University of Pennsylvania
ScholarlyCommons

Theses (Historic Preservation) | Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

1-1-2008

Architecture Tells the Story: G. Edwin Brumbaugh and His Contributions to the Field of Restoration Architecture

Emily Lynn Wolf
University of Pennsylvania

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 2008.
Advisor: John D. Milner

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/117
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.

Architecture Tells the Story: G. Edwin Brumbaugh and His Contributions to the Field of Restoration Architecture

Abstract
This thesis examines the career of restoration architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh in order to map the evolution of his ideologies, methodology, and professional practice, and to determine the degree to which his career affected the professionalization of restoration architecture during the twentieth century. Working primarily in Philadelphia and the surrounding area, Brumbaugh was well known among those interested in early American architecture and was widely regarded as one of the leading practitioners in the Mid-Atlantic states, in addition to being nationally recognized for his expertise and accomplishments.

Brumbaugh was deeply interested in the vernacular architecture of southeastern Pennsylvania, specifically that of the Pennsylvania Germans. His spiritual connection to seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture, along with his insistence upon accurate and careful restoration based in sound historical, archaeological, and architectural investigations set him apart from his contemporaries. His independent practice, active for much of the twentieth century, was prolific, completing hundreds of public and private restorations. Brumbaugh also designed residential commissions in the colonial revival, and remained a proponent of this style for the length of his career.

His career is discussed using three case studies: Ephrata Cloister, the William Brinton 1704 House, and Germantown Market Square.

Comments
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 2008.
Advisor: John D. Milner

This thesis or dissertation is available at ScholarlyCommons: http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/117

ARCHITECTURE TELLS THE STORY:
G. EDWIN BRUMBAUGH AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD OF RESTORATION ARCHITECTURE

Emily Lynn Wolf

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

2008

_____
Advisor
John D. Milner
Adjunct Professor of Architecture

_____
Program Chair
Frank G. Matero
Professor of Architecture

TO MY FAMILY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, John Milner, for inspiring this project from the beginning, and for his unwavering support and expertise. I would also like to thank my reader, Jeff Groff, Director of Public Programs at Winterthur, for his thoughtful comments and insights.

I extend thanks to Paul Heberling, Earl Kaylor, and Anita Schorsch for their willingness to speak to me in regards to G. Edwin Brumbaugh's life and career.

Finally, I would like to thank the staff of the Chester County Historical Society, Pennsylvania State Archives, and Winterthur Library for their invaluable assistance in my research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 2

CHAPTER 1 – BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND AND EARLY CAREER 10

CHAPTER 2 – PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION IN THE 1920S AND 1930S 17

CHAPTER 3 – BRUMBAUGH, THE COLONIAL REVIVAL, AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES 26

CHAPTER 4 – THE RESTORATION OF EPHRATA CLOISTER 35

CHAPTER 5 – THE RESTORATION OF THE WILLIAM BRINTON 1704 HOUSE 66

CHAPTER 6 – LATER CAREER: GERMANTOWN SQUARE AND OTHER PROJECTS 84

CONCLUSION 97

BIBLIOGRAPHY 100

APPENDICES:
- PROJECT LIST 106
- REVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE 121

INDEX 129

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 1
(G. Edwin Brumbaugh at Pottsgrove Manor, Pottstown, Pennsylvania)

FIGURE 2 60
(The Saal at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of front.)

FIGURE 3 61
(The Saal at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of rear.)

FIGURE 4 62
(The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of front.)

FIGURE 5 63
(The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of rear.)

FIGURE 6 64
(The Saal and Saron at Ephrata Cloister, post-restoration. View of front.)

FIGURE 7 65
(The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, post-restoration. View of rear.)

FIGURE 8 79
(The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration.)

FIGURE 9 80
(The Brinton 1704 House, c.1870, with nineteenth century additions.)

FIGURE 10 81
(The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Front door and leaded glass transom.)

FIGURE 11 82
(The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Detail of leaded glass casement window.)

FIGURE 12 83
(The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Interior view of basement kitchen.)

FIGURE 13 94
(Plan for the restoration of Germantown Market Square, drawing by Brumbaugh.)

FIGURE 14 95
(Germantown Market Square in the mid-1880s.)

FIGURE 15 96
(Germantown's Market Square Presbyterian Church.)

FIGURE 1 – G. Edwin Brumbaugh at Pottsgrove Manor, Pottstown, Pennsylvania. (Image: G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library)

"Architecture is not just timber, stone, and brick. It is graphic history; sometimes more accurate than the written page. Buildings, observed in sequence, and explained, are the story of America."

-G. Edwin Brumbaugh, from a talk given April 23, 1981

INTRODUCTION

In July of 1950, *The Magazine Antiques* devoted a special issue to the particular issues and challenges associated with the restoration of historic structures, a subject not often discussed in the popular press, but one in which the Americans public had become increasingly interested during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Between 1920 and 1950, a variety of preservation-related movements and events, such as the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the chartering of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949, had significantly elevated the profile of historic preservation and restoration architecture, raising both public and private awareness of the importance of correct and careful restoration practice in preserving the physical fabric and history of early America.[1]

Indeed, the historic preservation movement was growing so rapidly in popularity with the American public that the magazine deemed it "almost a fad."[2] The then-editor of *Antiques*, Alice Winchester, selected restoration architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh to be a contributing writer to their special restoration issue, stressing his unmatched expertise as an independent restoration architect with, at that point, nearly thirty years of experience

[1] Charles Bridgham Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1.
[2] "Editorial," *Antiques* 58 (July 1950): 27.

in restoring some of Pennsylvania's best-known historic sites and buildings.[3] Having worked on such notable projects as Ephrata Cloister, Independence Hall, Gloria Dei, and the Daniel Boone Homestead, Brumbaugh played an integral role in the preservation of countless historic structures in Pennsylvania and beyond.

Born in 1890 and educated at the University of Pennsylvania, George Edwin Brumbaugh was, by 1950, a well-established professional with a successful restoration practice based in Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania. He was well known for his hands-on, design/build approach in which historic structures were stripped down to their very earliest layers of physical fabric.[4] Although not associated with a particular historic preservation organization (despite a lengthy period during which he collaborated with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission), his vast knowledge of historic architecture and traditional building techniques, acquired through extensive research and careful study of architectural precedent, and the conscientious manner in which he undertook his restoration projects had worked to establish him as a well-respected authority in the still-developing field.

Brumbaugh's article for *Antiques*, the first in a group of four pieces outlining correct restoration practice united under the title "A Symposium on Historic Restoration," provided the only perspective included in the magazine about the actual steps that must

---

[3] This seems a fitting point to differentiate between preservation and restoration, terms that are often used interchangeably. According to Charles Bridgham Hosmer, "the words 'preservation' and 'restoration' have been used many times with reference to the treatment of old buildings... 'Preservation' means the act of retaining all or any part of a structure, even if it is moved from its original location. 'Restoration' refers to any treatment given to a building after the decision has been made to preserve it. Under the general heading of 'restoration' one can find a great variety of methods, ranging all the way from preserving a structure intact to reconstruction of some historic monument that has disappeared." From *Presence of the Past: a History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* (New York: Putnam, 1965), 22.

[4] Ann L. Strong and George E. Thomas, *The Book of the School: 100 Years* (Philadelphia: Gradate School of Fine Arts, 1990), 81.

be taken in order to properly carry out the restoration of an historic site or structure. He describes this process clearly and succinctly, dividing it into four distinct steps:

> 1. **Research** – Historical research should include a title search, an investigation of the background of people associated with the site, and a critical appraisal of the "historical record of events bearing upon the construction under consideration."[5]
>
> 2. **Investigation of the Site** – Brumbaugh deems this step "the most important of all."[6] Here, it is imperative that layers of architectural fabric be removed slowly and carefully, with field notes made and photographs taken in order to document findings.
>
> 3. **Create a History of the Site** – Historical and documentary research should be combined in order to create a relatively complete history for the site; included in this step is the creation of historical and building chronologies.
>
> 4. **Prepare Restoration Drawings –** Drawings should be based on both historical research and architectural findings. Clients and architects alike must understand that drawings and plans will and should evolve over time as new architectural and historical discoveries are made.

To the modern practitioner or student of restoration architecture, these simple steps must seem obvious. However, the straightforward process outlined by Brumbaugh in his brief article proved to be a critical step in communicating, to both the public and the professional, the level of research, in-depth investigation, and involved planning required to complete a careful and accurate restoration. His ability to transparently outline the basic process of restoration, which often proved complex in practice, is a testament to his skill as a practicing restoration architect and leader in his field. Brumbaugh made it his business to improve the quality of historical restorations being undertaken in the United States and to educate the public about the profound importance

---

[5] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "The Independent Architect," *Antiques* 58 (July 1950): 29.
[6] Ibid.

of such projects by speaking at conferences, giving lectures to local preservation organizations and historical societies, serving as an officer in the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and writing articles and reviews in a variety of publications.[7]

The other contributors to the *The Magazine Antiques*' "Symposium on Principles of Historic Restoration," all of whom were well-respected professionals associated with widely known organizations – Colonial Williamsburg, the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and the National Park Service – were not able to provide the same kind of insight and straightforward advice that Brumbaugh could.[8] His clear vision of the restoration process as outlined here, in a popular publication directed towards the collector and the amateur enthusiast rather than the professional practitioner, belies the obsessively detail-driven, spiritual complexity of his actual restoration practice.

With a career that spanned nearly seventy years, Brumbaugh's philosophy and methodology of restoration set a precedent for later practitioners, and the documentation and analysis of his career provides valuable insight into the evolution of preservation-related professions in the United States over the course of the twentieth century. Although his keen interest in buildings, their components, and historic construction methods was at the core of his restoration practice, Brumbaugh was also driven by a very real desire to preserve and present historic structures to the public so that they might learn from the past.

---

[7] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, FAIA Nomination.

[8] The other contributors were Newton B. Drury, representing the National Park Service; S.P. Moorehead, representing Colonial Williamsburg; and Felicia Dorothy Kingsbury, representing the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Brumbaugh was notable in his belief that buildings were living, breathing beings – beings that could tell the story of the past in a way that no history book, lesson, or guided tour could. He lived and breathed early American architecture, and was particularly interested in structures built by the Pennsylvania Germans, some of the region's earliest settlers; Brumbaugh's Pennsylvania German heritage also contributed to his interest in their colonial vernacular. Indeed, Brumbaugh's fascination with this architecture was so strong that Charles E. Peterson, National Park Service architect and founder of the Historic American Buildings Survey, jokingly referred to him as "Mr. Pennsylvania German." Brumbaugh's interest in the interpretive and didactic power of historic buildings set him apart from many of his contemporaries, architects like Walter Durham, Thomas Waterman, Wallace and Warner, and R. Brognard Okie, whose interest in the aesthetic principles and opportunities of the colonial revival often shifted the significance of the restored house from its seventeenth or eighteenth century roots to the elevated importance of the modern-day architect.

Although Brumbaugh worked in both restoration architecture and in new construction, designing mainly in the colonial revival style on residential projects in and around Philadelphia, he is most well known today for his outstanding contribution to the field of restoration architecture. His restoration work was meticulous, informed by historical, documentary, and archaeological research. It is a testament to his skill as a practitioner that his simple yet comprehensive method of architectural investigations and restoration remains practical and pertinent. He undoubtedly played a role in the evolution of restoration architecture as a professional discipline through his careful practice and extensive promotion of the importance of preserving America's earliest architecture. We

must not forget that at the outset of Brumbaugh's career, in the 1910s and 1920s, restoration architecture was a relatively untapped profession; many of his predecessors practiced restoration as a hobby, not as a career, and numerous structures had been harmed as a result of poorly planned, uninformed restoration projects.

The ideology that informed Brumbaugh's restoration work is also quite notable, and again sets him apart from his contemporaries. He was a staunch proponent of the notion that historic buildings had a palpable spirit, and that the restorer must possess a sense of spirituality in order to connect with and fully understand a structure. Brumbaugh felt that "the really important essential to an understanding of... architecture is a glimpse, however slight, of the spirit back of the buildings. In this way only can their significance and historical importance be appreciated."[9] His notion of spirituality encompassed both the "feeling" of a building and its physical components. In his eyes, the functional, the beautiful, and the spiritual were, in architecture, one and the same.[10]

Despite his importance as an early and leading restoration architect, few have written about G. Edwin Brumbaugh, and very few people are familiar with the extensive scope of his restoration work. His importance as a restoration architect is only beginning to be recognized, and his numerous accomplishments unfortunately remain relatively unrecognized, even within the Philadelphia area's architectural community. No one has yet to attempt a complete analysis of the evolution of his career and the manner in which he helped to establish restoration architecture as a professional discipline. This aim of this thesis is to document Brumbaugh's career in order to map the evolution of his

---

[9] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1933), 4.
[10] Anita Schorsch, interview with the author, October 4, 2007.

ideologies, methodologies, and professional practice, and to examine the degree to which his career influenced the professionalization of restoration architecture during the twentieth century.

For purposes of analysis, I have divided Brumbaugh's restoration career into three periods, and have selected a case study for each in order to expand upon his restoration methodology. Each of these case studies also represents a different category of commission, in order to illuminate the different types of restoration projects and clients that Brumbaugh chose to work with.

In looking at his early career, I have selected Ephrata Cloister as the case study, not only because it represents a project in which Brumbaugh worked closely with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's Historical and Museum Commission, but also because he called it one of his career's most significant. The restoration undertaken at Ephrata, which began in 1941, was lengthy and incredibly detail driven, and ended with Brumbaugh's dismissal; the State was dissatisfied with the amount of time that Brumbaugh and his team required in order to complete the project. An in-depth look at the Ephrata restoration reveals many details about Brumbaugh's commitment to a correct and accurate restoration, and provides much insight into the formulation and implementation of his restoration methodology.

In looking at his middle career, I have selected the restoration of the Brinton 1704 House, located in Dilworthtown, Pennsylvania, to serve as a case study; Brumbaugh worked on this project between 1954 and 1958. A discussion of Brumbaugh's work at this site provides revealing insight into how he worked with museums and private clients, balancing their desires and concerns for the project with the need to complete a

historically accurate restoration. His clients here were the Chester County Historical Society and the Brinton Family Association, both of which brought specific expectations to the project, which Brumbaugh had to attempt to incorporate into the completed restoration.

The third phase of Brumbaugh's career will be discussed using his Germantown Market Square Renewal Project of 1971. Although not completed, the proposal for this project provides great insight into Brumbaugh's views and philosophies of restoration and historic preservation near the end of his lengthy career. Additionally, I will use Brumbaugh's unpublished manuscript, written during the late 1970s and early 1980s about restoration principles and early American architecture, as a significant source of information from which to examine the evolution of his professional practice at the culmination of his career.

This thesis attempts to look broadly at the span of Brumbaugh's career in order to more fully analyze the evolution of his beliefs and practices in shaping the larger field of restoration architecture. His numerous contributions to the field deserve far greater recognition, and it is my hope that adding to the body of literature related to G. Edwin Brumbaugh's career will serve to elevate his profile within both the architectural and historic preservation communities.

CHAPTER 1 – BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND AND EARLY CAREER

George Edwin Brumbaugh was born on August 27, 1890, in Huntington, Pennsylvania, to Martin Grove and Anna (née Konigmacher) Brumbaugh.[11] Brumbaugh's parents both came from German families rooted in the agricultural and religious life of early Pennsylvania; his father's family immigrated to the colony in 1754 and belonged to the Dunker religion, a faith that advocated pacifism and isolation from the world.[12] The first American ancestors on his mother's side settled near Ephrata not long after they emigrated from Germany in 1696.[13] Brumbaugh's maternal relatives remained closely tied to Ephrata, the community known for the ascetic religious settlement that G. Edwin Brumbaugh would later restore; his mother attended school at the Ephrata Academy and his ancestors are buried there, in God's Acre.[14] A great deal of his love of the seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans derives from his interest in the cultural and religious history of his earliest ancestors. Perhaps it is for this reason that Brumbaugh, a Christian Scientist himself, felt such an affinity for and even a spiritual connection to early American architecture, especially that of the Pennsylvania Germans.[15]

---

[11] Sandra L. Tatman and Roger W. Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co, 1985), 114.

[12] The "Dunkers," now known as the Old German Baptist Brethren, were members of a post-reformation Anabaptist faith with beliefs not unlike those of the Mennonites or Amish. The first Dunker settlements in America were founded near Germantown, Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

[13] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 99, Notes on a speech given regarding Ephrata Cloister, October 26, 1977.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Anita Schorsch, interview with the author, October 4, 2007.

From an early age, the young Brumbaugh was inspired by stories of his German ancestors, rugged immigrants

> who had cleared virgin forests and built an existence in western Pennsylvania. These stories stayed with him throughout his life... providing him with insights into the lost crafts and methods that give his projects so much meaning and vitality.[16]

The stories of these ancestors very clearly stayed with him, significantly influencing both his personal and professional pursuits. His interest in the arts, architecture, and culture of early Pennsylvania was further encouraged by his father, Martin Grove Brumbaugh, a scholar of philosophy and education, whose illustrious career included stints as a professor of pedagogy at the University of Pennsylvania, two-time President of Juniata College, superintendent of Philadelphia's public school system, and, later, as Governor of Pennsylvania between 1915 and 1919.[17]

Brumbaugh graduated from Philadelphia's Central High School and enrolled in the Architecture Program at the University of Pennsylvania School of Fine Arts in 1908. The school's architectural course during these years, under the direction of Dean Warren Powers Laird and Paul Philippe Cret, was based heavily upon the principles of Beaux-Arts planning. While at Penn, Brumbaugh also studied Art History under Alfred Gumaer, in whose courses the comparative method of British architectural historian Bannister Fletcher, author of the seminal monograph *A History of Architecture*, figured significantly.[18] This theoretical focus on the history of architectural forms, in conjunction

---

[16] Strong and Thomas, 80.
[17] Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "Pennsylvania Governors Past to Present: Governor Martin Grove Brumbaugh," http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/governors/brumbaugh.asp?secid=31.
[18] Strong and Thomas, 80.

with the Beaux-Arts, a historicizing movement in its own right, meant that Brumbaugh's architectural education was squarely grounded in traditional, historical forms. While his education paid little attention to the vernacular structures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that so interested him, the parallels that nevertheless exist between high and low style architecture likely did not elude Brumbaugh's critical mind. Indeed, the "focus on history and the comparative method of Bannister Fletcher as the basis for architectural training of Beaux-Arts Schools made restoration a logical extension of the activity of the architect."[19]

Brumbaugh was a dedicated student, serving as the President of the Architectural Society during his senior year and even teaching a course in watercolor rendering.[20] Extracurricular memberships included the T-Square Club and the Architectural Society of the University of Pennsylvania.[21] He was the top ranked student in his class, graduating from the University of Pennsylvania in 1913 with a B.S. in Architecture.[22] As a result of his academic achievements, he was honored with the Faculty Medal, in addition to being awarded the silver Arthur Spayd Brooke Medal for design.[23]

Brumbaugh began his professional architectural career in 1912, as a draftsman at Philadelphia firm Mellor and Meigs, which was primarily known for its residential designs in a variety of revival styles.[24] The most significant project that Brumbaugh worked on while at Mellor and Meigs was the Princeton University Charter Club, built in

---

[19] Strong and Thomas, 80.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Tatman and Moss, 114.
[22] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Personal File: AIA Fellowship Committee.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Sandra L. Tatman, "Mellor & Meigs," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/27099.

1913.[25] Brumbaugh ended his association with Mellor and Meigs in 1914, and began working at another Philadelphia firm, that of Charles Barton Keen, in 1915. While both "offices specialized in domestic historical revival work, Mellor and Meigs [looked] more to Europe while Keen favored the regional colonial revival" of southeastern Pennsylvania.[26] It is perhaps for this reason that Brumbaugh was attracted to Keen; his country house designs in the colonial revival style were likely more suited to Brumbaugh's personal architectural tastes. Beginning in 1913, Keen worked on projects in North Carolina with increasing frequency, eventually moving his primary office to Winston-Salem in 1923.[27] Brumbaugh supervised the Philadelphia office when Keen was working in North Carolina until he left the firm in 1923.[28]

In 1916, while still employed by Keen, Brumbaugh opened his own architectural practice with offices in downtown Philadelphia. This move was perhaps an effort "to take advantage of the position of his father, Martin Grove Brumbaugh, then governor of Pennsylvania."[29] Whatever his motivation, G. Edwin Brumbaugh's firm proved successful, designing a range of buildings in a variety of historicizing styles, the "most numerous [of which] were country houses in regional variations of the colonial styles, many of which reflected his interest in the German architecture of his ancestors."[30] The fact that his most successful designs were based on the style of architecture that he found most personally meaningful suggests that Brumbaugh was becoming increasingly

---

[25] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Personal File: AIA Fellowship Committee.
[26] Strong and Thomas, 80.
[27] Sandra L. Tatman, "Keen, Charles Barton," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25028.
[28] Sandra L. Tatmn, "Brumbaugh, George Edwin." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/93470k.
[29] Strong and Thomas, 80.
[30] Ibid.

interested in working in the historical idiom, heralding his forthcoming entrée into restoration architecture.

Developments in Brumbaugh's personal life that occurred during this period would also prove influential upon his later restoration career. He married Frances Hover Anderson on February 11, 1914. Frances Brumbaugh shared her husband's interest in historic architecture, and with her specific interest in historic paint schemes

> became one of America's real authorities upon early colors and finishes. Although frequently pressed to record her knowledge in a book, she never found time to do so. The original colors which she painstakingly restored in a long list of important houses are her contribution and well deserved record.[31]

The two shared an office in Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania, and nearly always worked in tandem until Frances Brumbaugh's death in 1966. Together, they also made extensive explorations of the Pennsylvania countryside, looking for fine examples of seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture throughout Bucks County, Montgomery County, Lancaster County, Berks County, Chester County, and beyond.

Brumbaugh would later catalog many of the discoveries made on these excursions in his *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, published in 1933. His fondness for this period of early architectural discovery is quite evident:

> You cannot see it in one trip, nor in a dozen. Even if the distances were not so great, and the travel so slow, it remains true that no one ever sees anything at one glance. You must learn to love the hills and find peace in their satisfying company. You will never know the quiet farms until you have exchanged philosophy with their unhurried owners in the long twilight of summer evenings, and grown to like the journeys homeward in

[31] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 4.

> the dusk, scattered like friendly beacons in the valleys. Then, after many trips, you will begin to discover the architecture, and the story.[32]

The recollections included in this work show the deeply held connection between Brumbaugh and the architecture that he so admired, and make evident not only his vast knowledge of architectural history, traditional building techniques, and the local vernacular, but show very clearly the spiritual bond that Brumbaugh felt in the presence of such architecture.

As a result of both his educational and professional experience, and his personal explorations of the local vernacular, Brumbaugh's method of design was heavily based in the examination of historical precedents. In the case of his residential work, "each house was studied from the point of view of site and precedent, and where possible detailed with motifs from the Pennsylvania farmhouses he was busily photographing, researching, and measuring."[33] Throughout much of the 1920s, Brumbaugh designed residences filled with replicated elements of the early American architecture that he so admired, and remained active within the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, serving in a variety of leadership capacities: Recorder (1923-25), Vice Chairman of the Joint Exhibition Board and Entertainment and Public Information Committees (1927), and Chairman, Biography and History Committee (1928-29). However, Brumbaugh's later writings make it clear that his interest was truly centered upon authentic historic structures, especially the vernacular architecture of rural southeastern Pennsylvania.

The onset of the great depression in 1929 led to a significant downturn in the demand for residential designs, a market that had previously been quite strong. In fact,

---

[32] Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, 17.
[33] Strong and Thomas, 80.

during the first years of depression, "nearly one-half of the country's architectural firms failed; those remaining by December 1930 were averaging only one-quarter of their 1928 income."[34] This swift economic downtown created an opportunity for, and perhaps forced, G. Edwin Brumbaugh to shift the focus of his architectural practice from new construction to the restoration of early American structures.[35]

While Brumbaugh would continue to design homes in the colonial revival for the remainder of his career, his professional focus (and his personal passion) was, from this point onwards, restoration architecture. Brumbaugh was well suited to this field because he saw his work as part of a continuum, beginning with the original builder and continuing on to future generations of restorers. Thus, for Brumbaugh a restoration project was not about making his mark as a restoration architect; he strove to make his hand invisible to let the spirit of the historic structure shine through.

Fortunately for Brumbaugh, the proliferation of public works projects and rapidly increasing interest in the preservation movement in general created favorable conditions for the emergence of professional restoration architecture firms during the late 1920s and early 1930s. It was only "during the depression [that] preservation sentiment [moved] along with the goals of the great mass of the American people."[36]

---

[34] Annie Robinson, "The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey," in *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival,* ed. Richard Guy Wilson, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 101.
[35] Strong and Thomas, 80.
[36] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 3.

CHAPTER 2 – PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

In order to understand the factors that precipitated G. Edwin Brumbaugh's shift to restoration architecture, it is important to examine the state of preservation and restoration architecture during the 1920s and 1930s, at the outset of his restoration career. Although he had always been interested in the history and historic architecture of seventeenth and eighteenth century Pennsylvania, it seems likely that the preservation-related developments of the 1920s, along with the economic downturn of 1929, convinced Brumbaugh that practicing restoration architecture was both financially and professionally feasible.

The preservation movement in the United States had been growing steadily since the 1850s, when Ann Pamela Cunningham and the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association successfully saved George Washington's estate. During the mid to late nineteenth century,

> American preservationists held buildings to be worthy of attention for transcendent rather than intrinsic reasons. As shrines to historic personages, these structures were symbols of patriotic fervor before any consideration of their aesthetic quality.[37]

As the young nation acquired a past, a growing concern for preserving this past simultaneously developed. Preservation-related activity was primarily driven by two aims: didacticism and instilling patriotism.

While these goals would continue to inform preservation projects well into the twentieth century (they certainly figured significantly in much of Brumbaugh's

[37] William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: the History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2006), 16.

restoration work), little attention was paid to the aesthetic value of historic structures until the turn of the century, when they began to be "recognized not only as historic symbols but for their intrinsic aesthetic value... as worthwhile objects in their own right."[38] This ideological transformation subsequently informed a paradigm shift that contributed to the emergence of preservation and restoration professionals during the first decades of the twentieth century; recognizing and restoring structures on the basis of aesthetic criteria required professionals with the knowledge and ability to properly treat, restore, or replicate unique architectural elements. Still, "by as late as 1926, preservationism was largely disorganized and lacked any professional guidance."[39] Indeed, the

> group that led the movement in 1926 consisted mainly of dedicated amateurs, such as William Sumner Appleton, George Francis Dow, and W.A.R. Goodwin. Only one professional rose to a position of eminence in those early years, Fiske Kimball, the brilliant architectural historian and director of the Pennsylvania Museum.[40]

As we will soon see, the foundation laid by these amateur preservationists created a strong basis for the great strides made in the professionalization and promotion of preservation and restoration architecture in the 1920s and 1930s.

During this era, the face of America was changing rapidly; the nation was altered by industrialization, suburban growth, and especially by automobile traffic, which "was drastically changing not only how people got places, but the American landscape."[41] A

---

[38] Murtagh, 16.
[39] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 22.
[40] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 6-7.
William Sumner Appleton was the founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA); George Francis Dow was an antiquarian associated with SPNEA, who led the restoration of the Parson Capen House in Topsfield, Massachusetts, in 1913; the Reverend Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin was rector of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, Virginia and led the effort to restore that city's colonial center.
[41] Ibid.

real fear that American history and traditions could be forgotten was pervasive, as this excerpt from the dedication of the period rooms located in the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1924 illustrates:

> Traditions are one of the integral assets of a country. Much of America of today has lost sight of its traditions. Their stage settings have largely passed away along with the actors. Many of our people are not cognizant of our traditions and the principles for which our fathers struggled and died. The tremendous changes in the character of our nation and the influx of foreign ideas utterly at variance with those held by the men who gave us the Republic threaten, and unless checked may shake, the foundations of our republic.[42]

Historic preservation was increasingly seen by many as a means to combat these rapid changes and to ensure that historic sites and structures were protected. Nevertheless, the preservation movement remained largely driven by amateur enthusiasts until the mid 1920s, when two notable restorations brought national attention to preservation projects and played a significant role in professionalizing preservation and restoration-related fields. Beginning in 1926, the "costly and sweeping" restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and the creation of Greenfield Village by Henry Ford profoundly altered the state of preservation in the United States.[43]

Led by the Reverend Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the multi-year restoration and reconstruction of the colonial center of Williamsburg, Virginia "had the effect of broadening the base of support for preservation all over the country."[44] Goodwin, who, like Brumbaugh, believed in the idea that the spirit of the past was a "living presence" manifested in material form and embedded within historic fabric,

[42] Murtagh, 20.
[43] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 23.
[44] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 6.

embodied the "original popular romantic phases of preservation," while Rockefeller's approach to the restoration project represented the "new age of professionalism and planning."[45] The site, centrally important to the Revolutionary War, immediately sparked the American imagination and curiosity, becoming immensely popular and elevating the general public's interest in preservation projects. Brumbaugh was one such individual; he would continue to praise the Williamsburg restoration throughout his career.

The Williamsburg restoration also proved quite significant to the professionalization of restoration architecture. The Boston architectural firm Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn led the restoration project there, where the

> Rockefeller fortune made it possible for Goodwin to hire a large professional staff that revolutionized the methods of preservationists throughout the nation. The drafting room at Williamsburg was the first school of architectural restoration.[46]

As the most ambitious project of its type undertaken in America at the time, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg marked a significant turning point in the involvement of architects and other professional practitioners in preservation and restoration work.

While it seems logical that architects should have been some of the most active professionals working to promote preservation and careful restoration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their participation, along with that of the American Institute of Architects, was relatively minor until the 1920s.[47] The professional involvement of architects within the preservation community changed abruptly in 1923,

---

[45] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 3, 11.
[46] Ibid., 4.
[47] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 197.

when Fiske Kimball, architect, architectural historian, and director of the Pennsylvania Museum, became chair of the AIA Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Scenery, shifting the Committee's formerly passive focus to a more active role. The purpose of the Committee was now to intervene "where monuments of really national importance are threatened, either with destruction or with harmful modification" and, most importantly, "in the initiation and support of policies which may be of general benefit; and in the conduct of a campaign of education both of architects and of the public as the proper methods of treatment of old buildings."[48]

Kimball felt that it was imperative that the AIA promote careful and correct restoration practice. As he said in 1922,

> It should be realized... that restoring an old home or garden is specialized work, and not every architect has the special knowledge and experience – to say nothing of the patience and willingness to devote adequate time – to do this work... It must be acknowledged that in a number of instances the greatest knowledge and experience in such work is possessed by men not architects by profession, although there are conspicuous instances also of architects who have achieved notable success in this line.[49]

His insistence that the AIA take a more active role in educating those individuals undertaking architectural restorations points to the need for professional standards to be established for both trained architects and amateurs alike, suggesting that the demand for conscious, careful, and knowledgeable restoration architects was increasing in the 1920s.

Up to this point, many "restorers" were little more than glorified scrap pickers, taking architectural elements from historic structures for use in other building projects; their major interest was the evocation of historical atmosphere, not accuracy. This is not

[48] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 207.
[49] Ibid., 274.

to say, however that architects and other professionals practicing restoration architecture during this era were all in need of training; a small group of conscientious practitioners was beginning to emerge:

> While most of the people charged with restorations continued to commit errors through ignorance, haste or faulty judgment, there were a few men who looked upon the repair of old buildings as a responsibility. Whether these individuals were architects or not, they all became thorough students of the practices of early American builders.[50]

Brumbaugh was one of these emerging professionals in the mid 1920s, classically trained in the Beaux-Arts school of design, drafting, and planning, but with extensive knowledge of the early architecture of Pennsylvania derived from observation, study, and research completed as a hobby during his youth, college years, and early career as a practicing architect.

The Federal Government also played a significant role in developing programs and standards that would serve to promote and professionalize preservation and restoration architecture during the 1920s and 1930s. Many of these programs were direct responses to the widespread unemployment that plagued the United States during the great depression; this surplus of both skilled and unskilled labor, in conjunction with increased interest in heritage preservation and the desire to promote patriotism during a particularly difficult era combined to create very favorable conditions for the development of preservation-related projects in both the public and, as we have seen in Brumbaugh's case, in the private sector.

[50] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 287.

Although the National Park Service had been founded in 1916, the federal government's early efforts at preservation were "haphazard... There was no plan or policy governing property acquisitions, and no federal agency had either the administrative mandate or an adequate professional staff for interpretation of old buildings."[51] Most of the sites administered by the Park Service during this era were located in the American southwest and included a number of National Monuments and Mesa Verde National Park.[52] Because most federally controlled historic sites on the east coast were in some way related to either the Revolutionary or Civil Wars, the majority of these sites were administered by the War Department as late as 1930.[53] Indeed, the "idea of having trained architects, naturalists, landscape architects, and historians in the Park Service seemed quite extravagant" to government officials during the 1920s.[54] However, as leadership within the National Park Service began to see a greater need for properly administered and interpreted historic sites, along with the advent of the great depression, the role of the federal government within the realm of historic preservation would expand greatly during the early 1930s.

The development of the Civilian Conservation Corps, which was charged by President Roosevelt to put 200,000 unemployed civilians to work by mid-June 1933, marked a significant increase in federally mandated historic preservation projects. These men, both skilled and unskilled laborers, were to work principally with the National Park Service on restorations at a variety of historic sites, while the Works Progress Administration and Public Works Administration supported other restoration projects.

---

[51] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 471.
[52] Ibid., 474.
[53] Ibid., 472.
[54] Ibid., 474-475.

As these programs grew in scale, people became more and more supportive of both the state and federal government's responsibility to preserve the nation's historic architecture.[55]

A second federally supported project that developed out of the need to find work for thousands of unemployed architects and draftsmen was the Historic American Buildings Survey. Founded in 1933 by Charles E. Peterson, then deputy chief architect of the National Park Service, HABS was "intended to produce an architectural archive... to save, by means of drawings and photographs, a host of buildings that had not been high-priority projects for the preservation community."[56] These drawings were to be archived by the Library of Congress; Peterson "believed that it was crucial to have this vast store of architectural information indexed and accessible to scholars."[57] The program constituted a significant

> contribution to restoration scholarship. From the beginning of the survey people who were responsible for the maintenance and restoration of old buildings began turning to the Library of Congress for information they found indispensable.[58]

Finally, the Historic Sites Act of 1935 marked the government's most significant contribution to the development of preservation programs during the 1920s and 1930s, representing "a popular idea at a time of economic crisis when the nation needed a sense of its heritage."[59]

---

[55] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 571.
[56] Ibid., 549.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 561.
[59] Ibid., 572.

For the first time in American history, the federal government was a leading entity in the preservation and documentation of historic structures. Previously, private institutions and organizations, such as Colonial Williamsburg, the Essex Institute, and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities had led the charge. At the outset of G. Edwin Brumbaugh's restoration career, the federal and state governments were beginning to play a much greater role in leading historic preservation and restoration projects, a development that would have a significant impact upon the trajectory of his professional career.

CHAPTER 3 – BRUMBAUGH, THE COLONIAL REVIVAL, AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Another development of the 1920s and 1930s that greatly influenced G. Edwin Brumbaugh's ideologies and professional career was the emergence of the colonial revival as both an aesthetic and cultural phenomena. The movement, which was based primarily in architecture but extended to furniture, interior design, and the decorative arts, was deeply rooted in patriotic sentiment, and was "inspired from the beginning, by nationalistic sentiment – the desire to have in America an *American* style distinct from European modes."[60]

The focus of the colonial revival was the architecture of seventeenth and eighteenth century America, especially the nation's "principle shrines," such as Mount Vernon and Independence Hall, which were replicated and emulated all over the United States in both residential and commercial designs; the majority of colonial revival designs, however, "were not intended to recall specific patriotic landmarks," but used elements of both high-style and vernacular structures dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to create a pseudo-colonial pastiche.[61] Both "Georgian and Federal public buildings were considered American, but so too was the primitive shelter of the pioneer." This mix of accepted styles meant that the colonial revival was anything but static, and that there was an appropriate application for nearly any type of structure.[62] As a result, "the colonial always ended up commenting on both the past and the present." [63]

---

[60] William B. Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival and American Nationalism," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (December 1976): 241-242.
[61] Ibid., 240-241.
[62] Ibid., 245.
[63] David Gebhard, "The American Colonial Revival in the 1930s," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22 (Summer-Autumn 1987): 109.

Although the colonial revival had first emerged in the 1870s, in conjunction with the American centennial, it grew increasingly popular through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until it reached its peak in the 1920s and 1930s, when "images and forms derived from and related to America's colonial past [became] the single most popular form of cultural expression."[64] The heavy ornamentation of the Victorian era had become much maligned during this period, further contributing to the popularity of the colonial revival's overall simplicity and austere aesthetic.

Furthermore, the political climate of the era played a significant role in the popularity of the colonial revival, as did the flood of architectural publications that focused on the movement. In 1914, when "Europe became embroiled in World War I, American critics and architects proclaimed still more fervently their love of the native Colonial and disgust with imported European styles."[65] The popularity of the colonial revival continued to be impacted by political climate post-World War I, when American isolationism contributed to the idea that a "national architecture" was the only appropriate means of architectural expression.[66]

During the 1920s and 1930s, "a tremendous number of books were published and the colonial image became all-pervasive." Included in this craze were the Works Progress Administration's *American Guide* series, completed by 1942, which produced guides to the Eastern United States and focused heavily upon colonial architecture.[67] Along with a sizable number of magazine and journal articles, in both the popular and scholarly press,

---

[64] Richard Guy Wilson, "Introduction: What is the Colonial Revival?," in *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival,* ed. Richard Guy Wilson, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 1.
[65] Rhoads, 245.
[66] Ibid., 250, 249.
[67] Wilson, 5.

these publications, often written by architects, served to further popularize the colonial revival.[68] Architectural journals were quick to jump on the colonial revival bandwagon, filling their pages with images and drawings of seventeenth and eighteenth century American architecture:

> From the twenties on, the *Architectural Record* published its series, *Measured Drawings, Early American Architecture*; *Pencil Points* created its *Monograph* series, *Records of American Architecture*, edited by Russell F. Whitehead; the *Architectural Forum* presented the colonial in its *Interior* section and later in its *Master Detail* series; and the *American Architect* provided a view of the colonial through its *Brick Precedent* and *Portfolio* series. By the mid 1930s the scope of these colonial inserts in these major national journals had substantially increased; not only did they often tend to be the most substantial item in an individual issue, but the colonial subject matter eventually all but eliminated the non-American traditional insert that one finds throughout the 1920s.[69]

Clearly, the colonial revival was a pervasive aesthetic movement that inevitably influenced the designs of many architects, to whom such publications and series were aimed.

Popular publications that promoted the colonial revival during this era included women's magazines, such as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *House and Garden*, *House Beautiful*, *Arts & Decoration*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Country Life in America*, which frequently featured colonial revival interiors and floor plans; articles were often sponsored by builders, products, or even architects.[70] Many architects "popularized elements of 'colonial' styles through magazine articles and through designs that were reminiscent of the American past," furthering their careers and the public's

[68] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 208.
[69] Gebhard, 111.
[70] Ibid., 113.

interest in the colonial revival.[71] The role of professional architects in the promotion of the colonial revival during the 1920s and 1930s should not be underestimated.

Indeed, at Mellor and Meigs and with Charles Barton Keen, Brumbaugh worked in a variety of revival styles, including the colonial revival. When he opened his own practice in 1926, Brumbaugh designed exclusively in the colonial revival, a style heavily promoted within both the architectural and popular press. The intense interest in the colonial revival during this period created ideal conditions for his success as an independent architect; fortunately for Brumbaugh, the colonial vernacular of Pennsylvania that he knew and loved so well was increasingly in demand. Since many "patriots could not find original monuments of the Revolution that might serve as residences," architects working in the colonial revival found a lucrative market for their residential designs.[72]

The immense popularity of the colonial revival inevitably led to increased interest in the restoration of authentic colonial structures, and the often well-publicized restorations of such buildings in turn propagated greater interest amongst the general public in the colonial revival. As Brumbaugh shifted his focus to restoration architecture in the late 1920s and early 1930s, his career developed and benefited immensely from the combination of forces that were coming together to make restoration a viable profession. Although he preferred to work on public rather than private projects, and particularly disliked designing kitchens and bathrooms in his residential designs, he continued to design private residences in the colonial revival throughout his career.[73] He would,

---

[71] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 197.
[72] Rhoads, 240.
[73] Anita Schorsch, interview with the author, October 4, 2007.

however, devote the majority of his efforts, both professional and personal, to promoting historic preservation and accurate restoration practice.

This is not to say that Brumbaugh devalued the colonial revival as being overly derivative or architecturally shallow, even as it came to be scorned in the 1950s by the architectural press as modernism grew in popularity. On the contrary, he designed his own colonial revival house in Gwynedd Valley and lived there for much of his life, and promoted the patriotic and aesthetic value of the colonial revival:

> Much has been said about 'pseudo-Colonial' architecture, and understandably. It is true that few modern buildings capture the spirit of early American styles, but that is an indictment of our educational processes, including present-day architectural journalism. At first glance, it is hard to understand why our earliest architectural expression as a people should be so depreciated and so studiously shunned as a source of inspiration. The answer lies in a philosophical understanding of architecture itself. Architecture is not a cause. It is an effect, - the composite effect or expression of the dominant thinking of an age and a locality. Machine age architecture is inevitable today, but the intolerance of its proponents is neither necessary nor American. Yet this intolerance is actually a sincere compliment to Colonial architecture. New vogues pass through a period of belligerency, in which they seek to establish themselves by destroying their strongest foes. The astounding vitality of Colonial architecture in the face of almost universal journalistic, and now architectural, scorn is proof that it is a worthy foe.[74]

While he obviously preferred original historic structures, he had no qualms about creating faux-colonial structures in order to preserve or enhance historic atmosphere; his correspondence in regards to a variety of his projects, including the Germantown Market Square renewal project, Ephrata Cloister, and Washington Square (the location of what is

[74] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Letter from G. Edwin Brumbaugh to H.A. Batten, May 2, 1955.

perhaps his most well known colonial revival structure, the Dilworth house), makes this quite evident.

Brumbaugh was not alone in his belief that both inauthentic and authentic colonial architecture was the most valid form of architectural expression. A considerable number of Philadelphia-area architects and restoration architects shared his belief in the colonial revival, with varying degrees of interest in the authenticity of their work. Brumbaugh, however, set himself apart from these men through his insistence upon historical accuracy and careful restoration practice. His career was characterized by the

> formulation of the appropriate methodology for restoration of a landmark, which he enumerated as research on the physical fabric corroborated by the study of period buildings and by scholarly, documentary study – all the methods of modern restoration practice.[75]

For his contemporaries, this insistence upon scholarly research and documentation was perhaps less important.

Brumbaugh's best-known Philadelphia-area contemporary is R. Brognard Okie, who, like Brumbaugh, worked in both architecture and restoration architecture. Okie, who practiced independently between 1918 and 1945, did the majority of his work in Philadelphia's Main Line suburbs, Chester County, and for the du Ponts near Wilmington, Delaware. He designed exclusively in his own style of colonial revival, characterized by easily recognizable architectural elements. As described by George Koyl, a Dean of the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts:

> One recognizes in houses of his design the common denominator of undressed fieldstone walls, with either pointed or struck joints . . . Door

[75] Strong and Thomas, 81.

> and window frames of solid oak or cypress and sills cut out of 6" or 8" pieces of solid white oak . . . The flat lintel, built of three stones including the center key, or the segmental arch of the same undressed fieldstone . . . Along the eaves of facade there is usually a prominent square box cornice with pole gutter . . . Thin bargeboards . . . setting the chimney back sufficiently from the wall face for a narrow strip of overlapping shingles . . . Chimneys are a feature of Mr. Okie's houses, just as are the fireplaces within. Of generous size, beautifully proportioned, they are always well related to walls and roofs.[76]

Okie differed from Brumbaugh in that these distinctive elements were evident in all of his projects – both new construction and restoration work, making his architectural influence readily apparent even in his restoration projects.

Since his restorations were primarily residential additions or alterations for private clients, Okie likely felt little obligation to complete projects that were entirely historically accurate. Brumbaugh, on the other hand, strove to make his hand invisible when working on a restoration project, so that his influence would not overshadow that of the original architect or builder; the fact that he often worked for public entities on structures and sites that were to be museums provided him with a far greater impetus to create restorations that were as accurate as possible. Brumbaugh and Okie differ significantly in the types of projects that they chose to work on:

> Early historic projects had only re-created lost buildings, such as Williamsburg and R. Brognard Okie's High Street and Pennsbury Manor reconstructions. Brumbaugh changed the field, insisting on working on real artifacts and preserving in place as much of the historic fabric as possible so that future historians would be able to understand the basis of his restoration.[77]

---

[76] Sandra L. Tatman, "Okie, Richardson Brognard," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/27099.
[77] Strong and Thomas, 80.

In fact, Brumbaugh felt that the reason most architects were not willing or able to undertake restoration work was the simple fact that they could not put their egos aside.[78]

While both Brumbaugh and Okie appreciated the vernacular architecture of colonial Pennsylvania, it was for different reasons. Brumbaugh believed that this architecture possessed an intangible spirit, and felt that understanding it required a particularly spiritual approach, while Okie was moved by its "rightness" of proportion, line, and form. Brumbaugh's work also differed from Okie's in that he continued to be interested in the patriotic and didactic role of historic architecture even beyond the staunchly nationalistic 1920s and 1930s; for Brumbaugh, interpretation of history through the study of historic buildings was always a key concern that set him apart from his contemporaries.

Okie's particular style of colonial revival was so well known in the Philadelphia area that other architects often copied it.[79] Most of Brumbaugh's other contemporaries worked almost exclusively in the colonial revival, and their practices had little or no focus on restoration architecture. Walter Durham, whose firm ran an inclusive "design/build" operation similar to Brumbaugh's, worked primarily on the Main Line and in Chester County on residential projects designed in a less exacting colonial revival style that was inspired by Okie.[80] Wallace & Warner worked primarily in Wilmington, Delaware and on the Main Line in a variety of revival styles; the firm was based in more speculative residential developments and would later expand into commercial

---

[78] Anita Schorsch, interview with the author, October 4, 2007.
[79] Tatman, "Okie."
[80] Sandra L. Tatman, "Durham, Walter," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/23045.

architecture.[81] Edmund Gilchrist also designed residences in a variety of revival styles, including the "Pennsylvania Farmhouse" breed of the colonial revival, working primarily with wealthy clients in Chestnut Hill, Wyndmoor, Mount Airy, and Germantown.[82] Other contemporaries, like Joseph Everett Chandler and Thomas Waterman, had similar careers.

Even this brief discussion of G. Edwin Brumbaugh's professional contemporaries shows just how unique his practice was. His focus on restoration architecture, his preference for public clients, his interest in documentary research, thorough architectural investigation, and highly accurate restorations set him apart from most other architects practicing in the Philadelphia area during the early and mid twentieth century. While Brumbaugh's career in many ways mirrored that of these men, especially his early residential work in the colonial revival and other revival styles, he set himself apart by establishing a professional practice which focused on the accurate restoration of colonial structures, an endeavor that brought neither wealth nor wide-reaching architectural respect. Although he was well respected within the preservation community during his lifetime, Brumbaugh has yet to be widely recognized for his contributions to the field. As Brumbaugh himself said in 1950, "[I] probably do too much historical restoration work for my own financial good. But I love it!"[83]

---

[81] Sandra L. Tatman, "Wallace & Warner," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/123851.

[82] Sandra L. Tatman, "Gilchrist, Edmund Beaman," Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25847.

[83] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 104, Office Records, Letter from G. Edwin Brumbaugh to Alice Winchester, Editor of *The Magazine Antiques*, May 15, 1950.

CHAPTER 4 – THE RESTORATION OF EPHRATA CLOISTER

By 1941, G. Edwin Brumbaugh had been practicing restoration architecture for a decade, and had completed a number of highly respected projects, including Gloria Dei (Old Swedes Church), located in Philadelphia; Germantown Academy, in Fort Washington, Pennsylvania; and the Daniel Boone Homestead, located near Reading, Pennsylvania. The restoration of the Daniel Boone Homestead marked Brumbaugh's first collaboration with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC). As federal preservation programs developed during the 1920s and 1930s, so did state initiatives. The PHMC, which had been founded in 1913 and charged with "the preservation or restoration of ancient or historic public buildings, military works, or monuments connected with the history of Pennsylvania," remained relatively ineffective until 1936, when a new Commission took office.[84]

Led by Commissioner Frank W. Melvin, the newly installed PHMC made the preservation and restoration of historic architecture its central focus.[85] One of Melvin's principal achievements came in 1939, when the Commission acquired Ephrata Cloister, an eighteenth century religious settlement located in Lancaster County that had formerly housed a cadre of celibate Brothers and Sisters who sought salvation through a monastic, ascetic lifestyle. The Cloister site consisted of:

> A strangely medieval Saal, or house of prayer, built for the congregation in 1740; a steep-roofed log convent, the last home of the Sisterhood, and known as Saron; a quaint stone Almonry, where bread was baked for free

[84] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 438, 441.
[85] Ibid.

> distribution to the poor; and five cabins scattered in the meadow, [which] still attest a notable past.[86]

Brumbaugh, who had only recently completed his restoration of the Daniel Boone Homestead, was retained to prepare preliminary restoration reports for the Ephrata Cloister project in 1941, by which time the property was in a significant state of decay.

As Brumbaugh had noted nearly ten years earlier, in *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, the Cloister was, by the early 1930s, already in a regrettable state of disrepair. He felt a special connection to the settlement at Ephrata, which was near where his maternal ancestors had settled in the seventeenth century, in addition to his appreciation of the site's distinct medievalizing architecture, which was quite unlike anything else in America dating from the period. Brumbaugh lamented the site's neglect, noting in 1933 that it "is sad that Pennsylvania has not appreciated the priceless importance of this unique protestant monastery to future generations, who will surely be interested in the strange pietistic faith which flourished here."[87] He went on to assert that a "place so rich in historical lore should be studied and restored with the most scholarly care; every bit of ruin should be evaluated and explained, and every contour of the ground considered."[88] In 1941, when he was hired by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Brumbaugh was given the opportunity to do just that.

In his preliminary report to the PHMC, dated October 1, 1941, Brumbaugh provided the following summary of Ephrata Cloister's historical significance:

---

[86] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," *Antiques* 46 (July 1944), 18.
[87] Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, 49.
[88] Ibid., 49-50.

> The German Mystic, Conrad Beissel, left the German Palatinate in 1720, and came to Pennsylvania to found one of the most interesting religious experiments in the history of the United States, the religious society of the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata. Between 1735 and 1749 the Society erected several sturdy wooden buildings with extremely low ceilings and doorways, the present-day relics of the experiment. The organization was communal and monastic, with the old medieval rules of chastity, poverty, and obedience. At the height of its prosperity the congregation included more than 300 persons. It had a famous printing press, and its musical achievements were also noteworthy.[89]

The site included fifteen structures located on approximately twenty-seven acres, which Brumbaugh categorized as being of either primary or secondary importance.[90] Ten structures were deemed to possess primary significance; notes regarding date of construction come from Brumbaugh's preliminary report:

1. Saal (built 1740-41)
2. Saron (built 1744, remodeled 1745)
3. Almonry (built 1734, not 1730 as was originally thought)
4. Ephrata Academy (built 1837)
5. Parsonage (date unknown)
6. Beissel House (date unknown, the PHMC's projected construction date of 1760 was "probably incorrect")
7. Whitehause (date unknown)
8. Cottage-by-the-Stream (date unknown, an early cabin with a post-Revolutionary War addition)
9. Cottage-by-the-Hill (date unknown, an early cabin, likely one of the oldest buildings on the site)
10. Shady Nook Cottage (modern)

Five structures were deemed to be of secondary importance; these included the barn (early 19th century), a shed near the barn (modern), a shed near God's Acre Cemetery ("of doubtful date"), the Cloister's bake oven ("early and important"), and a public toilet

[89] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 1.
[90] Ibid., 3.

shed (modern). At least two structures, the Brothers' House (or Bethania), and the Peter Miller cottage, were lost but had been standing within recent memory; Brumbaugh felt that they could be reconstructed if adequate architectural evidence was uncovered to corroborate existing photographic records.[91]

At this point, however, a mere $10,000 had been appropriated by the state for "protective repairs and beginning the restoration" at Ephrata Cloister, so Brumbaugh's decisions as to significance level were based both on the historical importance of each structure and its relative need for immediate stabilization and restoration.[92] Indeed, Brumbaugh made clear from the very beginning that the initial allocation of funds was nowhere near the amount necessary to undertake a complete restoration of the Cloister:

> The problems presented by proper restoration are most complex, involving careful examination of concealed portions of the structures, and a vast amount of comparative research. This has begun, and will be carried on as rapidly and thoroughly as facilities permit. The scope of restoration indicated exceeds the available means by such a wide margin, that a mere beginning is all that can be considered now. The preliminary architectural work has therefore consisted of the unromantic study of items other than actual restoration, and a preliminary survey of the work which must be done later.[93]

He outlined a budget for the $10,000 in which only $3,275 was directed towards restoration expenses; the remainder of these initial funds were dedicated to repairs to the three tenanted buildings on the property ($300), the installation of bathrooms in each of these properties ($1,275), the installation of water supply lines ($1,400), sewer extensions

[91] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 3-4.
[92] Ibid., 1.
[93] Ibid., 4.

($1,700), and alterations to the nineteenth century barn ($2,050), with the remaining balance to be used for "essential preservation and repairs."[94]

His preliminary report continued with a discussion of the specific conditions of the site. Brumbaugh deemed the site as a whole in "bad condition generally, and in urgent need of restoration."[95] He outlined the condition of each structure in far greater detail, especially that of the Saal and Saron, the two largest and most significant surviving structures. His description of each reveals the deliberateness and detail of his preliminary investigations at the site. His description of the Saal (see Figures 2 and 3):

> Walls of framed timbers, filled between with stones and clay; covered outside with miscellaneous assortment of clapboards, shingles, stucco, and tin. A small amount of early oak clapboarding on the east wall may be original. Many openings allow the weather to enter. Considerable repairing and replacement of the oak framework will be necessary. Roof of rusted tin shingles, reasonably tight. Part of the stairway, certain fireplaces and partitions, doors, windows, and interior finish need restoration. A bell (possibly now on Saron) should be restored to this building.[96]

And of the Saron (see Figures 4 and 5):

> Walls of notched framed logs with clay and straw fill, covered with various types of clapboards, shingles, and stucco. Hand-shaved oak clapboards on parts of the north wall are very early, and probably original. Roof of modern wood shingles, in good condition, especially on north side. There are three places in this structure where repairs are urgent: near the foundation on the north side, just east of the center; at the third floor above the north side, near the outer wall, and at the roof plate above this point. Dangerous movement has occurred at these points. A much more evident settlement inside the building at the center chimneys and stairway is readily accounted for, is not dangerous, and should not be

[94] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 12.
[95] Ibid., 5.
[96] Ibid.

> corrected. Many minor restorations and replacements of partitions, doors, &c., will be required. The clock in the third floor should be returned to its earlier position on the Academy, and the bell should be removed.[97]

From these descriptions it is evident that much of G. Edwin Brumbaugh's early work at Ephrata Cloister was simply to determine current conditions and to outline a strategy by which to curb further deterioration while he waited for the state to allocate the additional funds necessary to undertake a complete restoration of the site.

Brumbaugh seems to have been very conscious from the beginning of his work at Ephrata Cloister of the need to create flexible yet forward-looking plans for the restoration. His preliminary report stresses this need, asserting that, "planning must be done on a comprehensive scale, with the ultimate result in mind. Research and study must go far beyond the present authorizations, and in the end, the wisdom of this course will be proven."[98] With this in mind, Brumbaugh prepared the following recommendations for the restoration of the site, taking into account both practical and interpretive concerns:

> 1. The field near the nineteenth century barn should be paved as parking lot, screened from view of the "ancient buildings by restoring the regular planting of fruit trees which originally surrounded the settlement."
>
> 2. Barn should be used to house public toilets and other necessary visitor amenities.
>
> 3. "From the parking lot an old lane leads directly to a point opposite the court in front of the Saron where it turns and leads up Zion Hill. At least part of this lane is historic, and should be retained as a dirt lane. It is recommended that the portion extending from the parking space to the turn be covered with tan bark to preserve the appearance of a dirt road, but

[97] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 5.
[98] Ibid., 9.

> without the dust. Fences can properly be restored both sides of this lane in conformity with old pictures and descriptions. Visitors, walking along this lane toward the buildings, will pass between the restored communal garden on the left, and the Caretaker's House (Shady Nook Cottage) on the right. This latter can be readily remodelled [sic] to conform to the other buildings."
>
> 4. "Opposite the court facing Saron and Saal there was originally a gate in the fence. This gate should mark the point of departure from everything modern. Visitors should enter by a narrow foot-path, through a scythe-mowed orchard to one of the historic cottages, where they should be registered and instructed briefly in the essential significance of the spot. (Acrelius, writing of his visit in 1753 says: 'The people of the Cloisters walk in their usual way, one after the other, the sisters as well as the brothers; and their walks are, therefore, all narrow, like footpaths.' Almost all early visitors describe the appearance of the meadow with apple and other fruit trees)."
>
> 5. "At each building, folders should be available, describing features of special interest at that spot. The buildings should all be furnished as museums, with controlled inspection, permitting access to certain portions of rooms, according to a well thought-out plan."
>
> 6. Rebuilding the two lost buildings is possible, along with the replanting of "orchards, communal garden, woodland, meadow, and all the appurtenances needed to convey the peculiar atmosphere of this unique spot. A like opportunity has seldom existed, and if gradually achieved, Pennsylvania will have something comparable to Williamsburg in drawing power, even though a mere fraction of the latter's size. This is because the Kloster can display in its purest form, the medieval art of the Pennsylvania Germans, which is attracting national attention today. Moreover, its religious and historic importance will draw great numbers of scholars each year."[99]

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission was evidently quite satisfied with Brumbaugh's preliminary report, because he was permitted to begin his work at Ephrata using the remaining funds, with additional funds to be allocated by the state legislature in subsequent years.

[99] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 8-9.

It should be noted that from the outset of the Ephrata Cloister restoration, there was little talk of establishing a timeline for the project's completion or an overall budget; the nature of the Pennsylvania government's financial expenditures for the PHMC meant that the restoration simply had to continue on a year-to-year basis without knowing how much funding would be received per annum. And Brumbaugh was quite aware, even so early in his restoration career, that it was impossible to predict how a project would proceed without first having exhaustively researched all documentary and archival evidence. Even then, he understood that restoration was not an exact science, and that new discoveries were wont to appear when least expected. As he stressed in his preliminary report of 1941,

> With a few minor exceptions, this work cannot be specified or contracted in advance because of its very nature. To be successful and to avoid the risk of irreplaceable loss or damage, no profit or loss motive should be a factor in its execution. It must be charted as it progresses, and even the tearing out and examination must be done by specially qualified workmen, under almost continuous architectural supervision.[100]

Brumbaugh's work at Ephrata was simple and straightforward, and his practical, methodical approach ultimately proved more time consuming than the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission had originally thought. His process can be distilled to the following few steps:

1. Assembly of available photographs and historic documentation of the site.

2. Creation of systematic measured drawings and sketches of each building, pre-restoration.

[100] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 13.

> 3. The careful dismantling of structures to examine details, materials, and construction techniques.
>
> 4. Retention of fragments, which were saved and used as basis for the restoration, using historic tools and techniques as often as possible.[101]

He and his crew, which was overseen by trusted carpenter Elam Martin when Brumbaugh was not on site, worked with a painstaking amount of detail in order to ensure that Ephrata Cloister's structures were not damaged during the investigatory process.[102] Brumbaugh was not at the Cloister on a daily basis, as his offices were located by this time in Gwynedd Valley and because he was simultaneously working on other projects, but would dedicate a few days per week to the project, during which he would drive out to Ephrata to proceed with the restoration process.

Brumbaugh's restoration staff at Ephrata remained small. In 1941, when he began his preliminary architectural investigations and preventative preservation efforts, the staff on site consisted of the property's caretaker, Reuben S. Kachel; three security guards, who sometimes performed maintenance work; and five carpenters.[103] Exterior restorations were undertaken first, because of the structural damage, holes, settling, and other flaws that needed to be dealt with immediately.[104] There were significant problems, especially at the Saal and Saron, that required Brumbaugh's urgent attention:

> The foundations had been started upon sharply sloping ledge rock, at some places less than a foot below grade, with no better mortar than simple clay between the stones. Upon this insecure base a great half-timbered frame,

---

[101] Strong and Thomas, 81.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 1-2.
[104] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 266.

> mortised and tenoned together in true medieval fashion, with heavy stone and clay fill between the squared oak timbers, was reared five stories to the topmost attic. The walls, twisted and sagging, had spread dangerously as the foundations slipped and settled with the passing years. Timber sills had rotted away, and the decayed ends of posts were supported on precarious wedges of fieldstone. Makeshift sheathing of may sorts, the accumulation of centuries of patching, covered the ancient frame. There were sawed and beveled boards, hand-split lath and plaster, various kinds of clapboards, and even simulated brickwork, made of galvanized iron sheets.[105]

Since the Saal and the Saron were the largest remaining structures on the Cloister property and were the most significant to the religious life of the settlement, Brumbaugh gave them the most initial attention.

He chose to begin his work at the Saal, which required structural stabilization before any restoration work could begin. The walls of the Saal were

> formed of hand-hewn white oak timbers (sills, posts, braces, girts, plates, etc.), all mortised, tenoned, and pinned together to make a strong timber frame [which was] filled inside between the timbers with stone and clay; and finally plastered with lime-surfaced clay plaster, flush with the timbers (which were left exposed).

The heavy stone fill built within the walls during the mid-eighteenth century had caused the foundation to shift and slope, requiring Brumbaugh and his crew to install structural supports.[106] They first attempted to use lengths of white oak, but this proved unsuccessful; they then inserted steel beams to ensure that the structure would "never slip sideways again."[107] Their next step in the restoration of the Saal was to determine

[105] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 18-19.
[106] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 266.
[107] Ibid.

whether the exterior timber framing had been left exposed, or whether clapboards had originally covered it.

Brumbaugh eventually discovered that the Saal had indeed been sheathed with oak clapboards, "which was confirmed beyond the possibility of dispute in a most interesting way" after "careful study of historical documents and of evidence at the building."[108] Brumbaugh's explanation of how he made this discovery, which relied upon his knowledge of the history and building chronology of Ephrata Cloister:

> It is necessary to explain that, three years after the erection of the Saal, a large house of logs, seventy-two feet in length, had been reared, directly adjoining the new 'house of prayer.' In due time, this building was assigned to the use of the Sisterhood, and named Saron. For reasons related to the involved story of its inception, it had been so placed that it actually overlapped the Saal by a distance of some five feet. Where the two walls lay against one another, narrow doors had been cut through on both first and second floors to allow passage from one building to the other. In the course of the delicate shoring operations, it seemed advisable to place a building jack in the first floor doorway, and the broad board lining of the opening was carefully removed, with most unexpected results. The two buildings had not been built tightly against one another, as had always been supposed, because the projecting structural timbers of the Saal compelled the builders to leave a space about six inches wide between them. In this space, sealed from view for two centuries, the original outside clapboards of the Saal were still in place.[109]

Upon making this discovery, Brumbaugh was forced to consider just how to replicate the "hand-split and shaved clapboards" that had originally covered both the Saal and the Saron.[110] The original clapboards were "five feet, two inches long (which, according to the old Palatine scale, was just five feet), about seven inches wide, a scant half-inch thick along one side, and knife-edged along the other. They had obviously been split and

[108] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 19.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 18.

shaved from great red oak logs."[111] Brumbaugh's keen eye for detail, combined with his insistence upon architectural authenticity, led him to conclude that the best means of reproducing the Ephrata clapboards was to use historic splitting techniques.

This proved easier said than done. As Brumbaugh would later write, "we knew by this time exactly what our restoration problems were, but we did not know the answers."[112] After extensive research, Brumbaugh determined that a "frow," a traditional cleaving tool, should be used to split the red oak logs that he had had delivered to the site. An antique frow was acquired from Henry Landis, founder of the Landis Valley Museum near Lancaster. The tool consisted of a "heavy blade, slightly less than a foot in length, with the metal at one end curled around to form an 'eye,' in which is inserted a stubby wooden handle at right angles to the back of the blade."[113] Landis provided detailed instructions and diagrams outlining the process for using the frow to split logs into clapboards, but the resulting pieces of wood were "thick in the center and thin at both ends [and] had to be put on a chopping block and hatchet-dressed to uniform thickness."[114]

After numerous attempts to replicate the cladding of the Saal and Saron without success, Brumbaugh turned to his foreman, Elam Martin, to "locate some old craftsman whose early experience, or memory of still earlier traditions, could supply us with the forgotten cunning needed for our task."[115] Fortuitously, Martin discovered an elderly Pennsylvania German sawmill owner named Harry Eberle who lived in the Furnace

---

[111] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 20.
[112] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 269.
[113] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 20.
[114] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 270.
[115] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 20.

Mountains of Lancaster County, and who informed Brumbaugh and his crew that they needed to use a "splitting rack" in conjunction with the frow to correctly split the quartered logs into clapboards; the splitting rack consisted of "a plain rectangular frame with one cross piece. One end [was] tilted upward at an angle on two whittled legs."[116]

With the addition of this simple, yet entirely forgotten piece of historic building equipment, Brumbaugh and his crew were able to produce clapboards "with reasonable economy and speed... [which were then] finished with a large draw knife on a 'schitzelbank' or shaving horse."[117] Brumbaugh was thus able to replicate Ephrata Cloister's thousands of missing clapboards with great ease and historical accuracy. He felt that it was important to use authentic building techniques as much as possible, noting in 1944 that in

> all of the restoration work Ephrata, the same materials and the same methods originally employed are being used, so far as practical. Only damaged or repaired parts of buildings will be disturbed, unless reconstruction is necessary for safety. In general, only rotted sections of posts and timbers are being cut out. Sound pieces of seasoned wood are then bolted in place, instead of replacing the entire timber. All sections so added are carefully marked for easy identification even a century hence, and the determination of very detail is the result of the most painstaking research and study.[118]

This insistence upon authenticity and careful practice was indeed time consuming, and the exterior restorations performed by Brumbaugh and his crew at Ephrata Cloister lasted into the 1950s.

---

[116] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 271-272.
[117] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 20.
[118] Ibid.

Brumbaugh understood that the restoration of this site would take many years, given its scale, age, condition, and lack of historical or architectural precedent, and in 1944 strove to reassure the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission that

> The task is slow and discouraging to anyone looking for speedy and impressive results. In fact, there is little to indicate the very real progress made to date toward the ultimate restoration. But the Saal is now structurally safe and almost all of its many puzzling riddles have been solved. The west front, with its newly discovered arched doorway, is completely restored. And, although operations today are limited to essential repairs, these are being made properly and in line with the final program. The buildings are constantly watched and protected day and night, while the course is being charted for complete restoration in happier days to come. Eventually, the entire State-owned portion of the original 'Kloster' property will be restored in a scholarly manner.[119]

In three years, little visible progress had been made at Ephrata, but significant strides were well underway for the ultimate restoration of the entire Cloister settlement. When working for the state, however, Brumbaugh understood that visible signs of restoration were perhaps the only way that PHMC officials could be sure that progress was indeed being made. With this in mind, he reassured the Commission that while "the problems at first seem insurmountable with the means at hand, thorough study has shown that a beginning is possible. The first steps are, of necessity, unattractive, and unimaginative, but the high goal should always be kept in sight, and eventually it will be achieved."[120]

In 1946, while Brumbaugh was working on the Ephrata restoration, he was honored with Fellowship status, one the American Institute of Architects' highest and most prestigious honors. An FAIA nomination letter from Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Lt.

---

[119] Brumbaugh, "Medieval Construction at Ephrata," 20.
[120] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.3, Carton 4, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Preliminary Report on Ephrata Cloister, 13.

Colonel, C.E., U.S. Army, member of the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA, and college classmate of Brumbaugh, stressed his integrity and skill as both architect and restoration architect:

> His design has always been sensitive and marked by appreciation of the elements we recognize as standards. I should say, as I follow his executed commissions, that his work shows deep understanding of the background of Pennsylvania culture... His work is sturdy structurally and sound in practical matters. His ethical standards are, and always have been, above reproach. He has not been content to hide behind the comparative anonymity of a firm name or to be carried along in course by the success of others, either in obtaining commissions or executing work; but has carried on his work boldly as an individual, risking his personal name, reputation and financial security with every piece of work in execution. He has lent dignity to the profession and contributed distinctly to its advancement.[121]

It is interesting to note that even as late as 1946, Brumbaugh considered himself more well known for his new designs rather than for his restoration work; the biographical sketch that he submitted to the AIA read, "Practice has included restorations of numerous early buildings, including historically important structures for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Perhaps best known for residential work in the spirit of early Pennsylvania architecture."[122] The American Institute of Architects, however, seemed to feel that his restoration work was what distinguished him as an architect; in a press release of May 9, 1946, they described Brumbaugh's career thusly:

---

[121] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, FAIA Nomination letter to E.T. Kemper, Secretary, The Committee on Fellowship, the AIA, from Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Lt. Colonel, C.E., U.S. Army, Philadelphia AIA.

[122] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Letter from G. Edwin Brumbaugh to Talmage C. Hughes, Chairman, Committee on Public Information, AIA, dated April 16, 1946.

> He was admitted to the institute in 1920. For his notable contributions to our knowledge of early Americana through painstaking research, for his sympathetic and authoritative restorations of Dutch Colonial landmarks in his native state and his unswerving efforts toward their preservation, and for the faithful maintenance of exceptionally high standards in design both as student and architect, he is advanced to Fellowship in The American Institute of Architects.[123]

It seems that G. Edwin Brumbaugh's restoration career was more critically acclaimed during this era than he himself may have realized. In any case, Brumbaugh accepted the honor graciously, noting that it "is an honor which I greatly appreciate, as well as a challenge to produce better architecture all the time."[124]

In the meantime, the restoration of Ephrata Cloister grew increasingly conflict-ridden as it continued into the 1950s. Brumbaugh's correspondence with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission indicates that he had many difficulties dealing with the bureaucratic procedures required by the state, especially when it came to adequate funding for the project. Requests for building materials had to be made through the Comptroller of the PHMC; the process was extremely slow, as certain materials could only be purchased through the state's Department of Property and Supplies. Getting funding approved for specialized tools and materials that were not included on the state's materials acquisitions lists also proved difficult.[125]

Funding for the Ephrata Cloister restoration project fluctuated considerably during this period, with the largest amount of funding being given in 1947 ($47,889),

---

[123] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Press release from the American Institute of Architects, May 9, 1946.

[124] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Letter from G. Edwin Brumbaugh to John N. Richards, July 31, 1946.

[125] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.2, Carton 5, Ephrata Cloister, 1945-1953.

while the smallest amount allocated to the project came in 1948 ($4,385).[126] The average amount of state-supplied funds per year was approximately $26,000. Brumbaugh's commission was increased from 4% to 6% in 1951 (although 10% was the current AIA standard rate for projects requiring alterations and additions; a specific rate scale for restoration work did not yet exist). Clearly, he wasn't working on the Ephrata restoration to make a significant income. Instead, his interest in completing a thorough and accurate restoration of the site sprang from somewhat romantic perception of its former inhabitants and original appearance:

> To appreciate Ephrata, you must sweep away the dust and change of almost two centuries, see the freshly scrubbed wooden doors, shining brick and tile floors, trim gardens and orchards, and everywhere sturdy brothers in long brown robes, or groups or hooded sisters proceeding quietly about their appointed tasks.[127]

Despite his romanticizing, spiritual view of the site, the difficulties posed by working with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission began to put a strain upon Brumbaugh.

The PHMC's primary goal for Ephrata Cloister was to make it a tourist attraction (and ideally a source of income). Even though the site was in the midst of restoration, visitor levels were still relatively high; in 1956, it recorded 30,019 visitors, a 20% increase over 1955.[128] By the mid-1950s, however, Brumbaugh had focused almost exclusively on exterior restorations of Ephrata Cloister's fifteen structures, and although

---

[126] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter from G. Edwin Brumbaugh to S.K. Stevens, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, August 10, 1960.
[127] Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, 48-49.
[128] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972.

interior investigations of the Saal and Saron were well underway, interior restorations were nowhere near complete. As S.K. Stevens, the future Chairman of the PHMC wrote to Brumbaugh in May of 1956:

> we [the PHMC] believe that the improvement of the interior conditions, which have been called to your attention, is a matter of first importance and would take precedence over the exterior restoration work at this particular moment. We appreciate the fact that resources are limited in terms of both manpower and material, and that this is the only way in which such an improvement could be made. The point is that there has been a very considerable amount of criticism regarding certain aspects of the interior appearance. We strongly believe that in the presentation of this property to the public, we must avoid such criticism. People can readily understand the fact that a restoration in still in progress. At the same time, they are apt to be offended by conditions on the inside of the building which are definitely untidy.[129]

Stevens was reiterating concerns that had been brought to Brumbaugh's attention a month earlier, by Frank W. Melvin, who stressed the PHMC's desire to make the Saal and Saron "more meaningful and attractive to visitors."[130]

Brumbaugh shared this goal, but was not willing to forgo historical accuracy or careful restoration methods in order to achieve it. It seems that the PHMC did, at this point, appreciate the thoroughness of his restoration, if not his lack of speed. In January of 1957, Earle W. Newton, Director of State Museums and Historic Properties, expressed his "particularly high respect for [Brumbaugh] as a restoration architect coupled with a distinct personal affection. [The PHMC] can't conceive of anyone else whom we would

---

[129] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from S.K. Stevens, May 3, 1956.

[130] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from Frank W. Melvin, April 16, 1956.

want to tackle this very important Ephrata restoration... we tend to look toward [Brumbaugh] when most any project in Eastern Pennsylvania pops up."[131] By the summer of 1957, however, PHMC officials began to grow increasingly tired of Brumbaugh's painstaking process. Indeed, in August of 1957 Frank W. Melvin noted that "Improvements at [Ephrata Cloister] have lagged during the intervening years, and our Commission is determined, if humanly possible, to achieve something close to a final set-up in the next two years."[132] During this period Brumbaugh was also informed that, due to uneven financial appropriations made by the state to the PHMC, he would have to reduce his restoration staff on site to only three workmen for the next eighteen months.[133]

Despite these setbacks, Brumbaugh proceeded with his work at Ephrata, but the restoration continued to be questioned by the PHMC. In March of 1958, S.K. Stevens, who was by then the Chairman of the Commission, wrote to Brumbaugh, and made his feelings clear:

> I must confess that I am personally somewhat unhappy that we have not been able to get more done that we have in they way of some of these improvements. At the same time, I am realistic enough to understand just why we have not been able to get these things done.
>
> I am sorry to say it, but it does not seem that there is one quick and easy solution to make all of the improvements we would like to make at our various properties in a short space of time... I think our main objective must be the preparation of rather careful and complete plans as to the overall pattern of what we want and need in the way of buildings and

[131] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from Earle W. Newton, January 14, 1957.
[132] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to Baker Royer (Chairman, Joint State Government Commission) from Frank W. Melvin, August 22, 1957.
[133] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from Earle W. Newton, June 13, 1957.

> various properties. It is only when we do have such a comprehensive plan that we can split it up into possible parts and submit the parts for consideration in terms of financing.
>
> The one thing about which I am very much concerned is that we should not fall into a hasty bit of piecemeal construction of buildings just to make a show of progress. I think that it is very dangerous, and it is already creating an impression in some quarters that we do not know just exactly where we are going.[134]

Stevens' concerns about the Ephrata restoration put Brumbaugh in a difficult position. The PHMC wanted to see the project completed quickly, but did not want the final stages of the restoration to be shoddy or inaccurate. They asked for complete plans, but also made it clear that a comprehensive restoration was at this point likely impossible, due to time and money constraints. A month later, S.K. Stevens again wrote to Brumbaugh, expressing his concern over Brumbaugh's plans for Ephrata Cloister's visitor center. Stevens questioned his plan to construct a visitor center with hand-hewn clapboards and hand-wrought nails on the grounds of both cost and time. While he agreed with Brumbaugh that a modern building might disrupt the overall mood of the Cloister site, he also wondered what type of criticism they might receive for building a faux-eighteenth century structure.[135]

Brumbaugh, who remained a great proponent of the colonial revival even as it began to be derided during the mid 1950s, responded with an attempt to meet the state's desires. In May of 1958, he wrote to S.K. Stevens to say that he was beginning working

---

[134] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from S.K. Stevens, March 21, 1958.

[135] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from S.K. Stevens, April 29, 1958.

drawings "at once" for the completion of the restoration, and also asked about the possibility of adding more workmen to the restoration force at Ephrata in order to expedite the workload.[136] Work continued smoothly until 1960, when the PHMC again became concerned about Brumbaugh's role in the Ephrata Cloister restoration.

In May of that year, Brumbaugh called the Historical Commission's office to talk about some of his concerns and proposals for the project: he wished especially to discuss his discontent with the site's new caretaker and his opinions as to how the Cloister should be interpreted to the public. Brumbaugh was especially adamant that the museum at Ephrata not resemble the one that had been established at the Daniel Boone Homestead, as he was particularly dissatisfied with the PHMC's interpretive and museum displays at that site. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission perceived Brumbaugh's concerns as an attempt to assume "full control of the property;" they preferred that he remain unconcerned with anything but the physical aspects of the architectural restoration.[137]

This, of course, was unwarranted criticism. To deprive an architect of the ability to select his own staff, and to give him little say as to how a restored structure could best and most effectively be presented to the public constitutes a very old-fashioned, close-minded view of restoration architecture on the part of the PHMC. As increased frustration developed on both sides, the situation escalated over the course of the summer

---

[136] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.61, Carton 4, Ephrata Cloister, Lancaster County, 1955-1972, Letter to S.K. Stevens from G. Edwin Brumbaugh, March 31, 1958.

[137] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Memo to Dr. S.K. Stevens from William N. Richards, re: Telephone call from G. Edwin Brumbaugh, May 2, 1960.

of 1960. S.K. Stevens responded to Brumbaugh's remarks, making the state's opinions known:

> I am very much disturbed at the failure to complete the work in the interior of the Saron, and the mess which exists there still, despite the fact when you talked to me about it on the phone and I gave a go-ahead it was with the understanding it would be completed and not interfere with this summer's visitation.
>
> Frankly, I do not like your references to the displays at the Boone Museum. Only last week a person of very excellent taste and well acquainted with these problems throughout the country spoke to me very highly of the little museum setup which we have at Boone. Personally, I am very much in favor of the National Park Service type of display where you have an educational message to get across in a very small space. We are by no means averse to having your ideas, but I certainly cannot feel we are obligated to put them into effect because they are coming from an architect in charge of the restoration proper.[138]

Stevens passed Brumbaugh's comments along to the rest of the PHMC, calling them "dictatorial" and noting that it "certainly looks as if we are rapidly nearing a showdown on just exactly who is running this property."[139]

There is a general sense in the correspondence between members of the PHMC during this period that their primary concern for Ephrata Cloister was attracting visitors to the site; by 1960, they were simply not interested in completing the restoration for restorations's sake, but had larger motives. S.K. Stevens admitted as much to Brumbaugh, but felt that the two parties could still come to a consensus regarding the completion of the Ephrata restoration, assuring him that "I respect the jealousy with

[138] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from S.K. Stevens, May 3, 1960.
[139] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Memo to Members of the Commission who were at Ephrata, from S.K. Stevens, May 30, 1960.

which you guard Ephrata, because it is your child. I think, however, there is room for accommodating your great concerns for the integrity of Ephrata, to [the PHMC's] concern to get on with the final and complete restoration."[140] Brumbaugh's restoration methodology took too much time, and the PHMC could not abide by his insistence upon painstaking investigations, the use of hand-hewn boards and other historic building techniques, and his assertion that his purview, as restoration architect, extended to interpretation and to the appearance of the historic landscape.

The conflict between G. Edwin Brumbaugh and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission came to a head when a letter to the editor written by S.K. Stevens was published in the *Ephrata Review* on July 7, 1960. The letter was a critique of the slowness of Brumbaugh's work at Ephrata Cloister.[141] Brumbaugh was understandably incensed, and wrote to Stevens some weeks later:

> Ephrata has been one of my great concerns. Because of its early date and unique character, I have continued all these years to struggle, against odds, and at considerable financial sacrifice, for the maintenance of highest standards of authenticity. This has seemed worth while to me because the project is irreplaceable and unmatched as a State asset. I am convinced that, at long last, these standards are to be subordinated to other considerations.
>
> I simply do not want to be identified with failures or compromises in areas involving an important public service. As my contract is about to terminate, or has terminated, I am unwilling to enter into another agreement.[142]

---

[140] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from S.K. Stevens, May 26, 1960.
[141] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60.
[142] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to S.K. Stevens from G. Edwin Brumbaugh, July 26, 1960.

Stevens would later refer to Brumbaugh's restoration work at Ephrata Cloister as "feeble efforts."[143]

While significant preservation and restoration work was achieved at Ephrata between 1941 and 1960, especially the structural and exterior restorations of the Saal and Saron, which are arguably two of the most architecturally and historically significant buildings in Pennsylvania, Brumbaugh felt that lack of funds and adequate staff slowed his efforts, making it nearly impossible to complete the project in accordance with his methods and standards for restoration (see Figures 6 and 7). He is rather diplomatic about the events that occurred at Ephrata in his unpublished manuscript, even writing that, given the restoration work that remained: "There is still room for experts in the future (our office is unusually well supplied and willing to be called upon [by the PHMC] if the terms are open and acceptable)."[144]

Brumbaugh was more forthcoming in a talk he gave on October 26, 1977, in regards to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's subsequent restoration work at Ephrata, noting that the state's interior restorations of the Saal and Saron do not reflect the same period (as they exist now, they never existed concurrently). Brumbaugh took issue with this:

> To portray the Saal correctly as a two story church room, Saron should be removed, or restored as a two part convent; also, the stone kitchen wing should go and the small rear rooms and second stairway should be restored. Such destruction is unthinkable; but it would take a pretty adroit speaker and a complicated explanation to reconcile the present

[143] Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Series 13.1, Carton 1, Ephrata Cloister, 1957-60, Letter to S.K. Stevens from G. Edwin Brumbaugh, July 26, 1960.

[144] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 321.

> arrangement with Ephrata history. We had selected the 1780's as the wisest date for authentic restoration.[145]

He also criticized the PHMC's unwillingness to re-create the historic landscape of Ephrata Cloister; for Brumbaugh, to whom atmosphere and spirituality were central components of the understanding and appreciation of historic architecture, this was of paramount importance.[146] Despite the conflict and ultimate break that characterized his restoration of Ephrata Cloister, Brumbaugh was so moved by the architecture and history of the site that he considered it one of his most meaningful; perhaps he was also particularly attached to this project because it represented a situation in which his skill, and later his scruples, as a restoration architect were put to the test.

---

[145] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 99, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Notes from a talk given regarding the restoration of Ephrata Cloister, 4.
[146] Ibid., 6-7.

FIGURE 2 – The Saal at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of front. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey, John O. Brostrup, photographer, January 14, 1937)

FIGURE 3 – The Saal at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of rear. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey, John O. Brostrup, photographer, January 14, 1937)

FIGURE 4 – The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of front. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey, John O. Brostrup, photographer, January 14, 1937)

FIGURE 5 – The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, conditions pre-restoration. View of rear. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey, John O. Brostrup, photographer, November 2, 1936)

FIGURE 6 – The Saal and Saron at Ephrata Cloister, post-restoration. View of front. (Image by the author)

FIGURE 7 – The Saron at Ephrata Cloister, post-restoration. View of rear. (Image by the author)

CHAPTER 5 – THE RESTORATION OF THE WILLIAM BRINTON 1704 HOUSE

G. Edwin Brumbaugh worked on the Ephrata Cloister and Brinton 1704 House restoration projects concurrently between 1954 and 1958. His role as restoration architect at the Brinton 1704 House, however, differed significantly from his experiences at Ephrata.

The effort to restore the 1704 House, located in Dilworthtown, Pennsylvania, near West Chester, was led by the Brinton Family Association and by Bart Anderson, the executive director of the Chester County Historical Society. So named because it was constructed by William Brinton the Younger in 1704, the house was the first home of the Brintons, a family of English Quakers who came to Pennsylvania in 1684.[147] The two-story house had originally been constructed of local stone with a medievalizing, typically English hall-and-parlor plan, pent eave, leaded glass windows, and steeply pitched, shingled roof (see Figure 8). By the mid-twentieth century, however, the house had been so altered that it was no longer recognizable as a colonial dwelling (see Figure 9).[148]

Francis Brinton, "a well-known member of the society of friends," first approached Brumbaugh regarding the restoration of the 1704 House in 1953.[149] Brinton had recently purchased his family's ancestral home and was eager to see it restored to its earliest appearance. Although interested, Brumbaugh informed Francis Brinton and his wife, Deborah, that he was regrettably too committed to other commissions to take on another project, and suggested that they engage another restoration architect to complete

---

[147] Margaret Bye Richie, John D. Milner, and Gregory D. Huber, *Stone Houses: Traditional Homes of Bucks County and Brandywine Valley* (New York: Rizzoli, 2005), 184.
[148] Ibid.
[149] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 35.

the job. Mr. and Mrs. Brinton were adamant in their desire to have Brumbaugh serve as restoration architect, and waited over a year and a half until his schedule allowed him to begin work at the 1704 House, by which time Francis Brinton had unfortunately passed away.[150]

By this point, it is evident that Brumbaugh had solidified his views regarding the role of the restoration architect. As his authority became increasingly questioned by "non-experts" at Ephrata Cloister, Brumbaugh seems to have been drawn to projects in which he was allowed a significant degree of professional autonomy, and where he was duly given the respect that he deserved as a leading and experienced practitioner. In 1957, he expressed his views regarding the degree of training required to be a knowledgeable restorer:

> From long experience, I feel that it is a highly specialized task, and that it cannot be taught by an academic course or the perusal of a book, helpful as these expedients may be. The "course" at Penn and the various seminars, as presently conducted can be harmful, by whetting the appetites of amateurs.[151]

That same year, he described his firm, which had evolved into a small, yet specialized operation, staffed by individuals who shared Brumbaugh's conscientious approach. He described it as "not large, but... rather thorough. We like to study our work down to the smallest detail, and have avoided developing a large staff of young, 'specialists,' whose

[150] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 37.
[151] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 101, Letter to Miss Lois V. Given, Associate Editor, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 26, 1957.

cooperative effort results in speed, sometimes at the expense of quality."[152] By this stage in his career, Brumbaugh knew his professional strengths, and was selecting projects that played to these strengths; the 1704 House was one such project.

A number of assets characterized the Brinton 1704 House restoration from the start. The first of these was the interest and commitment of the Brinton Family Association, especially that of Deborah Brinton, and their complete respect for G. Edwin Brumbaugh and his work. The second was Bart Anderson's involvement, whose considerable experience as a historian allowed the project "to start with the first essential of a good restoration – a credible history."[153] Third, the project's contractor, Howard M. Ryan, worked "carefully and slowly" in a manner that complemented Brumbaugh's method.[154] Finally, the restoration was lucky enough to have an unparalleled historic description of the house in the Diary of John Hill Brinton. Brinton, a lawyer who "recorded noted and descriptions of all his elder contemporaries could tell him about the house" between 1858 and 1880, provided Brumbaugh and his team with a great deal of information regarding the original appearance of the 1704 House.[155] In many "instances the 'Diary' proved helpful in determining when and where alterations had taken place."[156]

---

[152] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Office Records, Box 102, Letter to Richard H.D. Bullock, January 5, 1957.
[153] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 37.
[154] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 111, Lectures, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Address to the Brinton Family Association, August 9, 1969.
[155] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 45.
[156] George Edward Stetson, "The 1704 House Built in Chester County, Pennsylvania, by William Brinton the Younger," Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1961, 50.

Brumbaugh's initial investigations at the Brinton 1704 House proved that the restoration would be a challenge. The exterior of the house had been significantly altered from its 1704 appearance; a north wing of green serpentine stone, two Victorian-era gables and porches, and an eastern frame wing dating from 1888 all but obliterated the original stone structure (see Figure 9).[157] The interior had not fared much better:

> There was not a single scrap of original woodwork that had survived inside, not an old door, not even a small piece of baseboard. The fireplaces had all been torn out, the stairs had been relocated and altered; and the only original material, readily observable, was in the floor construction itself, the joists, the summer beams, and some of the flooring.[158]

Despite this apparent lack of historic fabric, the historic accounts included in John Hill Brinton's diary convinced Brumbaugh that elements of the original 1704 structure remained hidden beneath these nineteenth century accretions and alterations. Brumbaugh's restoration began in the spring of 1954, with funds raised by the Brinton Family Association.[159]

The first step of the restoration was "the careful removal of materials added during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century."[160] Brumbaugh believed that returning a structure to its earliest form constituted the most accurate restoration, and

> was no proponent of the John Ruskin and William Morris "anti-scrape" school of preservation – which holds that later changes to a building are just as valid as the original fabric. He also believed with the wider public

[157] Stetson, 45.
[158] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 111, Lectures, Address to the Brinton Family Association, August 9, 1969.
[159] Stetson, 63.
[160] Ibid., 50.

> of the time that the Victorian era represented an unfortunate lapse in taste that should be excised from earlier buildings at every opportunity.[161]

Even though some of the layers of physical fabric that were removed were, by 1954, well over one hundred years old, Brumbaugh saw little merit in their architectural value, and deemed them "damaging changes."[162] What interested him, and what interested his client, was returning the 1704 House to its earliest and most authentic appearance.

To achieve this aim, Brumbaugh "made a careful study of the old house that existed under the modern wood and plaster."[163] Luckily, "the removal of material added since 1704 [proved] the accuracy of [John Hill Brinton] almost without exception," meaning that Brumbaugh and his team could rely upon the Diary's architectural descriptions in good confidence.[164] The removal of the nineteenth century Victorian porch revealed stones that had been removed from the original structure when windows had been enlarged and fireplaces reduced. This stone had been used "to build piers under the new porch," but was returned to the house "to bring the windows and fireplaces back to their original size."[165] So drastic was the removal of layers upon layers of physical fabric that Deborah Brinton remarked to Brumbaugh, "We hear the neighbors cannot understand why we tore down the good house which was already there!"[166]

---

[161] Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 212.
[162] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 111, Lectures, Address to the Brinton Family Association, August 9, 1969.
[163] Dorothy Pratt and Richard Pratt, *A Guide to Early American Homes – North* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), 182.
[164] Stetson, iii.
[165] Ibid., 31.
[166] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 437, Office Records, Letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh from Deborah Brinton, October 4, 1955.

After the house had been stripped of its post-1704 accretions, Brumbaugh and his team began the process of "exploratory demolition."[167] He defined this process as "carefully taking apart any features which display evidence of being later additions. Care is required, because they must be replaced with minimum damage if examination proves them original."[168] The period of investigation lasted until September 1954, when restoration and any necessary reconstruction work was slated to begin.[169] By this point, Brumbaugh was of the mindset that the 1704 House was "probably unique as a stone transitional American house, displaying medieval features, with Renaissance mass and roof treatment."[170] He assured Deborah Brinton that while at "the moment, the house presents its most discouraging aspect... much of great importance has been revealed in this preliminary process of uncovering original evidence."[171] He assured Bart Anderson of the same, apologizing for the lack of visible progress:

> I am not proud of our physical progress, except for the fact that our 'archaeology' has been most productive and we have made no mistakes. Unfortunately the findings chart a new field in American architecture (seventeenth century stone construction with transitional flavor). My preconceived ideas have to be revised and considerable research is not only indicated but essential, and the field is very limited. Of one thing I am sure we are all in agreement: no designed restorations for us! We are going to have a logical explanation for every detail, especially since we seem to have a building which may be unique in America.[172]

---

[167] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 111, Lectures, Address to the Brinton Family Association, August 9, 1969.
[168] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 40.
[169] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, letter to Mrs. Francis Brinton, August 26, 1954.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, letter to Bart Anderson, August 23, 1954.

The most exciting aspect of this restoration project was, for Brumbaugh, the Brinton 1704 House's early date and relative uniqueness; as he continued his process of exploratory demolition, some of the most notable discoveries were made. The first element that was examined was the south (front) door, which was discovered to have had a walnut frame and a leaded glass transom (see Figure 10).[173] The discovery of this transom was quite exciting, and suggested that all of the house's twenty-seven windows may have originally contained leaded glass. This suspicion was confirmed when Brumbaugh discovered rebating "just deep enough for leaded sash... in the original white pine frame of a collar window and in the original transom over the front door."[174] The remaining window frame was in the basement, "in the south wall of the west section. It was equipped with vertical bars, and, fortunately, [was] rebated for a fixed panel of leaded glass, matching the detail of the south door transom."[175] The fact that the 1704 House had leaded glass casement windows was

> an item of exceptional interest and value... Original leaded glass casements in America are very scarce and only a few examples have been preserved. They are mostly in frame houses. "Bacon's Castle" in Virginia is a rare example of a brick house with evidence of leaded casements.[176]

Brumbaugh notes that the 1704 House "is the only provable example [he knows] of this type of window in a stone house."[177]

---

[173] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 40.
[174] Stetson, 38.
[175] G. Edwin Brumbaugh, letter to Mrs. Francis Brinton, August 26, 1954.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.

A total of twenty-seven leaded glass windows were discovered in the Brinton 1704 House:

> the original location of every window was ascertained as well as the exact size of almost all the frames due to the presence of "joggle holes," sawed-off ends of sills and lintels, and jambs left intact but plastered over. The "joggle holes," made by the projection of the horizontal members ("lugs") of the window frames and intended to secure the frame in position, proved that the windows were all casements with fixed transoms above the moveable sash.[178]

In order to determine whether the panes of leaded glass were diamond shaped or rectangular, Brumbaugh and his workmen "carefully excavated and screened the earth below each window. Some of the broken fragments of thin, early glass thus retrieved bore obtuse, and some pointed, angles. [They] were then satisfied that the glass had been diamond shaped" (see Figure 11).[179] In his unpublished manuscript, Brumbaugh took the opportunity to criticize restorations run by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in his discussion of the proper bracing mechanisms used to combat wind in eighteenth century leaded glass windows, such as those found at the Brinton 1704 House, noting that some "state-restored leaded glass windows in our locality have bulged badly from such pressure, due to lack of bracing."[180]

He traveled to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities Museum in Boston to examine other examples of early American leaded glass windows in order to see how they were originally braced.[181] Brumbaugh determined that at

---

[178] Stetson, 39.
[179] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 42.
[180] Ibid., 43.
[181] Ibid.

> every point where cames between panes of glass were soldered to the surrounding frame of the panel, a hand-wrought nail was driven diagonally into the wooden sash. After all, this was logical. At these points, cames joined one another and were all soldered together, thus increasing resistance to bending of the lead and resultant cracking of glass.
>
> We realized at one that the holes made by these nails revealed the exact size of the diamond shaped glass panes. So back we went to West Chester to examine the upper part of the old door frame along the small rabbets which had held the original leaded glass transom panels. Regularly spaced nail holes were there, almost swollen shut. But we measured them carefully, laid them out on a drawing, and we had the exact size of the diamond panes. (It was necessary to recall the former drawings and make new one, changing the glass size a small fraction of an inch.)[182]

The combination of architectural, archaeological, and historical evidence proved to Brumbaugh, without a doubt, the original appearance of the leaded glass casement windows at the 1704 House. While the windows were the restoration project's most unique and notable discovery, and received a great deal of Brumbaugh's attention, other elements of the restoration project also proved interesting.

The restoration of the exterior of the Brinton 1704 House proceeded much more quickly than that of the interior, because far fewer interior details remained after the significant changes that had been made to the house over the course of 250 years.[183] Brumbaugh's plans for the exterior included the reconstruction of the roof, dormers, chimneys, and pent eaves, along with a "frame wing [that] was retained to provide quarters for a caretaker, and was redesigned with the reeded siding, batten doors, and 'kneewall height' second story typical of the Delaware Valley in 1725."[184] Brumbaugh

[182] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 42.
[183] Stetson, 46.
[184] Ibid., 45-46.

found it quite difficult to design a solution for this wing that would prove both historically accurate and practical, stating:

> Finally, a plan has been developed for the alteration of the east wing into caretaker's quarters, by lowering the roof and revising the architectural character. This solution, less than ideal, seems the only practical way to secure such facilities and provide heat to the old building, without expense beyond our resources.

The final steps in the exterior restoration included the "removal of the green paint which had been applied to the original part of the house when the green serpentine wing was added."[185] Surprisingly, the

> paint had the beneficial effect of helping to protect the stone and mortar, but the only way to remove it effectively yet economically was to sandblast it, a rather drastic step. As a result of the sandblasting, however, the weathered stone, the unweathered stone, and the new stone emerged with a uniform appearance.

Since the original appearance of the exterior of the 1704 House was so well documented, both in image and in writing, Brumbaugh's exterior restoration of the house proved quite accurate and relatively straightforward.

Because so little of the structure's original interior elements remained, however, completing accurate restoration of these spaces proved more difficult. Brumbaugh examined both English precedents and other houses from the Delaware Valley, such as the John Chads house in Chadds Ford and the Gideon Gilpin House (Lafayette's Headquarters) at Brandywine Battlefield in order to determine the interior finishes that may have been present in the 1704 House.

---

[185] Stetson, 46.

Small findings dictated the treatment of certain interior areas. On the second floor, Brumbaugh discovered that the flooring, composed of random width white pine boards, was original, which in turn influenced the treatment for the rest of the house's flooring.[186] His interior investigations looked to evidence of plastering and woodwork installation techniques (original work was likely to be mortised and tenoned in, while later work would be nailed in) in order to determine the original configuration of the second floor. Perhaps the most interesting clue that Brumbaugh discovered in his interior investigations "was the quaint drawing of a typical sailing vessel of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that [appeared] as the layers of paint were removed from the south wall [of the second floor]," in the east room. The image was divided neatly in half by a wood partition, which was obviously determined to be a later addition.[187] These details constitute the more notable examples of architectural evidence that Brumbaugh discovered in the interior of the 1704 House; because so much original fabric was missing, many educated decisions as to the correct interior finishes had to be made.

Although Brumbaugh's restoration of the Brinton 1704 House has been criticized by some for what they see as his attempt to "improve through restoration," little evidence of this offense exists. Indeed, due to the lack of original architectural fabric in some locations, especially in the house's interior, Bart Anderson expressed his concern early on in the restoration process that every decision made by Brumbaugh be based on physical or archival evidence, or at very least on historical or architectural precedent:

> My one idea in all this fretting over the 1704 part of the building is to have everything as perfect as possible – to have authority for everything, and

[186] Stetson, 52.
[187] Ibid., 52-53.

> where imagination has to be used, as it will at times I realize, to have authority for the design gotten from the use of the imagination. I never under any circumstances question that what you show is correct – but I do like to know without the shadow of a doubt...[188]

The only example of a potential "improvement" that was made to the Brinton 1704 House by Brumbaugh seems to be the substitution of walnut for white pine in some of the interior woodwork: "Since walnut was apparently so popular with the original builder, [Brumbaugh] made a few changes in interior trim and directed the contractor, Mr. Howard M. Ryan, to give the basement a 'standing finish of walnut, instead of white pine'" (see Figure 12).[189]

Before criticizing Brumbaugh for making a speculative, perhaps less than accurate restoration decision, a few factors must be considered. First of all, his architectural investigations showed that the 1704 House featured both walnut and white pine interior woodwork, and while it seems less likely that walnut would have been used in the basement, it is entirely possible. Second, a felled walnut tree on the property served as a source of wood for the restoration, which may have fueled Brumbaugh's decision to use walnut over white pine. And third, we must not forget the role of the Brinton Family Association in the restoration process. As a proud, old Quaker family focused on restoring their ancestral home to its "original glory," it is entirely likely that they were interested in creating a slightly more luxurious atmosphere than that which their ancestors had originally built in 1704.

The completed restoration of the Brinton 1704 House was very well received, with the general consensus being that Brumbaugh's "careful research [had] resulted in an

---

[188] Bart Anderson, letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh, November 22, 1954.
[189] Stetson, 34.

accurate restoration."[190] Compared to his work at Ephrata, this project constituted a much more straightforward process, with an agreeable client that shared his goals and mindset and felt the same way about the spiritual meaning and importance of such an early house. Brumbaugh believed that "Old houses are preserved and restored because someone has loved them," and felt that the 1704 House was one such house.[191] He deemed it a "rare and interesting house which is standing in its original form today solely because of such deep affection bestowed upon it."[192]

Because the Brintons held Brumbaugh in such high professional regard, they gave him considerable free reign and autonomy when it came to the restoration of the 1704 House. The relationship was so positive, and the family was so satisfied with Brumbaugh's work, that in 1960, Brumbaugh and his wife were named honorary members of the Brinton Family Association.[193] Brumbaugh's feelings about the restoration were equally fond:

> To be sure, William Brinton might not recognize all details of his restored 1704 House, but he would certainly feel more at home in it than he would, had a return visit been possible soon after [the] final Victorianizing efforts; and a worthy page of Pennsylvania history is preserved.[194]

---

[190] Stetson, ix.
[191] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 35.
[192] Ibid.
[193] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 437, Office Records, 1704 Brinton House.
[194] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 64.

FIGURE 8 – The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. (Image by the author)

FIGURE 9 – The Brinton 1704 House, c.1870, with nineteenth century additions. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey)

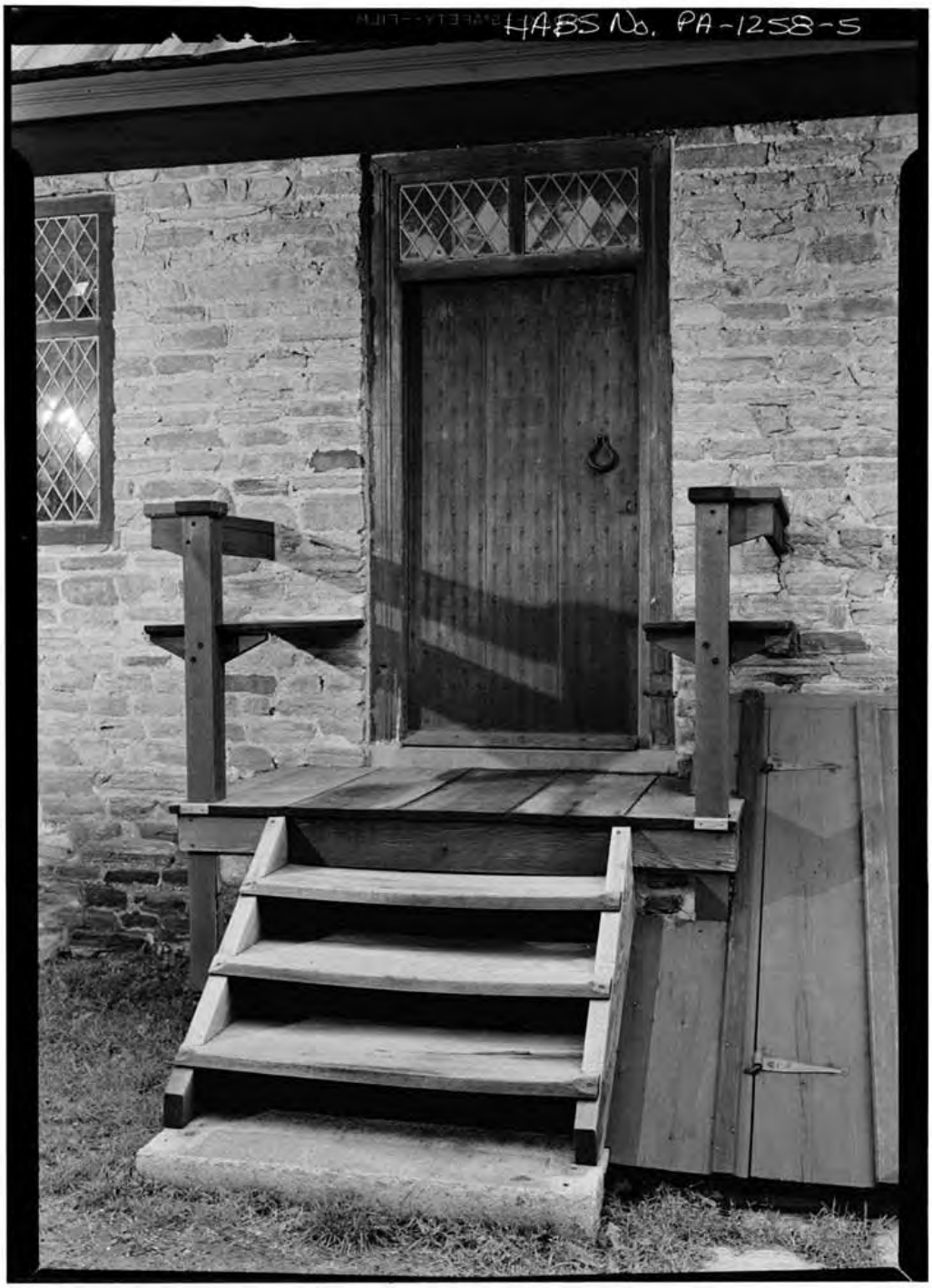

FIGURE 10 – The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Detail of front door and leaded glass transom window. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey)

FIGURE 11 – The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Detail of leaded glass casement window. (Image by the author)

FIGURE 12 – The Brinton 1704 House, post-restoration. Interior view of basement kitchen. (Image: Historic American Buildings Survey)

CHAPTER 6 – LATER CAREER: GERMANTOWN SQUARE AND OTHER PROJECTS

By 1970, G. Edwin Brumbaugh had been practicing restoration architecture for nearly fifty years. Although he was by this point in his eighties, his enthusiasm for his work, and his affinity for colonial architecture, had not waned. The professional climate of the era, however, had changed significantly; the preservation world of the 1970s was quite different than that of the 1920s or 1930s. Brumbaugh's style of restoration, in which structures, were, for the most part, stripped down to their earliest layers of historic fabric, was increasingly seen an antiquated practice. Furthermore, as different periods of history and architecture came to be appreciated and deemed worthy of preservation, widespread interest in the colonial revival was on the decline. By this point, the ideas that characterized much of Brumbaugh's earlier work were seen by many as being outdated.

Brumbaugh's plans for the restoration and reconstruction of the Germantown Market Square provide insight into final phase of his restoration career.[195] Although the project was ultimately scrapped, a discussion of his proposal for Germantown shows quite clearly the degree to which he still held to his personal and professional beliefs, even as the preservation community was changing rapidly. Perhaps the drastic shifts that were also occurring in American culture during this era made Brumbaugh even more adamant that the preservation of historic structures could work to instill a sense of

[195] The *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, was prepared by Brumbaugh and his long time associate Alfred F. Ruthrauff. Brumbaugh described his association with Ruthrauff thusly in his unpublished manuscript: "For more than thirty-five years, he was an active part of every restoration we conducted, was a keen and knowledgeable analyst of evidence, a scholar, and a skilled designer in this rather specialized field."

patriotism and American values in the general public. This, one of his long-held beliefs, was becoming increasingly rare amongst other professionals during the later stages of his career.

Brumbaugh first became involved in the plans to restore the Germantown Market Square in 1948, but his primary proposal for the project did not come until 1971 (see Figure 13). Often "described in correspondence and promotional materials as a 'miniature Williamsburg,' [the project] unfolded on the old Market Square in the Germantown section of Philadelphia."[196] The restoration effort, which lasted nearly 30 years, was

> officially launched in 1948 by the Germantown Historical Society and was assumed a decade later by a group of businessmen and civic leaders who organized themselves as Colonial Germantown, Inc. Their Market Square project was not a true restoration, although its supporters consistently used this term to describe their activities. A true restoration was impossible because none of the colonial structures on Market Square had survived into the mid-twentieth century.[197]

To be fair, Brumbaugh realized from the start that the project would be more reconstruction than restoration; he noted in the 1971 *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia* that the project was meant "to accomplish, so far as possible, a return to the historic identity of the Market Square. At present nothing remains but the name."[198]

---

[196] David R. Contosta, "Philadelphia's 'Miniature Williamsburg:' the Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (October 1996): 283.
[197] Ibid., 284.
[198] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 2, Rendered Studies/AIA Documents, G. Edwin Brumbaugh and Alfred F. Ruthrauff, *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, July 1971, 1.

Reconstruction was, by this point, part of Brumbaugh's purview as restoration architect (note his willingness to reconstruct lost structures in his original plans for Ephrata Cloister, and the recreation of the almost entirely missing interiors of the Brinton 1704 House), but was a practice that was increasingly viewed by other preservationists and restoration architects as potentially inauthentic, and was rarely seen an ideal solution. Critics of Brumbaugh's Germantown Market Square renewal project proposal don't often take into account the fact that he acknowledged, from the outset, the fact that little historic fabric remained on site, thus necessitating a recreation of the Square's original colonial elements and atmosphere (see Figure 14).

Brumbaugh's plan for the project, however, was not simply an imagined, colonial revival design. Like all of his work, it was based on sound historical and archaeological research.[199] Historical drawings suggested that the most prominent feature of the early square was its asymmetry, while archaeological investigations uncovered the piers of covered shelter at the north end of the Market Square, which protected market stalls and public scales; the "faithful restoration of this feature [was deemed] absolutely fundamental to the success of the project."[200] Elements that already existed around the perimeter of the square included the

> Perot-Morris-Deshler house, a national historic monument occupied by President George Washington for two summers. Across the square [was] the Fromberger house, first brick house in Germantown, restored and occupied by the Germantown Insurance Company. A reconstruction of the old De le Plaine house [had] been recently remodelled [sic], in

[199] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 2, Rendered Studies/AIA Documents, G. Edwin Brumbaugh and Alfred F. Ruthrauff, *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, July 1971, 2.
[200] Ibid.

> character, as a branch of the Fidelity Bank. Several other buildings on the Square [were] compatible, architecturally. More than a start toward early identity [existed].[201]

Brumbaugh believed that these elements more than adequately contributed to the colonializing aesthetic he had planned for the Germantown Market Square.

The remainder of the project consisted of the recreation of stocks, the replacement of the Square's old milestone, a properly placed flagpole, and a reproduction of the early Philadelphia watchman's box to house mechanical controls.[202] His plan also outlined aesthetic standards for paving, sidewalks, and other features that would add to the colonial atmosphere of the site; curbs were to be granite, street surfaces were to be paved in Belgian blocks, sidewalks were to be made of handmade brick, and historicizing streetlamps, in the same design as those Brumbaugh used in his restoration of Philadelphia's Washington Square (the city later also used these streetlamps throughout Society Hill), were to replace modern ones.[203]

The *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia* also called for the restoration or removal of certain structures and monuments that surrounded the Square; much of the negative criticism directed at the proposed project was and still is based on these recommendations. The plan required the removal of the Market Square's late nineteenth

---

[201] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 2, Rendered Studies/AIA Documents, G. Edwin Brumbaugh and Alfred F. Ruthrauff, *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, July 1971, 2.
[202] Ibid., 3.
[203] Ibid., 3, 4.

century Civil War monument; as we have already seem, Brumbaugh had little interest in mid and late nineteenth century styles.

Furthermore, he was interested, as much as possible, in establishing a uniform feeling of atmosphere in his restoration projects. As the 1971 proposal read, "We have no contest with those who advocate preservation of all styles of building in a nation's history. But do not preserve them side by side. They speak different languages, and the result is always confusion."[204] Based on this sentiment, the proposal advocated the following: the redesign (in coursed Germantown stone) of the Gothic-Romanesque façade of the Market Square Presbyterian Church that adjoined the Square, the redesign of the exterior of the adjoining parsonage, and the redesign of the Donat building, which also adjoined the Market Square, in the Greek Revival (see Figure 15).[205]

Brumbaugh's plans for the Donat building marked a particular point of contention. As the proposal stated,

> Because no building was at this location until well into the nineteenth century, Mrs. Margaret Tinkcom, Historian of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, was loathe to see an eighteenth century type of structure planned. However, the present Victorian building is completely out of character with the atmosphere we wish to see developed, and it should be redesigned. Our recommendation is to use the style of the Greek Revival (roughly 1800 to 1850)... To the average beholder, this is still a Colonial structure. Mrs. Tinkcom expressed agreement with such an approach.[206]

---

[204] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 2, Rendered Studies/AIA Documents, G. Edwin Brumbaugh and Alfred F. Ruthrauff, *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, July 1971, 1.
[205] Ibid., 4-5.
[206] Ibid., 5.

This constitutes one instance in particular for which Brumbaugh has been criticized. Here, his continued favor for the colonial and colonial revival remains influential in his work, even though few other professionals of the era shared in his belief that the colonial continued to represent the ultimate and most suitable architectural style for use in public projects.[207]

Brumbaugh felt strongly about not only the aesthetic superiority of the colonial revival, but also, as previously stated, in its ability to instill "American values." During this era, Germantown, which had previously been a relatively affluent community, was suffering from "serious physical deterioration... and the removal of most of its more prosperous residents to suburban areas," suggesting to Brumbaugh that the area was in desperate need of these types of values.[208] Additionally, he felt "from experience" that

> this development [would] recreate a center for Germantown's historic interests, just as the old square was an important center of life on market days. Values [would] certainly rise in the neighborhood, and, we hope, an important check to deterioration [could] be achieved.[209]

For a variety of reasons, Brumbaugh's 1971 proposal for the renewal of Germantown's Market Square was never implemented, and the project was scrapped completely in subsequent years.

It was during this era that G. Edwin Brumbaugh also began work on a manuscript, which focused on both the history of architecture and his own restoration work. The

---

[207] Contosta, 316.
[208] Ibid., 284.
[209] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 2, Rendered Studies/AIA Documents, G. Edwin Brumbaugh and Alfred F. Ruthrauff, *Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia*, July 1971, 4.

manuscript, which remains unfinished and unpublished, is Brumbaugh's seminal written work, totaling over 300 pages, with nearly 200 intended figures and illustrations. It is unfortunate that this work, which would undoubtedly contribute greatly to the small amount of literature focusing on restoration architecture and which would also serve to increase awareness of Brumbaugh's notable and influential professional career, has never been published. Written during the late 1970s and 1980s, it provides some of the clearest insights available to us regarding the manner in which Brumbaugh viewed his professional career near the end of his life.

The beginning of the manuscript focuses on historic structures and the enthusiasts and connoisseurs of such structures. Brumbaugh assures the reader that it "is not intended to be a definitive textbook either national or regional," but instead, with characteristic modesty, writes that it is "a book about old houses (and a few other early structures) for people who love them."[210] He continues on, addressing the two types of people who share his affinity for historic architecture, who "may love old buildings just for what they are, or they may love them because, to a degree, they understand their message."

> Those in the first category, who enjoy them without too much analysis, are on pretty safe ground. They possess genuine sensitivity, the first qualification of a connoisseur; even if their scholarship may be somewhat sketchy. If those in the second category are grounded in scholarship alone, they may have been so engrossed with the details of erudition that they missed the enthusiastic spark which lights the fires of deep affection.
>
> If we can add a little to each viewpoint, bring enthusiasts and scholars closer together, this writing will have accomplished its purpose.[211]

---

[210] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 1.
[211] Ibid.

Already, we see Brumbaugh's democratic approach. To him, a love of historic architecture need not be based entirely in scholarship if a person properly understands its language or spirit. Indeed, he sees this type of appreciation, amateur but based in the right place, as perhaps preferable to a purely technical or academic appreciation, which might miss the spirituality and meaning of historic architecture altogether.

This introduction sets the tone of the work, which is neither overly academic nor simplified for the general public. Instead, Brumbaugh includes lengthy explanations of little known technical or architectural concepts, and includes many images in order to illuminate his written descriptions. The first chapter of the manuscript focuses on the history of architecture, beginning with a discussion of the Greeks in 500 BC. He continues with a discussion of Rome, the Dark Ages, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and "Our Modern Age."[212] A discussion of modern design principles and the disdain for historical styles is highlighted by what he terms "the cult of novelty."[213] He uses his discussion of twentieth century architecture to critique modern architectural training, noting that the "academic derision heaped upon copying and copyists has turned students away from a thrilling storehouse of accomplished artistry of past centuries."[214] It is not modern architecture that Brumbaugh so dislikes, but the insistence of many that nothing of value can be found in or derived from the architecture of the past.

He then focuses each chapter of his manuscript on a specific restoration project. The projects discussed are: the Brinton 1704 House; the Golden Plough Tavern and the Gates House (York, Pennsylvania); the Daniel Boone Homestead (Baumstown,

---

[212] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 23.
[213] Ibid., 30.
[214] Ibid., 29.

Pennsylvania); Pottsgrove Mansion (Pottstown, Pennsylvania); the Thompson-Neely House (Washington Crossing Park, Pennsylvania); the Colonel Dewees Mansion (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania); Fort John Moore, certain Hutts and the Blacksmith Shop near Artillery Park ("at the Valley Forge Camp Ground"); the Sehner-Ellicott-von Hess House (Lancaster, Pennsylvania); and Ephrata Cloister.[215] Each of these chapters includes an in-depth architectural and historical description of the site in question, an outline of the restoration work undertaken there, and any variety of insights into Brumbaugh's particular methodology and ideological take on both the site and the nature of his work in regards to each individual project.

Unfortunately, this is where the manuscript ends. Brumbaugh intended there to be a concluding chapter that discussed the following:

> Finally, our closing chapter will be devoted to practical application of the results of these studies of Americana in the broad preservation movement and in modern living. Some technical and critical data will be included in that chapter, so any one with a dislike for technicalities or detail can simply skip rapidly over that part of the book. Actually, we hope they will not want to do so.[216]

It is our great loss that he was not able to complete this chapter. There was an attempt to publish the manuscript locally in 1984, but it was unsuccessful for unknown reasons.

Brumbaugh continued to work on restoration projects until the end of his life. He was recognized by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1979 for his restoration of the Edward Morgan Log House, and in 1982 was honored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation for his many years of dedication to historic preservation

---

[215] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 219.
[216] Ibid., 4.

and restoration architecture in the United States.[217] G. Edwin Brumbaugh died on January 29, 1983, at the age of 92, leaving behind of rich legacy of restoration work and contributions to the professional development of restoration architecture and other preservation related professional fields.[218]

[217] Tatman, "Brumbaugh."
[218] Ibid.

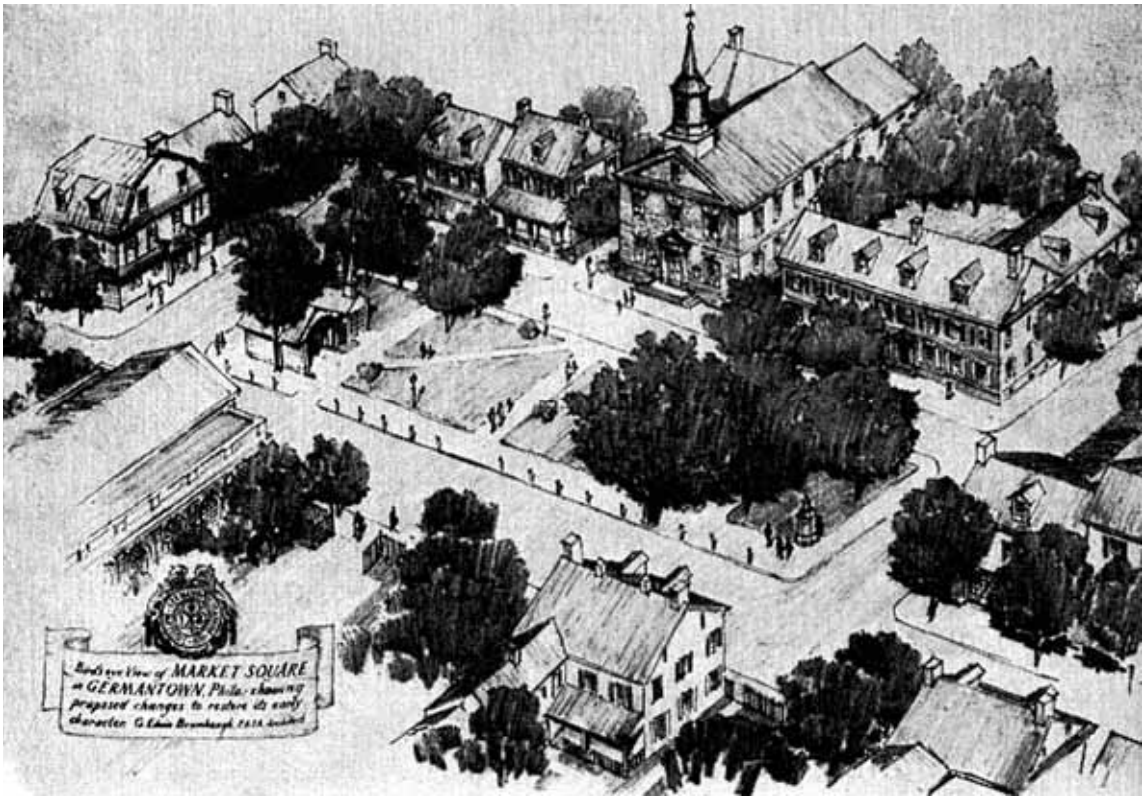

FIGURE 13 – Plan for the restoration of Germantown Market Square, drawing by G. Edwin Brumbaugh. (Image: Contosta, *Philadelphia's "Miniature Williamsburg": The Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square*)

FIGURE 14 – Germantown Market Square in the mid-1880s. (Image: Contosta, *Philadelphia's "Miniature Williamsburg": The Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square*)

FIGURE 15 – Germantown's Market Square Presbyterian Church. (Image: Contosta, *Philadelphia's "Miniature Williamsburg": The Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square*)

"America is a wonderful country. Its past, in spite of faults and shortcomings, has been a saga of courage and surmounting difficulties; with industry, resourcefulness, and faith in God. Its future is assured, but only if we utilize the lessons of the past. And part of this past is the beauty and amazing variety of the buildings which sheltered the men and women who labored to give substance to their ideas."

- G. Edwin Brumbaugh, from his unpublished manuscript

CONCLUSION

Each of the three case studies discussed here make evident different aspects of Brumbaugh's career and the manner in which he approached restoration architecture. At Ephrata Cloister, we see his insistence that restoration decisions be based on sound archival, historical, and archaeological evidence, his focus on accuracy in materials and techniques, and his unwillingness to compromise this accuracy at the expense of other goals. In looking at Brumbaugh's work at the Brinton 1704 House, his vast knowledge of historical precedents, materials, and forms is clear, as is his ability to undertake difficult architectural investigations. And, his Germantown Market Square Renewal Project reveals much about his ideologies and philosophies of restoration architecture; especially the idea that the presence of properly restored historic structures could instill patriotism and spirituality and play a role in shaping communities.

G. Edwin Brumbaugh was unique in that he felt that it was not at all inappropriate for a trained architect to dedicate his professional career to restoration, setting a precedent for future restoration architects who were also educated as architects. Previously, architects had looked to models of the past, but Brumbaugh "reversed his direction, undertaking restoration based on a training that emphasized the art of the

work."[219] His lengthy career was influenced and impacted by a variety of social and political forces, including the colonial revival's rise and decline in popularity and the development of national, state, and local historic preservation organizations that began to support restoration efforts in earnest beginning in the 1920s and 1930s.

Over the course of his nearly seventy-year career, Brumbaugh worked to restore, "and thus save," 117 "historic buildings, open to the public, and many others privately owned."[220] The extent of his career's influence is certainly palpable in Pennsylvania, where he carefully restored many of the state's most valuable historic sites and resources. Although his career evolved and matured over time, his methodology and ideologies were remarkably well formed from the beginning of his career. Even in the early years of his restoration practice, Brumbaugh's work was based soundly in the principles of research, accuracy, careful planning, and spirituality that would continue to characterize his practice until the end of his career.

As a professional practitioner, his insistence upon correct practice, and his willingness to write and speak about his work, proved invaluable in promoting and advancing the field of restoration architecture over the course of the twentieth century. And, without a doubt, the quality of his restoration work speaks for itself. One need only visit a historic structure restored by G. Edwin Brumbaugh to feel a bit of the spirit that so pervaded his understanding of his work.

---

[219] Strong and Thomas, 80.

[220] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 106, Office Records, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Talk at Residence of Mrs. Kathryn Stoler, Near Plymouth Meeting, May 18, 1981.

Brumbaugh called restoration architecture a "most complex service to our country."[221] His own personal heritage, his interest in the colonial revival, and his deeply felt patriotism all contributed to this belief, and these nationalistic feelings of pride and obligation influenced much of his career, especially his preference for working on projects that were to be open to the public. He felt that historic architecture could speak to anyone, and that restored structures should be accessible and open to anyone who wished to experience them; in this regard, he was quite forward thinking.

Brumbaugh explained the basis of his career, centered on his love of historic architecture, specifically the vernacular of southeastern Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Germans, quite simply and succinctly in 1981:

> I happen to love America, and I love Pennsylvania. Old buildings saved, or restored with proper scholarship, are pages of history, sometimes more important than the written page. They not only record wars and politics, they are graphic records of the people – how they lived, their hard work, courage, and the things they valued. These are things America must not forget.[222]

Hopefully, as scholarship related to G. Edwin Brumbaugh's career advances, his great contribution to the restoration of early American architecture will finally be given the recognition it deserves. Until then, his legacy will live quietly on in the historic structures that he so lovingly restored.

---

[221] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 108, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, unpublished manuscript, 5.
[222] G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Col. 34, Box 106, Office Records, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Talk at Residence of Mrs. Kathryn Stoler, Near Plymouth Meeting, May 18, 1981.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Bart, letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh, August 20, 1954.

———, letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh, November 3, 1954.

———, letter to G. Edwin Brumbaugh, November 22, 1954.

Andrews, Wayne. "Random Reflections on the Colonial Revival." *Archives of American Art Journal* 4 (April 1964): 1-4.

Axelrod, Alan, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company in association with the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1985.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Bronner, Simon. *Popularizing Pennsylvania: Henry W. Shoemaker and the Progressive Uses of Folklore and History*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.

Brumbaugh, G. Edwin. "Architecture in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History* 17 (April 1950): 103-105.

———. *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1933.

———. "Continental Influence on Early American Architecture." *German American Review* 9 (Feb. 1943): 7-9, 37.

———. "Extract from a Speech Delivered by G. Edwin Brumbaugh." *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County Pennsylvania* 19, (Fall 1974): 293-296.

———. *First Preliminary Report Upon Exploratory Investigations of "Williamson" Log House, Fallsington, PA*.

———. *Fort Mifflin on Historic Mud Island in the Delaware River, Philadelphia. Report to the Greater Philadelphia Movement upon Historical Aspects and Preservation Problems,* 1959.

———. *Historical Aspects of the Wharton Tract: Atlantic, Burlington and Camden Counties New Jersey*. 1960.

———. “Independence Mall Area: Rebirth of the Old City.” *American Institute of Architect’s Journal* 28 (Sept. 1957): 294-298.

———. “The Independent Architect.” *Antiques* 58 (July 1950): 29-30.

———, letter to Bart Anderson, August 23, 1954.

———, letter to Bart Anderson, September 5, 1963.

———, letter to Mrs. Francis Brinton, August 26, 1954.

———. “Medieval Construction at Ephrata.” *Antiques* 46 (July 1944): 18-20.

———. “Pennsylvania’s Contributions to Architecture.” In *Pennsylvania’s Contributions to the Professions*, edited by Homer Tope Rosenberger. Gettysburg, PA: Times & News Publishing Co., 1964.

———. *Preliminary Restoration Report No.1, South Portico*. April 28, 1965.

———. *Report of Research and Investigations Relevant to the Restoration of the New Market in Second Street, South of Pine Street,* 1958.

———. Review of *The Architects of the American Colonies or Vitruvius Americanus*, by John Fitzhugh Millar. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93 (April 1969): 299-300.

———. Review of *Early Nantucket and its Whale Houses*, by Henry Chandlee Forman. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91 (January 1967): 96-97.

———. Review of *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg*, by Marcus Whiffen. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (April 1961): 215-217.

———. Review of *Historic Deerfield: Houses and Interiors*, by Samuel Chamberlain and Henry N. Flynt. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 90 (January 1966): 150-151.

———. Review of *The Log Cabin in America, from Pioneer Days to the Present*, by C. A. Weslager. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (April 1970): 271-272.

———. Review of *The Lower Jordan Valley Pennsylvania German Settlement*, by David G. Williams. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 75 (October 1951): 463-464.

———. Review of *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements*, by William J. Murtagh. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92 (April 1968): 259-260.

———. Review of *Old American Houses, 1700-1850. How to Restore, Remodel, and Reproduce Them*, by Henry Lionel Williams and Ottalie K. Williams. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (April 1958): 238-240.

———. Review of *The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786, Annotated with an Introduction*, by Charles E. Peterson. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 96 (April 1972): 250-251.

Caufield, Jim, and Jim Houston. "Convergence of Design and Craft: Planning the Restoration of an Eighteenth-Century Cloister." *APT Bulletin* 33 (2002): 23-25.

Contosta, David R. "Philadelphia's 'Miniature Williamsburg:' the Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (October 1996): 283-320.

Degn, Amber Elizabeth. "Houses from the Reservoirs of Memory: G. Edwin Brumbaugh and the Restoration of Early Pennsylvania Architecture." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2000.

"Editorial." *Antiques* 58 (July 1950): 27.

Fugelso, John N., and Mark Heeb. "Mobile Preservation Construction Services: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission." *APT Bulletin* 33 (2002): 27-31.

G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.

Gebhard, David. "The American Colonial Revival in the 1930s." *Winterthur Portfolio* 22 (Summer-Autumn 1987): 109-148.

Glass, James. *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957-1969*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1990.

Groff, Jeff. Interview with the author. Winterthur, DE. March 5, 2008.

Hackett, Martin. 'George Edwin Brumbaugh: Pioneer Restoration Architect and the Restoration of the Thompson-Neely House." Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg, 1997.

Heberling, Paul. Interview with the author. Philadelphia, PA. October 4, 2007.

Hergesheimer, Joseph. *From an Old House*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.

Hosmer, Charles Bridgham. *Presence of the Past: a History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg*. New York: Putnam, 1965.

———. *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981.

Kaylor, Earl. E-mail message to the author. December 14, 2007.

Moss, Roger W. *Historic Houses of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Murtagh, William J. *Keeping Time: the History and Theory of Preservation in America*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2006.

"The Pennsylvania Farmhouse," *The Architectural Forum* Master Detail Series, *The Architectural Forum* 60 (May 1934): 369-384.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. "Pennsylvania Governors Past to Present: Governor Martin Grove Brumbaugh." http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/governors/brumbaugh.asp?secid=31 (accessed 9 April 2008).

Pratt, Dorothy, and Richard Pratt. *A Guide to Early American Homes – North*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1956.

Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives, Record Group 13.

Review of *Fort Mifflin on Historic Mud Island in the Delaware River, Philadelpha*, by G. Edwin Brumbaugh, FAIA. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84 (April 1960): 262.

Rhoads, William B. "The Colonial Revival and American Nationalism." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (December 1976): 239-254.

Richie, Margaret Bye, John D. Milner, and Gregory D. Huber. *Stone Houses: Traditional Homes of Bucks County and Brandywine Valley*. New York: Rizzoli, 2005.

Rose, Cynthia Anne. "Architecture as a Portrait of Circumstance: the Restoration Career of G. Edwin Brumbaugh." Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1990.

Schorsch, Anita. Interview with the author. Philadelphia, PA. October 4, 2007.

Senseman, Ronald S., Leon Brown, Edwin Bateman Morris, and Charles T. Okie. *The Residential Architecture of Richardson Brognard Okie of Philadelphia*.

Stetson, George Edward. "The 1704 House Built in Chester County, Pennsylvania, by William Brinton the Younger." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1961.

Strong, Ann L., and George E. Thomas. *The Book of the School: 100 Years*. Philadelphia: Gradate School of Fine Arts, 1990.

Tatman, Sandra L., and Roger W. Moss. *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co, 1985.

Tatman, Sandra L. "Brumbaugh, George Edwin." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/93470k (accessed December 18, 2007).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Durham, Walter." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/23045 (accessed March 10, 2008).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Gilchrist, Edmund Beaman." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25847 (accessed March 10, 2008).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Keen, Charles Barton." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25028 (accessed January 16, 2008).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Mellor & Meigs." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/27099 (accessed January 16, 2008).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Okie, Richardson Brognard." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/27099 (accessed January 16, 2008).

Tatman, Sandra L. "Wallace & Warner." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings. http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/123851 (accessed March 10, 2008).

Tinkcom, Margaret B. "The New Market in Second Street." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (October 1958): 379-396.

Wilson, Richard Guy. *The Colonial Revival House*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004.

Wilson, Richard Guy, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta, ed. *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.

Yearbook of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Architectural Exhibition. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the T Square Club, 1923.

Yearbook of the Thirtieth Annual Architectural Exhibition. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the T Square Club, 1927.

Yearbook of the Thirty-Third Annual Architectural Exhibition. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the T Square Club, 1930.

APPENDIX 1 – PROJECT LIST

Unfortunately, a complete list of G. Edwin Brumbaugh's body of work does not exist. This list attempts to be as comprehensive as possible, and combines information from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Both new construction and restoration projects are included.

1621 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

1808 House
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woodruff
Friesburg, New Jersey

1830 Pine Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Ammerman Residence
Client: Mrs. Ralph Ammerman
Scranton, Pennsylvania

Averle Residence
Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

Baker Residence
Client: Cornelius Baker
Overbrook, Pennsylvania

Barren Hill School
Whitemarsh Township, Pennsylvania

Batsto Glass House
Client: State of New Jersey
Washington Township, New Jersey

Batten Residence
Client: Harry A. Batten
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

Betsy Ross House; American Flag House and Betsy Ross Memorial
239-247 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Breeding House
Client: Earl B. Breeding
Elkins Park Manor, Pennsylvania

Brethren Church Parsonage
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Brinton 1704 House
Client: Brinton Family Association, Chester County Historical Society
Dilworthtown, Pennsylvania

Brumbaugh Cottage
Client: Martin Grove Brumbaugh
Wayne, Pennsylvania

Brumbaugh Residence
Client: Dr. Merton Brumbaugh
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Brunt Residence
Client: Mr. & Mrs. Peter Brunt
Arney's Mount Road, Burlington County, New Jersey

Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church
625 Montgomery Ave, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Buckman Village
Client: U. S. Shipping Board
Emergency Fleet Corporation housing development
Chester City, Pennsylvania

Buttrock Residence
Gwynedd Pennsylvania

Campbell Residence
Strafford, Pennsylvania

Carpenters' Hall (South Doorway)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chaffee Residence
Client: Carl H. Chaffee
Swarthmore Avenue and Elm Street, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Church of the Good Shepherd Parish House
Cottman Avenue and Erdrick Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Civil War Memorial
Greene Street (northwest corner of Vernon Park), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Civil War Square
Germantown Avenue and E. Haines Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Clark Residence & Garage
Oak Lane, Philadelphia

Clarke Store
Client: W.A. Clarke
Ambler, Pennsylvania

Colonel Dewees Mansion
Mansion, bake house, and officer's rendezvous used during encampment of 1777-1778
Valley Forge National Historical Park, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Copp Residence & Garage
Client: Dorothy E. Copp
Dekalb Street, Norristown, Pennsylvania

Cosmopolitan Club
1616 Latimer Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Daniel Boone Homestead
Client: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
Baumstown, Pennsylvania

David James Dove House
On the grounds of Germantown Academy
Fort Washington, Pennsylvania

Davis Residence
Cape May, New Jersey

Dilworth House
223-225 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Donat Building
5443-5445 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Downingtown I.E.A. School
Downingtown, Pennsylvania

Driscoll Residence
Client: Mrs. Sonya Dehon Driscoll
551 Plymouth Road, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

Eagle Island Gunning Club
Salem, New Jersey

Early Stone House
Client: Mr. and Mrs. John D. Betz
Gwynedd, Pennsylvania

Eastwick Residence
Client: J.L. Eastwick
Charlestown, Pennsylvania

Edward B. Smith & Company Office
Client: Edward B. Smith & Company
1411 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Edward Morgan Log House
Client: Towamencin Township
Weikel Road, Towamencin Township, Pennsylvania

Egypt Farm
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Eldrow Reeve
Bucks County, Pennsylvania

Ephrata Cloister
Client: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
Ephrata, Pennsylvania

Evans Residence
Client: David Evans
Gwynedd, Pennsylvania

Evans Residence
Client: Mary & Essyllt Evans
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

First Church of Christ Scientist
Southeast corner of Lafayette and Franklin Streets, Norristown, Pennsylvania

First National Bank
Conshohocken, Pennsylvania

First Presbyterian Church and Sunday School
Moorestown, New Jersey

First Presbyterian Church of Marple
Broomall, Pennsylvania

Fort John Moore
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Fort Mifflin
Client: City of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Fort Muhlenberg
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Frick Farmer's Cottage
Client: Charles E. Frick
Walnut Grove Farm, Horsham, Pennsylvania

Fromberger House
Client: Germantown Fire Insurance Company
Germantown Market Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gambrel Roof House
Client: Historic Fallsington
Fallsington, Pennsylvania

Garlichs Residence
Client: Dr. Richard Garlichs
Manoa, Pennsylvania

Golden Plough Tavern and Gates House
York, Pennsylvania

George Klein Barn
Client: Lititz Historical Foundation
Lititz, Pennsylvania

Germantown Academy
Fort Washington, Pennsylvania

Germantown Market Square Renewal Project
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Glatfelter Residence
Client: Philip H. Glatfelter
Spring Grove, Pennsylvania

Gloria Dei (Old Swedes Church)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Graham Garage
Client: Warren C. Graham
Merion, Pennsylvania

Graham Residence
Client: Warren C. Graham
Ashwood Road, Villanova, Pennsylvania

Griscom Residence
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Grumblethorpe
5267 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Haines Residence
Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania

Harkness House
Germantown Market Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Harvey Residence
Client: John S. C. Harvey
Radnor, Pennsylvania

Hays Residence
Roxborough, Philadelphia

Henry Antes House
Client: Antes House, Inc.
Frederick, Pennsylvania

High, Dettra & Swartz Law Offices
Client: High, Dettra & Swartz
Norristown, Pennsylvania

Homer Residence
Client: Frank & Anita Homer
Ocean County, New Jersey

Horwitz Residence
Client: Dr. William H. Horwitz
Mill Pond Road, Washington, New Jersey

Hostetter Residence & Garage
Client: Harry B. Hostetter
Eden, Pennsylvania

Howe House
Client: Burlington County Historical Society
Burlington, New Jersey

Independence Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Irwin Garage
Client: Paul R. Irwin
109 West Maple Avenue, Langhorne, Pennsylvania

Jacobs Garage
Client: C.H. Jacobs
69th Street and Lawnton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Jacobs Residence
Client: Dr. John B. Jacobs
Allentown Road, Lansdale, Pennsylvania

Jefferson Residence
Client: Joseph Jefferson
600 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John G. Thomas Memorial Sunday School Building
Client: First Presbyterian Church
Marple, Pennsylvania

Johnson Residence
Client: Lester B. Johnson
Gwynedd, Pennsylvania

Jost Residence & Garage
Client: Charles C. Jost
Ambler, Pennsylvania

Junge Residence & Garage
Client: Reverend Robert S. Junge
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

Juniata College Women's Dormitory
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Keator Residence and Garage
Client: John F. Keator
224 W. Walnut Lane Philadelphia

Keator Residence
Client: John F. Keator
Bells Mill Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Knadler Residence
Client: J.A. Knadler
Pinesville, Pennsylvania

Knox Artillery Shop
Valley Forge National Historical Park, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Krusen Doctors Office
Client: Dr. F. T. Krusen
Norristown, Pennsylvania

Kuen Residence
Glenside, Pennsylvania

Lafayette's Headquarters
Client: State of Pennsylvania
Brandywine Battlefield Historic Site, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania

"Large Stone House"
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Pope
Quakertown, Pennsylvania

Langdon Residence
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Leidy Residence
Client: Dr. Joseph Leidy
1317-1319 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Liberty Hall
Client: Quakertown Historical Society
Quakertown, Pennsylvania

Lippincott Residence
Client: Bertram Lippincott
Church Road and Rices Mill Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania

Log Huts
Client: State of Pennsylvania
Valley Forge National Historical Park, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Lonagher Residence
1806 Spruce Street, Philadelphia

Longacre Residence
Client: John A. Longacre
Jeffersonville, Pennsylvania

Mark Reeve House
Client: Mrs. Newlin Watson
Greenwich, New Jersey

Memorial to Unknown Soldiers
Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Meyers Residence
Client: Robert C. Meyers
Adams County (near Hanover), Pennsylvania

Miller Residence
Client: Henry F. Miller
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Miller Residence
Client: William A. Miller
Roxborough, Philadelphia

Montgomery Residence
Client: Knowlton D. Montgomery
Kulpsville, Pennsylvania

Moon-Williamson Log House
Client: Historic Fallsington
Fallsington, Pennsylvania

Moore Residence
Client: D. Allen Moore
Doylestown, Pennsylvania

Morgan Residence
Pineville, Pennsylvania

Morris House
225 S. 8th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Morris Residence
Client: H.S. Morris
Endsmeet Farm, Glenside, Pennsylvania

Morris Shelter
Client: H.B. Morris
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Neave Residence; Eugene E. Nice Painters Supplies; Samuel Neave House & Store
Client: Samuel Neave, Joseph L. Eastwick
272-276 S. 2nd Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Nevell Residence
Client: Thomas Nevell
338 S. 4th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

New Hanover Lutheran Church
New Hanover, Pennsylvania

North Wales National Bank
North Wales, Pennsylvania

North Wales Water Authority Building
Client: North Wales Water Authority
Walnut Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, North Wales, Pennsylvania

Old Ferry Inn
Client: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Property and Supplies
Washington Crossing State Park, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania

"The Old School House"
Brainard Street, Mount Holly, New Jersey

Owens Evans House
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Van Reed
Gwynedd, Pennsylvania

Pennsbury Manor; Pennsbury Memorial
400 Pennsbury Memorial Road, Morrisville, Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Hall
Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Pilling Residence
Client: George P. Pilling
Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania

Poor Richard's Club
1319 Locust Street, Philadelphia

Potter's Tavern
Client: Bridgeton Historical Commission
Bridgeton, New Jersey

Pottsgrove Manor
Client: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
100 West King Street, Pottstown Pennsylvania

Presbyterian Historical Society
411-449 Lombard Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Rebmann Residence
Client: G. Ruhland Rebmann
729 Millbrook Road, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Reynolds-Morris House; Israel Wistar Morris House; Luke Wistar Morris House
Client: William Reynolds, Mrs. H. D. Baldwin, Dr. & Mrs. Frank A. Elliot
714-720 Saint James Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Richards Mansion
Client: Samuel Richards
Atsion, New Jersey

Robert Myers House
Hanover, Pennsylvania

Rudolph Residence and Apartments
38-40 Lansdowne Avenue, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania

Rutter Garage
Client: Thomas B. Rutter
Lansdowne, Pennsylvania

Saint James Episcopal Church
Dundee, Pennsylvania

Samuel Ward House
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Jay Moore
Greenwich, New Jersey

Sanborn Residence
Chalfont, Pennsylvania

Schoolmaster's House
Client: Historic Fallsington
Fallsington, Pennsylvania

Second Street Market and Head House ("The New Market")
Client: City of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sehner-Ellicott-von Hess House
Client: Louise Steinman von Hess Foundation
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Smith Residence, Garden & Tenant House
Client: Geoffrey S. Smith
Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania

Sotcher Farmhouse
Client: John Sotcher
335 Trenton Road, Fairless Hills, Pennsylvania

Stenton
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Stiffel & Freeman Co.
723 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia

Strassburger Residence & Garage
Normandy Farm, Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania

Strawbridge Estate
Client: William J. Strawbridge
Malvern Road, Willistown, Pennsylvania

Strawbridge Residence
Client: William J. Strawbridge,
Nottingham, Pennsylvania

Street of houses built in 1814
Washington Crossing Village, Pennsylvania

Stull Residence
Ithan, Pennsylvania

Swartz Residence & Garage
Norristown, Pennsylvania

Swedeland School
Upper Merion, Pennsylvania

Thompson-Neely House
Bowman's Hill, Washington Crossing State Park, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania

Thorne & Burnham Coffee House
Client: Mrs. L. W. Thorne, Miss L. L. Burnham
Lower Gwynedd Township, Pennsylvania

Tobyhanna Township Public School Group
Client: Tobyhanna Township School District
Tobyhanna Township, Pennsylvania

Tomlinson Store
Langhorne-Yardley Road and Stony Hill Road, Edgewood, Pennsylvania

Townsend Residence
Ithan, Pennsylvania

Uhler Residence
Beach Haven, New Jersey

Underhill Residence
Client: F.S. Underhill
Lansdowne, Pennsylvania

Valley Forge Observation Tower
Valley Forge National Historic Park, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Vauxhall Gardens
Client: Mr. and Mrs. Jean Erbaugh
Greenwich, New Jersey

Venturi, Robert & Brothers Market House
1422 South Street, Philadelphia

Warrenpoint (Furnace Manager's Residence)
Client: Mrs. Joseph N. Pew, Jr.
French Creek Iron Works, Chester County, Pennsylvania

Warrior Run Presbyterian Church
Sunbury, Pennsylvania

Washington's Headquarters
Client: State of Pennsylvania
Brandywine Battlefield Historic Site, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania

Washington Square
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Wear Residence
Client: Joseph Walker Wear
Gypsy Hill Road, Penllyn, Pennsylvania

Wharton Tract, New Jersey
94,000-acre property owned by State of New Jersey

William Green House
Trenton State College, New Jersey

William Moore House
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania

Winder Residence
5025 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Philadelphia

Woll Residence
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Woodlands
3900 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Woolman Residence
Ardmore, Pennsylvania

Wright's Ferry Mansion
Client: Louise Steinman von Hess Foundation
Columbia, Pennsylvania

APPENDIX 2 – REVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

Assembling the body of literature that relates to G. Edwin Brumbaugh's career presents an interesting challenge. An exceptional amount of archival material and primary source documentation exists, in which Brumbaugh's own writings, both published and unpublished, figure significantly. However, there are very few discussions that deal expressly with his life and career. Indeed, the only publications that focus solely on Brumbaugh's restoration work are three Master's theses, the most recent of which was written in 2000. At this time, no work, either published or unpublished, attempts to analyze the entirety of Brumbaugh's career and its effect on the developing field of restoration architecture over the course of the twentieth century.

The opportunity to analyze first-person accounts of Brumbaugh's working methods and philosophies – oftentimes in his own words – allows for a clear view of his career. On the other hand, a general summary or monograph that can be used as an introduction or jumping off point for research relating to Brumbaugh's career simply does not exist. As a result, a variety of sources have been drawn upon in order to ensure that the appropriate contextual and background information has been established in order to frame this analysis of Brumbaugh's restoration career, which is primarily derived from archival material and primary source documentation.

Archival materials and unpublished documents constitute the majority of sources consulted in this thesis, not only because so many exist, but because they provide direct insight into how Brumbaugh worked, what he believed, and other questions integral to an analysis of his career as an early and leading restoration architect.

The bulk of material by Brumbaugh or most directly related to his restoration career is located at the Winterthur Library, in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. The G. Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, which is the largest archival collection housed at the Winterthur Library, includes drawings, project files, photographs, correspondence, clippings, lecture notes, and other materials – everything from spiral bound notepads to finished architectural drawings. Documents date from 1915 until Brumbaugh's death in 1983.

The Pennsylvania State Archives, which houses archival material related to projects in which Brumbaugh worked for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (such as Ephrata Cloister), is also a significant source of archival information, especially correspondence. These files are also telling in that they document that PHMC's sometimes-contentious interactions with Brumbaugh, including their view of and response to his restoration practice.

Additional unpublished materials that provide insight into the manner in which Brumbaugh approached his work include specific project reports, such as *Report of Research and Investigations Relevant to the Restoration of the New Market in Second Street, South of Pine Street* (1958), *Fort Mifflin on Historic Mud Island in the Delaware River, Philadelphia. Report to the Greater Philadelphia Movement upon Historical Aspects and Preservation Problems* (1959), *Historical Aspects of the Wharton Tract: Atlantic, Burlington and Camden Counties New Jersey* (1960), *Preliminary Restoration Report No.1, South Portico* (Woodlands, 1965), *First Preliminary Report Upon Exploratory Investigations of "Williamson" Log House* (Historic Fallsington), and

Report Upon Development of Historic Market Square, Germantown, for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia (1971).

Other unpublished documentation that is revealing includes Brumbaugh's correspondence. The Chester County Historical Society's collection of letters exchanged between Brumbaugh and the former director of the CCHS, Bart Anderson, related to the restoration of the 1704 House, is especially illuminating, because both sides of the client-architect relationship are represented in correspondence that spans the duration of the restoration process, providing a more complete view of Brumbaugh's working methods and interactions with clients than other archival documents are able to.

G. Edwin Brumbaugh's published works, which include articles, lecture excerpts, book reviews, and essays, are also quite important, because they embody the public face of his work. Such materials also are helpful in determining that which Brumbaugh felt was most important to convey to the public, including his fervent belief in historic preservation, its connection to patriotism, and the importance of America's architectural heritage. Because Brumbaugh's writing was published both in specialized, academic or history-oriented publications and, to a lesser extent, also appeared in more mainstream national publications, we are able to see a wide spectrum of his opinions and beliefs.

The majority of his published works appear in publications that focus specifically upon local or Pennsylvania history. One of Brumbaugh's earliest published works, and perhaps one of the most important in establishing his philosophy of restoration architecture, is *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1933. An in-depth discussion of an architectural style that figured prominently in his career, it shows his deep admiration of colonial

architecture and his incredibly detailed analytical approach. Other articles, such as *Continental Influence on Early American Architecture* (*German American Review*, February 1943), *Medieval Construction at Ephrata* (*Antiques*, July 1944), *Architecture in Pennsylvania* (*Pennsylvania History*, April 1950), *Pennsylvania's Contributions to Architecture* (In *Pennsylvania's Contributions to the Professions*, 1964), and *Extract from a Speech Delivered by G. Edwin Brumbaugh* (*Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County Pennsylvania*, Fall 1974) deal with similar themes.

A few of Brumbaugh's published works deal specifically with historic preservation or restoration architecture; these include *The Independent Architect* (*Antiques*, July 1950) and *Independence Mall Area: Rebirth of the Old City* (*American Institute of Architect's Journal*, September 1957), a discussion of preservation and restoration architecture in Philadelphia. His unpublished manuscript, written late in his life, is also a significant example of his writing that deals with restoration practice.

Brumbaugh also wrote a series of book reviews that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* between 1951 and 1972, which provide insight into his beliefs and practices through discussions of the work of other authors and professionals. He reviewed the following works: *The Lower Jordan Valley Pennsylvania German Settlement*, by David G. Williams (1951); *Old American Houses, 1700-1850, How to Restore, Remodel, and Reproduce Them*, by Henry Lionel Williams and Ottalie K. Williams (1958); *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg*, by Marcus Whiffen (1961); *Historic Deerfield: Houses and Interiors*, by Samuel Chamberlain and Henry N. Flynt (1966); *Early Nantucket and its Whale Houses*, by Henry Chandlee Forman (1967); *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,*

and other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements, by William J. Murtagh (1968); *The Architects of the American Colonies or Vitruvius Americanus*, by John Fitzhugh Millar (1969); *The Log Cabin in America, from Pioneer Days to the Present*, by C. A. Weslager (1970); and *The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786, Annotated with an Introduction*, by Charles E. Peterson (1972).

As previously mentioned, three Master's theses have been written about some aspect of G. Edwin Brumbaugh's career. They have proven especially helpful in providing bibliographic leads and corroborating information. The first of these theses dates from 1990, and was written by Cynthia Anne Rose, a student in the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the University of Pennsylvania. This thesis, *Architecture as a Portrait of Circumstance: the Restoration Career of G. Edwin Brumbaugh*, uses four case studies (Pottsgrove Manor, Ephrata Cloister, Second Street Market, and Historic Fallsington) to discuss Brumbaugh's career. Martin Hackett's 1997 thesis, *George Edwin Brumbaugh: Pioneer Restoration Architect and the Restoration of the Thompson-Neely House*, was written at the Pennsylvania State University-Harrisburg. It uses a single case study, the Thompson-Neely House, to examine Brumbaugh's career. Finally, Amber Elizabeth Degn's thesis, *Houses from the Reservoirs of Memory: G. Edwin Brumbaugh and the Restoration of Early Pennsylvania Architecture*, written at the University of Delaware in 2000, uses three case studies to discuss Brumbaugh's career: Ephrata Cloister, the Golden Plough Tavern and Gates House, and Wright's Ferry Mansion. Each of these three theses attempts to discuss the lengthy restoration career of G. Edwin Brumbaugh by distilling it down to a few select examples.

A variety of project-specific secondary sources provide information relating to certain examples of Brumbaugh's restoration work. These sources include *Historic Houses of Philadelphia*, by Roger Moss, which discusses Grumblethorpe; *Stone Houses: Traditional Homes of Bucks County and Brandywine Valley*, by Margaret Bye Richie, John D. Milner, and Gregory D. Huber, which includes the Brinton 1704 House and Thompson-Neely House; George Edward Stetson's 1961 University of Delaware Master's thesis, *The 1704 House Built in Chester County, Pennsylvania, by William Brinton the Younger*; Margaret B. Tinkcom's *The New Market in Second Street*; and David R. Contosta's *Philadelphia's 'Miniature Williamsburg:' the Colonial revival and Germantown's Market Square*.

Few published works include Brumbaugh's biographical information. In those that do, specifically Ann L. Strong and George E. Thomas' *The Book of the School: 100 Years*; Sandra L. Tatman and Roger W. Moss' *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930*; and the biography included on the Philadelphia Architects and Buildings website (www.philadelphiabuildings.org), the information is rather basic and includes only a brief bibliography.

Additional sources provide information related to Brumbaugh's professional background during the early years of his career, when he worked for Mellor and Meigs and Charles Barton Keen, creating and drafting designs for new construction; again, Philadelphia Architects and Buildings provides basic information related both architectural firms during the respective periods of Brumbaugh's employment. Other publications, such as Philadelphia AIA Yearbooks from 1923, 1927, and 1930 include

examples of Brumbaugh's designs for new construction, as does "The Pennsylvania Farmhouse," published in *The Architectural Forum* in May 1934.

Finally, general contextual sources relating to the colonial revival and the history of restoration architecture and historic preservation are necessary in order to fully analyze Brumbaugh' career. Sources that address the colonial revival in America include: Wayne Andrews, *Random Reflections on the Colonial Revival* (1964); William B. Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival and American Nationalism* (1976); Alan Axelrod, *The Colonial Revival in America* (1985); David Gebhard, *The American Colonial Revival in the 1930s* (1987); Richard Guy Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House* (2004); and *Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival*, edited by Richard Guy Wilson, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta (2006). These sources are important to consider because the colonial revival movement surely influenced Brumbaugh's early career.

Histories of preservation and public history, especially those with sections that deal with the evolution of restoration architecture in conjunction with the evolution of the American historic preservation movement, are obviously quite important in contextualizing Brumbaugh's career within a larger trajectory of preservation and restoration professionals. Some pertinent publications include James Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957-1969*; Charles Bridgham Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: a History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* and *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*; William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: the History and Theory of Preservation in America*; John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*; and Simon Bonner,

Popularizing Pennsylvania: Henry W. Shoemaker and the Progressive Uses of Folklore and History.

INDEX

A
American Institute of Architects (AIA)
5, 15, 20, 21, 48, 49, 50, 51, 126
Anderson, Bart
66, 68, 71, 76, 123
B
Beaux-Arts
11, 12, 22
Brinton 1704 House
8, 66-83, 86, 91, 97, 107, 123, 126
Brinton, Deborah
66, 67, 68, 70, 71
Brinton Family Association
9, 66, 68, 69, 77, 78, 107
Brinton, Francis
66, 67
Brinton, William
66, 78
Brumbaugh, Frances
14
Brumbaugh, Martin Grove
10, 11, 13, 107
C
Chester County Historical Society
9, 66, 107, 123
Colonial revival
6, 13, 16, 26-34, 54, 84, 86, 89, 98, 99, 127
Colonial Williamsburg
2, 5, 19, 20, 25
Cret, Paul Philippe
11
D
Daniel Boone Homestead
3, 35, 36, 55, 91, 108
E
Ephrata Cloister
3, 8, 30, 35-65, 66, 67, 86, 92, 97, 109, 122, 125
G
Germantown Market Square
9, 30, 84-96, 97, 110
Gloria Dei (Old Swedes Church)
3, 35, 111
Goodwin, W.A.R.
18, 19, 20
H
Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS)
6, 24
K
Keen, Charles Barton
13, 29, 126
Kimball, Fiske
18, 21
M
Martin, Elam
43, 46
Mellor and Meigs
12, 13, 29, 126
Melvin, Frank W.
35, 52, 53
Methodology
5, 8, 31, 57, 92, 98
N
National Park Service
5, 6, 23, 24, 56
Newton, Earle W.
52
O
Okie, R. Brognard
6, 31, 32, 33
P
Pennsylvania German
6, 10, 14, 41, 46, 99
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC)
3, 35, 36, 41, 42, 48, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58, 73, 92, 108, 109, 116, 122
Peterson, Charles E.
6, 24, 125
R
Rockefeller, John D., Jr.
19, 20
Ryan, Howard M.
68, 77
S
Saal (at Ephrata Cloister)
35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 52, 58, 60, 61, 64
Saron (at Ephrata Cloister)
35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA)
5, 18, 25, 73
Spirit/Spirituality
7, 10, 15, 16, 19, 30, 33, 49, 51, 59, 78, 91, 97, 98
Stevens, S.K.
52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58
U
University of Pennsylvania
3, 11, 12, 31
V
Vernacular
6, 12, 15, 26, 29, 33, 99