, 78, 79, 82,
84, 151, 152, 153, 172, 182, 185, 188, 189, 191,
193, 236

I

individualization, 190
industrialization, 2, 14, 22, 36, 46, 80, 136, 173, 178,
204
Industrialization, ix, 14
Italianate, 55, 57, 63

L

Latrobe
Benjamin Henry, 11, 32, 33, 34, 48, 87, 126, 135,
168, 170, 204
Llewellyn Park, 6, 19

M

mechanic, 38, 45, 92, 94, 95, 125, 155, 200, 203, 217
middle class
middle-class, 1, 2, 3, 18, 21, 36, 37, 38, 64, 79, 173,
179, 180, 183, 189, 217

N

Notman

John, **ix, 80, 90, 91, 92, 154, 191, 192, 193, 215, 218**

O

Owen Biddle, **197, 199, 202**

P

pattern books, **1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 47, 64, 68, 78, 89, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147, 154, 174, 176, 177, 197, 202, 217, 218**

Philadelphia Inquirer, **52, 53, 61, 67, 69, 80, 82, 97, 239, 240**

picturesque, **6, 24, 151, 154, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188**

Presbyterian, **v, 52, 53, 75, 100, 227, 228, 241, 244**

professionalization

professional, **1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 31, 123, 124, 135, 190, 219**

Public Ledger, **42, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 71, 72, 73, 76, 83, 92, 93, 96, 97, 147, 189, 193, 202, 226, 240, 241**

R

Robert Riddell

Robert, **39, 41, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205**

rural, **17, 18, 30, 66, 79, 141, 143, 150, 173, 179, 189, 191, 217**

Rural Residences, **30, 127, 132, 148**

S

Sloan

Samuel, **vi, vii, 31, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 63, 65, 66, 68, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 87, 88, 89, 93, 117,**

119, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 152, 154, 155, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 232, 238, 242, See

Stephen Decatur Button, **90**

Strickland

William, **43, 46, 48, 49, 137, 170**

suburbanization

suburban, **3, 4, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20, 79**

T

taste, **11, 27, 29, 31, 63, 123, 127, 128, 129, 144, 147, 150, 168, 175, 176**

The American Builders' Companion, **199**

The Model Architect, **vi, vii, viii, 68, 88, 93, 117, 119, 130, 131, 132, 133, 138, 140, 142, 143, 145, 148, 158, 159, 162, 166, 202, 203, 232, 242**

U

Upton

Dell, **8, 9, 10, 11, 47, 125, 126, 127, 134, 150, 178, 182, 197, 243**

V

villa, **1, 26, 27, 28, 29, 51, 84, 137, 138, 139, 171, 173, 191**

W

Walter

Thomas ustick, **16, 31, 43, 50, 128, 134, 137, 168, 170, 174, 231**

Woods

Mary, **11, 12, 31, 34, 41, 46, 49, 88, 92, 124, 125, 127, 128, 132, 136, 169, 244**

Y

Young Carpenter's Assistant, **197, 199**