A Decorative Analysis of Phil-Ellena, A Greek Revival, Philadelphia Mansion

Sheryl Farber Mikelberg

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A DECORATIVE ANALYSIS OF PHIL-ELLENA, A GREEK REVIVAL, PHILADELPHIA MANSION

Sheryl Farber Mikelberg

A THESIS

in

The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

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

MASTER OF SCIENCE

1992

Gail Caskey Winkler, Lecturer, Historic Preservation, Advisor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Gail Caskey Winkler for her steady and unfailing support throughout this year, from beginning to end. I would also like to thank the Library Company for the use of their facilities and Susan Oyama for her effort in reproducing the images included in this thesis. Mark Lloyd, the archivist for the University of Pennsylvania deserves thanks for his information concerning the Dun and Bradstreet reports on Carpenter and the general history of Germantown.

I would like to especially acknowledge and thank my mother, father and sister, and my dear friends Sara, Cloantha, Sarah, Joni and Franny. All have been very supportive and caring during the entire process, and I am greatly appreciative. I would also like to thank Brian, my new friend, for his encouragement.
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INTRODUCTION

Phil-Ellena, meaning "for the love of Ellen," was the name of a grand residence built in the Greek Revival style by the owner, George Washington Carpenter, in 1844 (Figures 6 and 7). Phil-Ellena was a product of favorable economics in pre-Civil War Philadelphia, when profits could be reaped easily by those with a quick entrepreneurial mind. The new-found wealth and dreams of Carpenter, a prosperous druggist and wholesale drug manufacturer, generated the construction of this residence. In 1844, Germantown, the location for Phil-Ellena, was a bustling farm/village corridor between Philadelphia and the countryside.

Carpenter assembled more than 500 acres of land in Germantown in the 1830s. One hundred acres were devoted to the pleasure grounds, forests, lakes, gardens and supporting outbuildings of Phil-Ellena. The actual residence was set back two hundred feet from Germantown Avenue. Six great columns supported the front, central portico; the back facade was similar, also having six great columns. The flanking wings of the front main entrance had eight smaller, ancillary columns on either side. These extensions provided kitchen facilities and a conservatory. The back facade had a similar portico, and overlooked the spacious lawn. Inside, a caller would have been received in opulent drawing rooms and parlor
suites containing elaborate frescoes, carved moldings, and decoratively grained doors, and scagliola columns.

Today Phil-Ellena seems an almost mythical domain, one that survives only in photographic images because the house was demolished in 1894. The land was sold to a trust and cleared to create a large-lot suburban housing development called the Pelham Estates.

Photographs taken of the house and grounds in 1887 prove, however, that this home and its interiors were among most grand, if not the most lavish, examples of late Greek Revival style built in and around Philadelphia during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

There are three major pieces of evidence to document this claim. The first is a thirty-six page pamphlet by George Carpenter entitled A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena. It was published in 1844, at the completion of the house. Only two original copies are known to exist. The document describes the expansive grounds and the exterior of the house and estate in great detail, and includes a floorplan and an elevation (Figure 1). The interior is described in a room-by-room tour noting the particular attractions of each space, such as cornice details, floor coverings, and furniture.

---

1The copy being used in this thesis is located at the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Collections of books and sculpture are also meticulously noted.

Carpenter dedicated this pamphlet to the craftsmen who worked on the house. Throughout the document individual craftsmen and artists are accredited and highly praised for their contributions to the creation of Phil-Ellena. The entire number of artisans and artists employed totals more than 500 people. Many appear in a list at the end of the document.

Although Carpenter had seemingly noble intentions of crediting the hard-working laborers, his purpose may also have been self-aggrandizement. The pamphlet, supposedly distributed amongst his prosperous friends, might have also been written with the intention to boost Carpenter and his family into the realm of the privileged, respected rich. The pamphlet in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia was donated in 1885 by Margarette A. Dick.²

The second source of evidence is an extensive collection of photographs of the interior and the exterior of Phil-Ellena and the grounds in different seasons. These black and white photographs were taken in 1887 by George Bacon Wood (1832-1909), a Philadelphia photographer and painter. Wood began his career as an amateur photographer in 1882, shortly

²The provenance of this pamphlet has yet to be completed by the Library Company.
after a new dry-plate method of producing permanent images was available. Wood was the nephew of his namesake who lived on the Carpenter property, the Professor of Materia Medica at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and the University of Pennsylvania.\(^3\)

The original photographs were taken using glass plate negatives, eighty-three of which still survive. There are one hundred and forty-eight platinum prints taken of Phil-Ellena in the collection; the prints range in size from 6" x 8" to 3 1/2" x 4 1/2".\(^4\) These photographs were given to Library Company of Philadelphia in 1983 by a descendent of George Carpenter, Mrs. J. Albury Fleitas.\(^5\)

The third source of evidence is an auction catalogue entitled *Catalogue of Sale of the Elegant Household Furniture Belonging to the Estate of the Late George W. Carpenter.* This inventory, published in 1893 by Stan V. Henkels, listed the majority of family furnishings, paintings, books, and


\(^4\)Orlando, “George Bacon Wood, Photographer of the 1880s,” 11.


\(^5\)Mrs. Fleitas, during an interview on October 26th, 1991, stated that the majority of furniture that did not sell in the 1893 auction was given to Sydney L. Wright, a distant relative whose family now resides in Rhode Island. Mrs. Fleitas cannot recall the name of the descendent who might own this furniture. She has several Phil-Ellena pieces in her home in Philadelphia.
statuary for sale. This catalogue is also in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia and was donated by the Fleitas family. This copy is special and important to this thesis because the prices of items sold were annotated in the margins of the document, thus providing a sense of value for the various items. It also provides the endpoint for the development and evolution of the Carpenter mansion and its contents.

In addition to the major rooms, the contents of the servant spaces, kitchen, clocktower, museum, and stables, were also listed. An extensive collection of books from Carpenter's library were sold on a separate day. According to the auction catalogue, some of Carpenter's statues and paintings were believed to be the former property of Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Naples who emigrated to America in 1815 and built a house, Point Breeze, in Bordentown, New Jersey.6

6J. Thomas Scharff and Thomas Wescott, History of Philadelphia Vol. II (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Company, 1884): 925. Other evidence also suggests that Carpenter purchased the artwork and statues from Bonaparte. A pamphlet entitled, Catalogue of Valuable Paintings and Statuary, the Collection of the Late Joseph Bonaparte, (1845) was also annotated with the buyer's name at the margin of each page and the price paid for each item. Carpenter's name was written several times. This pamphlet was recently photocopied for the Athenaeum of Philadelphia by The Baltimore Museum of Art by the Director of Decorative Arts, Wendy Cooper.
The purpose of this thesis is to document the interiors of Phil-Ellena as an important and outstanding example of its kind in Philadelphia. The interiors will be described and analyzed as a model of how a Greek Revival establishment was furnished in the height of fashion. With the help of the unusual collection of descriptive documents and photographs, the interiors of Phil-Ellena can be used to show how popular taste changed and how a late Greek Revival style in the mid-nineteenth century was updated to reflect the more eclectic styles of the late-nineteenth century including the influence of Oriental decoration and the Colonial Revival.

Phil-Ellena's interiors cannot be fully understood without a discussion of the context from which Phil-Ellena "sprang". Was Phil-Ellena and its owner well-regarded in the community, or was it considered to be unnecessarily excessive? Chapter I will examine the biographical information to establish the social class of Carpenter: genealogy, professional background, interests, and the economic conditions in Philadelphia. Chapter I will also discuss the history of the grounds and the transport system that eventually bound Germantown and Philadelphia together.

Chapter II will describe the setting and structure of Phil-Ellena, including how Carpenter might have selected the design for Phil-Ellena; how greatly design sources--such as pattern books and other Greek Revival structures in
Philadelphia-influenced Carpenter's aesthetic choices; and how the various outbuildings and supporting structures on the Carpenter property contributed to the overall scheme.

Chapter III will concentrate on the interiors and the floor plan of Carpenter's house. The finishes and furnishings of Phil-Ellena in 1844 will be analyzed and compared to the 1887 photographs and 1893 documentation of the residence. Included is a discussion of how Phil-Ellena was updated during the course of its existence and how popular sources of prescriptive literature might have influenced the changes to the interior.

The Appendix contains the names of individuals who contributed to the creation of Phil-Ellena. Carpenter's 1844 publication listed over five hundred artisans and common laborers, but a few were given more descriptions of their contributions to Phil-Ellena. When possible, the Appendix includes the careers and clients of a few special artists, as well as a list of the work addresses and professions of the general contractors highlighted by Carpenter in the document. An alphabetized revised list of the five hundred craftsmen is provided for easy reference. The known work of these laborers contributes to the shared knowledge of the building and furnishing trades in Philadelphia during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.
CHAPTER I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

George Washington Carpenter's family originated in England. Sometime in the mid-eighteenth century, a Miles Carpenter came to America and settled in Germantown. He married Mary Steer in 1763 and continue to live in Germantown until his death in 1791. His son, and George Carpenter's father, Conrad, was a native Germantown resident and a successful real estate speculator in the Philadelphia area. He served as one of the first bank directors in Germantown. Conrad and his wife, Ann, had eight children. George Washington Carpenter, born in Germantown on July 31, 1802, was their fourth child.

George Carpenter married twice; his first wife was Annabelle Wilbank, whom he married in 1836. This marriage produced one son, George W. Carpenter Jr (1837-1921). Carpenter's first wife died shortly thereafter. George Carpenter's second wife was Ellen Douglass (1823-1900), whom he married in 1841. It was for this woman that the estate was named "Phil-Ellena," meaning for the love of Ellen. Ellen and George Carpenter had six children, all of whom were born at Phil-Ellena between 1842 and 1856: John Quincy (1842-1910), Emlen Newbold (1845-1891), Frank (1847-1856), Ellen

---

Douglas (1851-19__), Frances Graff (1853-1940), and A. Sydney Carpenter (1856-1912).^2

The U.S. Census Records for 1860, 1870 and 1880 provide valuable information about the residents of Phil-Ellena: their names, age, occupation, marital status, and place of birth. These data help in the analysis of the interior because they track personal information about individuals who lived at the house. The census records for 1860, the same year as George Carpenter's death, listed the following residents of Phil-Ellena:^3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1860 Census</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Value of entire estate</th>
<th>Value of Personal (real) estate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George, W. Carpenter</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Druggist</td>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen D.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Q</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emlen N</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen D.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algernon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to his family, Carpenter had four live-in domestic servants in 1860: one man and three women, all of whom were Irish. Seven farm laborers lived on the estate,


their ages ranging from 25-50. All but one of these workers were likewise born in Ireland.

According to the 1860 Census, Carpenter's eldest son, George Jr., lived in a "snug little cottage on his father's place." George Jr. married Mary Rodman Fisher, a member of an old, prestigious, Philadelphia family. He was employed in the family business, and his personal wealth was $25,000; the value of his personal residence was listed at $18,000. Although not wealthy as his father, George Jr.'s monetary value was still a sizable amount for a twenty-three year old. By 1873, the estate of George Carpenter was worth $1.5 million; George Carpenter Jr.'s was worth somewhat less, at "350,000 in his own right."

Shortly after this census was recorded, George Washington Carpenter died at his home on June 7, 1860. He was buried at St. Luke's Church in Germantown, with services at the family residence. The cause of his death remains unknown.

According to the Dun & Bradstreet Credit Report of 1858,


5Dun & Bradstreet Credit Report, Vol I: 686. This information was provided by Mark Lloyd from his notes on the credit reports of the Dun & Bradstreet Collection, Harvard University.

Carpenter has been "quite ill for some time and unable to attend to business." Ellen outlived her husband by many years, dying in 1900. She did, however, continue to live in the house until its demolition in 1893.

The Census of 1870 provided a complete list of household members and live-in servants at Phil-Ellena: ⑧

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emlen N. Carpenter</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Emlen Carpenter</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. L. Carpenter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master L.E. Carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. E.D. Carpenter</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E.D. Carpenter</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F. Carpenter</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master A. S. Carpenter</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Carpenter</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Lesly Carpenter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Bessie Carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Quincy Carpenter</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. J.Q. Carpenter</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Brogan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary McConnellly</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1870 Census also listed employees and their families who lived on Phil-Ellena's grounds: David Joyce, gardener, his wife and their four children; John and Susanna Walker and their seven children; and John and Mary Brady. These families presumably lived in the numerous cottages built by George Carpenter.

⑦Dun & Bradstreet Credit Report, Vol I: 341. This information was appreciatively provided by scholar Mark Lloyd's notes on the credit reports of the Dun & Bradstreet Collection, Harvard University.

In 1880, the house still was filled, particularly with young people. The Census of 1880 described the household members and occupations of those living in 5510 Germantown Avenue:¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Occup'n</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Ellen D.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keeping</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Ellen D.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Fanny D.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Emlyn A.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Hannah</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Daughter-in-Law</td>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Ellen C.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Son's Daughter</td>
<td>In schl</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Sam'l E.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>In schl</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, John Q..</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Mary D.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Daughter-in-Law</td>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Sophie</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Granddaughter</td>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonnely, Mary</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boogan, Rose</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connolly, Mary</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, A. Sydney</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuenot, Mani</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the George Wood photographs were taken in 1887, Phil-Ellena was much less crowded. Only Ellen and her son, Emlen, were listed in the Directory of 1887.¹⁰ Emlen's wife and children lived in the house as well, although they not listed in the city directory. John Quincy Carpenter had moved to

¹⁰Gopsill’s Philadelphia City Directory of 1887 (Philadelphia:James Gopsill’s Sons, 1887), 306. Emlen's profession noted as being an artist, his studio listed as 1026 Arch Street.
Rome in 1885. Just a few years later, in 1892, the household was even smaller. Emlen Carpenter had died in 1891, and in Gopsill's Directory, only Ellen Carpenter and her twenty-three year old grandson, Samuel E. Carpenter (son of Emlen), were listed as living at 5510 Germantown Avenue.

By the time of the auction sale of Phil-Ellena in 1893, Ellen and her grandson, Samuel, were listed in the directory, but the address had changed: Ellen's address was the "Corner of Germantown and Carpenter Lane"; Samuel's address was the Carpenter Station. Both names disappeared by 1894, suggesting that Ellen and her grandson relocated with relatives after the demolition of the house and the sale of the property.

George Carpenter was a modern Renaissance man with broad interests perhaps because of the early influence of the education he received at the Germantown Academy, a Quaker school then highly regarded as a fine institution for classical training. It was there Carpenter learned Latin and acquired a taste for scientific discovery.

He began his career apprenticing at Charles Marshall's drug store located at 310 Market Street, near Eighth Street in 1820. After eight years he established his own drug enterprise at the age of twenty-six. His warehouse was

11 Jordan, Colonial Families, 1630.
12 Gopsill's Philadelphia City Directory of 1893, 312.
located at 301 Market Street, just off of the corner at Eighth Street.\textsuperscript{13} Carpenter's business partner was William C. Henzey, who began as an employee in 1833 and became a partner in 1842.\textsuperscript{14} Henzey later ran the business after Carpenter died in 1860 until 1898 with Carpenter's son George Jr.

The occupation of wholesale druggist was new to the mercantile businesses in Philadelphia: it combined both the merchant's task of ordering large amounts of drugs and other miscellaneous items and the apothecary's task of supplying small amounts of drugs to the public.\textsuperscript{15} Carpenter was highly devoted to the success of his business. He was essentially self-taught in the science of pharmacology. His business acquired a reputation of excellence with the proclaimed use of the best quality drugs and personal attention.

Carpenter also offered a relatively new and unique product: a family medicinal kit available to those far from the aid of a doctor. Simple medicines with written instructions were included in the kit, thus eliminating the need for a doctor's prescription. Carpenter's kits were sold to those families venturing West or South.\textsuperscript{16} From the sale of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13}Jordan, Colonial Families of Philadelphia Vol II, 1630.
\item \textsuperscript{14}James Simon, Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants (Philadelphia: 1864): 129. This source is hereafter referred to as Biographies.
\item \textsuperscript{15}Simon, Biographies, 124-125.
\item \textsuperscript{16}Simon, Biographies, 126-127.
\end{itemize}
these kits and wholesale drugs, Carpenter became a successful and prosperous man.\textsuperscript{17}

According James Simon's \textit{Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants} (1864), Carpenter acquired a fortune without the assistance of a family inheritance. Simon wrote of Carpenter: "His salary at Marshall's was small, and he had no hereditary fortune to help him along, but he was prudent and saving, and in a few years had accumulated sufficient to justify him in undertaking business on his own account."\textsuperscript{18} Carpenter's lifestyle contributed to his success, and, according to Simon, Carpenter lived by the following canons:

1-To rise early. Up between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, and do almost a day's work before other people were awake

2-To employ method and system in everything, whether of study, pleasure or labor.

3-To never undertake any enterprise without being thoroughly prepared for success as well as failure.\textsuperscript{19}

Carpenter owned at one time as many as 400 properties and structures in Philadelphia and Germantown. Carpenter directed the Germantown Bank, following his father's

\textsuperscript{17}According to scholar Mark Lloyd, Carpenter also had a contract with the army to supply medicine kits, which also contributed greatly to his wealth.

\textsuperscript{18}Simon, \textit{Biographies}, 125.

\textsuperscript{19}Simon, \textit{Biographies}, 128.
Although primarily a business man, Carpenter was involved with agriculture, natural sciences, botany, mineralogy, and geology. The collecting of minerals was supposedly his most favored pastime. He also served as the treasurer of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia from 1826 until his death in 1860.

Carpenter was also a prolific scientific writer. Several of his articles were published in the American Journal of Science and Arts. Other papers were written to promote Carpenter's drug business. In the 1850s, Carpenter sent circulars to doctors and druggists throughout the United States to describe and explain the uses for the drugs he manufactured.

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21 Simon, Biographies, 126-127.
Carpenter quickly amassed a fortune and by 1841 was able to invest $150,000 in the creation of Phil-Ellena. This was an impressive sum when one considers that the average laborer received 62 1/2 cents per day, a carpenter received 75 cents and a bricklayer 87 1/2 cents per day.\textsuperscript{25}

By 1845 Carpenter was worth a million dollars, becoming one of seven Philadelphia men to achieve that mark of financial success. Others in this elite group were Richard Ashurst, merchant; John B. Meyers, auctioneer; J. Rhea Barton and James Rush, both physicians and sons-in-law to Jacob Ridgway; James Dundas, retired president of the Commercial Bank; and Jacob L. Florance, a "gentleman." The year of 1845 was a watershed year for these men all of whom had previously been worth between $100,000 and $500,000.\textsuperscript{26} It is interesting to note that all but one of these men worked for a living, as opposed to the relying on family inheritances.

An economic boom in the second quarter of the nineteenth century contributed to the enormous growth and success of Philadelphia during this era. Despite economic hardships nationally, Sam Bass Warner in The Private City stated that Philadelphia prospered between 1830 and 1860, growing from

\textsuperscript{25}Beatrice Clayton, "Carpenter Clock," Public Ledger, January 31st, 1902. This newspaper article was found in the Campbell Collection, Vol. 38, page 26, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

161,410 to 565,529 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{27} In 1840, the population of Germantown township and borough was 5,482 and the total population of Philadelphia County was about 258,000. By 1860, Germantown's population had tripled, to 17,173, and the population of Philadelphia County had doubled. Philadelphia had become a "modern big city."\textsuperscript{28}

Other factors changed Philadelphia from an eighteenth-century city to a modern metropolitan center. Warner summarizes the contributing environment in Philadelphia:

The combined effects of...rapid growth, the endless streets, the scattering of churches, stations, and factories, the flood of immigrants, the novelty, the sheer size, and pace of the big city...contributed to the thorough destruction of the informal neighborhood street life which had characterized the small-scale community of the 18th century.\textsuperscript{29}

It also became clear by the 1840s that an "entrepreneur" such as Carpenter was more likely to succeed than a craftsman operating from a shop in his own house. Several factors promoted middle-class expansion in Philadelphia. Stuart Blumin in his article, "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth Century America," attributes the rapid growth to the following elements: a rapidly swelling clerical "white-collar" work force; a specialization and

\textsuperscript{28}Warner, The Private City, 51.
\textsuperscript{29}Warner, The Private City, 61.
separation of manual and non-manual workplaces; store specialization; and the increased consumption of consumer goods. Carpenter fit into this growing middle-class group.

Carpenter was wealthy enough to escape the growing working-class population clustered in Philadelphia. The Carpenter family moved from 130 North 9th Street in the center of Philadelphia to Germantown in 1843. During the period before the Civil War, Philadelphia began to become divided between those who could afford to live far from the place of work, and those who could not afford to commute to work: "middle and upper class Philadelphians began to follow the mores...which encouraged a retreat into their homes in suburban enclaves as a refuge from work." The availability of the transportation mechanisms such as the streetcar and trains in the 1850s contributed to the migration of the middle and upper classes away from the city.

Phil-Ellena was an extraordinary product of this economic boom, as well as the result of a growing desire to escape the congested city. More fundamental luxuries, such as plumbing and an abundance of furnishings, became the common rewards of...
this economic boom. Sam Bass Warner discussed these benefits of industrialization:

In the years between 1827 and 1860 the new middle class enjoyed a number of important advances in everyday consumption. The bare floors, whitewashed walls, and scant furniture of the middle-income eighteenth century homes gave way to wool carpeting, wallpaper, and all manner of furnishings.\(^{33}\)

Carpenter considered by some to be hopelessly "upstart" and lacking in elite social status accorded old Quaker families in Philadelphia. A contemporary of Carpenter, Sidney George Fisher, commented on the Carpenter family. His criticism of Carpenter was prompted by his cousin's marriage to George Carpenter Jr.:

Mary, Thomas' daughter, is engaged to be married to a son of George Carpenter, a very rich man in Germantown, but of low origin and connections. They say the young man is worthy and amiable and tho [sic] the match as an alliance is the reverse of desirable, yet what better can Thomas expect?\(^{34}\)

Fisher, who was quite opinionated, was from an old, respected, Philadelphia family. Fisher also vigorously commented on the decidedly un-Quakerlike ostentation of Phil-Ellena:

This place [Phil-Ellena] and the buildings are a very conspicuous object in Germantown and it would not be easy to find anywhere ignorance, pretension, bad taste, and wealth more forcibly expressed in

\(^{33}\) Warner, The Private City, 66.

\(^{34}\) Fisher, Diary, May 1, 1859 entry, 324
unconscious and innocent wood, stone, trees & shrubbery.\textsuperscript{35}

Germantown, from 1844 until the consolidation with the city of Philadelphia in 1854, enjoyed a brief period of uniform prosperity. The businesses and industries flourished.\textsuperscript{36} Other signs of success were associated with the introduction of gas to Germantown in 1852. The improvement of gas and other public works acted to strengthen the community, a typical technique of "boostering" in the nineteenth-century. George Carpenter served as a commissioner to organize the gas company and he also offered his services for the creation of the Germantown Water Company.\textsuperscript{37}

Although he had accumulated a great amount of wealth, Carpenter was generous with his time. He served on the governing boards of several fledging railroad companies. As director he helped to revitalize dramatically the Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company. Carpenter was also Commissioner of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and a member of the board of directors. Six other railroad companies also received his attention throughout his lifetime.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35}Fisher, Diary, March 23, 1860 entry, 349. Note that this entry was dated a few months before George Carpenter died.  
\textsuperscript{37}"Man on the Corner," Campbell Collection Vol 40: 100.  
\textsuperscript{38}Jordan, Colonial Families of Philadelphia Vol II, 1631.
The first railroad began operating to East Germantown in 1832. The fare for ride from Germantown to Philadelphia was 18 3/4 cents, almost a third of what a house carpenter earned in a day. It was likely that only the wealthy middle and upper classes could afford train transportation. The railroad, although quite an improvement linking between the city and Germantown, maintained a light schedule in the 1830s and 1840s. Trains did not leave from Germantown between 10:30 am and 4:00 pm and only three trains traveled each way daily. Improvements in the train schedule increased the feasibility of workers to commute to and from Philadelphia. By 1848, six trains traveled each way.\textsuperscript{39}

By 1850, trains and omnibuses offered 22 trips into Philadelphia daily. The price for transit by railroad dropped from $90.00 to $30.00 per year by 1848, the average ride being $0.20.\textsuperscript{40} The Chestnut Hill Railroad Company opened in 1852, with George Carpenter on its board of directors. In 1885 the West Germantown Railroad line opened, with four trains daily each way. The western line had four station stops on Carpenter's property at Allen Lane Station, Carpenter Station, Upsal Station, and Tulpehocken Station.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{41} The property was clearly designated as owned by the estate of George W. Carpenter in the Map of the 22nd Ward of
\end{thebibliography}
Carpenter settled in Germantown just before transportation became accessible to the common man. By the time he died, the transportation network was established and successful. He spurred growth in Germantown by offering his time, effort, connections and finances to these new railroad companies. His motive for supporting the railroads may have been a desire to see the Germantown area better served by transportation networks, thus making his many properties more valuable.

Carpenter established his reputation in Germantown by controlling a vast amount of real estate and in a visual sense, commanding attention with his grand house and his public works. Each activity served to strengthen Carpenter's distinction as being a man of merit.

1889 by G.W. and W.S. Bromley, Philadelphia Free Library, Map Department.
CHAPTER II: ANALYSIS OF THE SETTING AND STRUCTURE OF PHIL-ELLENA

The Grounds and Outbuildings

Phil-Ellena and its grounds were acclaimed as one of the most beautiful estates in the proximity of Philadelphia in the mid-nineteenth century. Phil-Ellena was reputed to be a place of "great interest...by the fact that it was opened freely to the public." The land on which Phil-Ellena stood extended from Germantown Avenue to Wissahickon Avenue and from Upsal Street to Carpenter Lane. This large and valuable tract had direct access to both the Wissahickon River and the principal transportation route, Germantown Avenue (Figures 2, 3 and 4). The rural character was retained by horse-drawn wagons carrying produce and enormous bales of hay to the city from the outerlying farms (Figure 11).

The front entrance on Germantown Avenue, or Main Street as it was then called, featured three large gates, one for pedestrian travel and two for carriages. The photographs taken by George Wood of the Main street entrances captured the former grandeur of Germantown Avenue. Along the tree-lined road stretched a white wooden fence with large stone urns positioned on top of each heavy post (Figure 12).

According to the recollections of an upholsterer employed during the original outfitting of Phil-Ellena, the house and grounds were the most beautiful in Philadelphia, with "walks and lifelike statues...to be seen in all directions."\(^2\) The landscape was in the Picturesque-style, with winding paths, groves of trees, long vistas, and romantic outbuildings evocative of Greek and Roman ruins (Figure 13).

One such structure was a small Greek temple "intended for a museum to contain cabinets and collections of the various branches of natural history, arts and sciences" (Figure 14).\(^3\) On the front portico of this structure stood two statues of Grecian goddesses, Minerva and Eloquence, both according to Carpenter were carved by John Rush.\(^4\) There was a back portico as well. The interior was filled with Carpenter's collections: "Ornithology, Mineralogy, Geology, Conchology, Entomology, Botany, &c., in neat mahogany cases; also cabinets of ancient Coins, Medals, &c" (Figure 15).\(^5\) Carpenter even provided for his interest in apiaries; a

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\(^4\)John Rush (1782-1853), was the son of the famous wood sculptor, William Rush, (1756-1833) John Rush is listed in the McElroy's *Business Directory* of 1846 as being a shipcarver, as was his father. By the late nineteenth century, there was some aggrandizement of the sculptor: the auction catalogue of 1893 stated that William Rush executed these mythological figures.

\(^5\)Carpenter, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, 25.
portion of the museum contained a beehive with glass observation windows.

Carpenter built a greenhouse for botanical studies which contained an arbor of what Carpenter described as "all the finest varieties of foreign grapes." Cisterns in the hothouse supplied water pumped constantly throughout the structure to these exotic vines. The main house had a conservatory to display plants grown in this greenhouse.

On the northwest side of the property was a summer house, a small octagonal structure with a 40 foot spire (Figure 16). On the top of this spire was a Rush sculpture of Mercury that acted as a wind vane. The building itself was in the same style as the museum, having eight columns with "antique caps...[and] 8 double sash doors opening on the lawn, on all sides." The summer house was built over an ice house, and thus provided both ice and a pleasant place of repose especially comfortable during the summer.

A more publicly visible structure on the property was a clocktower, which housed a large timepiece that faithfully

6Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 6
7Many Schoeser and Celia Rufey state in English and American Textiles, 1790 to the Present that conservatories attached to a drawing room were more common after 1845 in America, particularly when tax on glass was removed and "the knowledge of flowering plants and gardening skills became social desirable." Schoeser and Rufey, English and American Textiles, 1790 to the Present (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989): 78.
81844 pamphlet, page 25.
chimed the hours until its dismantlement in 1900 (Figure 17). The clock was designed by mathematician and scientist Isaiah Lukens. The contents of the clocktower, as listed in the 1893 auction catalogue, suggests that an elderly person used this space as an office. The room contained several invalid's rolling chairs, a few plaster busts and an "antique walnut secretary with web feet."

In keeping with the rural character of the estate, there was a two-story stone cottage, 20 by 40 feet, occupied by Mr. Allen, a farmer, a cottage barn with a 25 foot spire, and a larger barn (80 by 50 feet) with auxiliary wings for coaches, wagons, and stabling horses (Figures 18 and 19). This larger barn had a steeple rising "one hundred feet from ground floor, surmounted with a vane representing a figure of Diana with bow, arrows and hound, carved by Rush." The barn is the only structure that remains of the Carpenter estate, but it has been altered: the spire was removed and its exterior now appears "colonial." Its new name is, appropriately, "Barnhurst."

On the south side of the property was a large kitchen garden of 45,000 square feet (Figure 20). The paths and

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9Campbell Collection, Vol. 38: 27, unidentified advertisement for the sale of the Carpenter clock, circa 1900.

10Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 27.

ground plan were designed by Edwin Mather, a Philadelphia ornamental gardener. Carpenter described the construction of these paths:

These walks, as well as others comprising the various avenues of the lawn, are made by a depth of two feet of solid stone loosely thrown in and Macadamised on the top, and then covered with a thick stratum of red gravel from Coates's street, near Fairmount.

There were two large artificial lakes on the property that were fed by a spring. The water was distributed through a subterranean aqueduct. Carpenter admitted that the lakes were created at great expense, and so he named them the Silver Lakes, "from the beauty of nomenclature as well a facetious signification from the quantity of silver sunk in their waters."

Carpenter described another innovative feature of the house in detail: the interior and exterior plaster coatings. James Frankland was credited with the creation of the

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12 Edwin Mather, described as an "English landscape artist," was also responsible for the formal English gardens of John Hare Powel's city house at 13th and Locust. The description is from a 1915 address by Mrs. Linday Patterson to the Historical Society. This information was gathered by Bryan Keven Hawkins in his unpublished thesis, "Grecian Splendor: The City Mansion of John Hare Powel," University of Pennsylvania, 1988: 51.

13 Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 25. Carpenter's use of macadam, a kind of pavement with a bituminous binder, was relatively new. This paving material was named for the British engineer John L. McAdam patented in 1836. [Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1974): 688]

14 Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 27.
interior plaster cornices, moldings and walls. The exterior of the main building and the museum were covered with mastic cement, "far superior in beauty of finish and durability of the ordinary rough casting of lime." Carpenter proudly offered a recipe of this cement:

No lime enters into the composition of the mastic, which consists of boiled linseed oil, of a thick consistence [sic], which with the oxides and carbonate of lead, clean bar sand, and other ingredients, mixed with great care, and put on with an experienced hand, forms a cement impervious to water, hard as a stone.15

Although Carpenter's mansion and large estate were certainly extravagant, not everyone in Germantown and Philadelphia approved of Carpenter's display of wealth. Sidney George Fisher wrote a few scathing comments about Phil-Ellena his diary in 1859, a year before Carpenter's death:

The house is very large, of Grecian architecture with an Ionic tower, numerous outbuildings of every kind and variety, with Doric porticos and Gothic spires, hideous and clumsy statues about the grounds, rose bushes and shrubbery are planted on the lawn among noble Norway firs, pines, oaks, and beeches, the winding walks are unkept and littered, the extensive greenhouses and conservatories are dirty and disorderly, everywhere carelessness, cost, ostentation and vulgarity are plainly visible.16

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15Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 17.
16Fisher, Diary, July 14, 1859 entry, 327-328.
The shabby condition of the estate could have resulted from neglect during the months of Carpenter's illness before his death in June of 1860.

**The Greek Revival style**

The Greek Revival style chosen by Carpenter for Phil-Ellena was an appropriate aesthetic selection for a grand country estate. Even the name Phil-Ellena, a combination of a Greek word for love (phil) and name of his beloved second wife, Ellen, is descriptive of the larger, more Classical fervor in the early nineteenth century. Philadelphia, the nation's first capital, provided the first example of Greek Revival style in the late eighteenth century with Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania. Other capital cities, such as New York and Washington D.C., also adapted the Greek Revival Style for important civic and private structures. From these cities the mode spread south and west.\(^{17}\) The style, however, was not limited city buildings, but was both a "rural and urban phenomenon."\(^{18}\)

Carpenter proclaimed himself the architect of Phil-Ellena in his 1844 pamphlet celebrating his new residence. Only a carpenter/chief builder, Nathan Smedley, and a draftsman,


\(^{18}\)Kennedy, *Greek Revival America*, 7.
William Johnston, were cited as assisting the proprietor.\(^\text{19}\) As an avid reader, it is conceivable that he designed Phil-Ellena with the help of pattern books.

One source may have provided a model for Phil-Ellena is Minard Lafever's *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* of 1835. Lafever (1798-1854) published several design guidebooks that offered Greek Revival details and structures, such as churches and villas. Ancient Greek temples were adapted by Lafever into a style that reflected "mastery of proportion, restrained simplicity with delicate exuberance."\(^\text{20}\) *Beauties of Modern Architecture* offered several cross sections and elevations of a Greek Revival country residence that resembles Phil-Ellena in its scale and style, even though the front facade has only four great columns (Figure 21). Carpenter adapted the plan to suit his needs.

Carpenter occasionally cited where he found the inspiration of an architectural or interior decorative detail. For example, Carpenter admitted in *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena* that the columns of the front

\(^{19}\)Carpenter's 1844 pamphlet, 28. William Johnston (1811-1849) was listed in the 1846 McElroy's Directory as an architect. Prior to 1840 he was listed as a house carpenter. He was also credited as being the architect of the Jayne Building. [The Germantown Crier, Vol. XVIII (1966):73.] Nathan Smedley was listed as a carpenter in the 1846 Directory.

portico were copied from "the Temple of Minerva Polas, which constitutes one of the porticos from the Erectheon Temple at Athens."21

In addition to the design books, the proximity of many Greek Revival residences and public buildings to Carpenter's first home on 130 North 9th Street, as well as his factory at 8th and Market, might have provided additional sources of inspiration for the selection of Phil-Ellena's design. A study of the major Greek Revival structures built in Philadelphia from 1798-1860 helps to place Phil-Ellena in a broader context.

The following table provides the majority of structures constructed in Philadelphia in the Late Classical and Greek Revival style. This table was compiled with the assistance of Roger Kennedy's book *Greek Revival America*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>ARCHITECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Bank of PA</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Latrobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812-1822</td>
<td>Fairmount Water Works</td>
<td>Schuylkill River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822-1823</td>
<td>St. Andrew's Church</td>
<td>8th above Spruce</td>
<td>Haviland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Second Bank of the US</td>
<td>420 Chestnut St.</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824 designed, never built</td>
<td>Masonic Hall</td>
<td>Ger. Ave. opp. Haines St.</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824-1825</td>
<td>Phila. Museum School of Art</td>
<td>SW corner of Pine and Broad</td>
<td>Haviland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825-1827</td>
<td>Atwater Kent Museum [formerly Franklin Inst]</td>
<td>15 S. 7th Street</td>
<td>Haviland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table Greek Revival Buildings, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>ARCHITECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825-1844</td>
<td>Powelton-Country house of Col. John Hare Powel</td>
<td>West bank of the Schuykill</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1833</td>
<td>Girard Row</td>
<td>326-334 Spruce St.</td>
<td>Struthers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1833</td>
<td>Portico Row</td>
<td>926 Spruce St.</td>
<td>Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832-1835</td>
<td>City house of John H. Powel</td>
<td>SW corner of 13th and Locust</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Wills Eye Hospital</td>
<td>19th and Race</td>
<td>Haviland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>US Naval Home</td>
<td>Gray's Ferry Rd</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833-1847</td>
<td>Girard College</td>
<td>N. Phila</td>
<td>Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>*Merchants' Exchange</td>
<td>143 S. 3rd St.</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Wetherill addition to Pawling House</td>
<td>Audubon, PA near Valley Forge</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 remodeled</td>
<td>Hatfield House</td>
<td>Girard &amp; 33rd</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 remodeled</td>
<td>Andalusia</td>
<td>13 miles NE on Del. River Banks</td>
<td>Walter and N. Biddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 designed, 1836 built</td>
<td>*Matthew Newkirk House</td>
<td>13th and Arch, SW corner</td>
<td>Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828-1842</td>
<td>Powelton, John H. Powel's Country house</td>
<td>West Phila., on the banks of the Schuykill</td>
<td>Strickland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839-1840</td>
<td>St. Luke &amp; Epiphany Church</td>
<td>330 S. 13th St.</td>
<td>Thomas Stewart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-1945</td>
<td>*Phil-Ellena</td>
<td>5510 G'town Ave.</td>
<td>GW Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845 rebuilt</td>
<td>Fatlands</td>
<td>Audubon, PA near Valley Forge</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These structures were cited to have had Nicola Monachesi paint the interior with elaborate frescoes.

Most of these buildings were finished in the 1820s and 1830s. The first residential house to maximize the impact of this grandeur was the Thomas Ustick Walter addition to the Nicholas Biddle homestead, Andalusia. Remodeled in 1835, Andalusia provided a model image of success for other entrepreneurs to imitate. Biddle, the president of the Second Bank of United States in Philadelphia, (an earlier
Greek Revival structure by Strickland, 1824) was a proud, powerful, nationalist figure in Philadelphia, one who was well respected, but proved to be an nonconservative example of the Federal faction.\textsuperscript{22} Andalusia was an extension of this power and wealth and became known as the Biddle seat, representing both Biddle and the United States. It was Biddle who, in 1833, convinced the trustees of Girard College to employ the Greek Revival style for the its creation. Although this mode was not cheap to build, it fit Girard's request for "simple" temples.\textsuperscript{23}

When compared to the dates of other Greek Revival structures in Philadelphia, Carpenter's country seat falls into the later construction phase. However, this delay may be due to the fact that Carpenter did not acquire his fortune until the late 1830s. The Greek Revival was a late, conservative choice of style for Phil-Ellena. Sidney George Fisher disliked the style and in 1859 he criticized Biddle's house, Andalusia: "a copy of the front of the Bank of the U.S.... [Greek Revival] was a style unfit for a dwelling, especially in the country, and therefore in bad taste, but nevertheless in itself beautiful."\textsuperscript{24}

Of the known Philadelphia Greek Revival structures, only one other residence was built in the 1840s: Doctor William

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{22} Kennedy, Greek Revival America, 171-173.
\bibitem{23} Kennedy, Greek Revival America, 185.
\bibitem{24} Fisher, Diary, November 10, 1859 entry, 337-338.
\end{thebibliography}
Wetherill's Fatlands of 1845 built on the site of Vaux Hill (1804). It is possible that Carpenter had known Dr. Wetherill through his involvement in the drug industry and the Academy of Natural Sciences. A branch of the Wetherill family was also involved in the manufacture of lead paint, a field that was closely related to the production of drugs and medicine.

Wetherill built a structure of the same style as Phil-Ellena but of a smaller scale. In front and at the back six giant order columns with Ionic capitals supported porticoes that extended across the main portion of the house. A long wing on the east side served as the nursery and the servants' quarters. A matching companion wing on the west side was never completed, if it was ever planned.25

The Greek Revival style still had a powerful message when Phil-Ellena was built but it was beginning to be outshadowed by the Picturesque style introduced to America by the designs of Alexander Jackson Davis' Rural Residences (1838) and made popular by A.J. Downing's books. This style recalled the asymmetry of the villa, board and batten siding, and a taste for exotic touches from the orient. Several of Phil-Ellena's

secondary structures bear a striking resemblance to the farmer's house and rustic cottages found in this book, offering proof of the style's infiltration:

It [the Picturesque] had only a slight effect in America until the mid-1830s; but in the 1840s and 1850s, simplified, transmuted and Americanized, it was to be a dominant influence here and was to leave a listing impression on architectural design.²⁶

Carpenter would have logically preferred a grand, more serious statement of the Greek Revival style as the physical expression of his new wealth. Phil-Ellena also reflected the image of a respected man in society who had power and a keenness of mind. The lesser structures could have allowed for a more whimsical expression or experimentation. Carpenter might have also preferred to use a safe style that he knew did not look out of fashion. Typical of those with "new money," Carpenter's experimentation with adventurous architectural styles was limited.

It was this mixing of styles that was the target of Fisher's bitter remarks about the lack of tastefulness of Carpenter's mansion. But Carpenter died on the eve of the Civil War, before he could witness any radical swings in popular fashion. Although some of the outbuildings were more "up to date," Phil-Ellena itself was committed to the Greek

Revival style. Carpenter's family, who lived in Phil-Ellena until its demolition in 1893, would certainly have been aware of the changes in fashion. The house itself could not be altered without great expense. However, interiors could be easily altered to reflect the various revival modes popular in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Chapter III will discuss the changes to the furniture and finishes of Phil-Ellena.
CHAPTER III: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERIOR

The interior of Phil-Ellena was as extravagant and as carefully planned as the gardens, pleasure grounds and numerous outbuildings. This Greek Revival shell contained spaces that indicated George Carpenter's social values and personal aesthetic choices. Carpenter's selections included the finest in carpeting, frescoes, stained glass windows, graining and elaborate plaster moldings and details. The mansion also served to showcase Carpenter's many collections.

The interior furnishings and finishes did not remain static but evolved from those selected by George Carpenter in 1844, to those recorded in the 1893 auction catalogue. The visual and written documentation of this residence--namely the 1844 A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, the 1887 George B. Wood photographs, and the 1893 auction catalogue--all offer rare and compelling pieces to the larger puzzle: how this extravagant mansion conformed to or resisted the power of the ever-changing popular taste. Through this study, a deeper understanding can be gained of George Carpenter as a person and the possible reasons he selected particular furniture and finishes. In a broader sense, this interior analysis offers a comprehensive assessment of how Phil-Ellena fit into period styles at its conception and how Phil-Ellena's interior was altered to follow the changing tastes at the end of the nineteenth century.
The Plan of Phil-Ellena

The plan of Phil-Ellena followed the general configuration of Greek Revival structures, that is a central hall with rooms off to the right and left in a symmetrical fashion (Figure 1). This was based on Late Colonial and Federal architectural styles that favored symmetry and balance, a main, formal entrance and rear exit on either end of a central hall, and oval or spiral staircase in a central location.

Carpenter illustrated the plan of the first floor in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena. He described the dimensions and special features of each room. The design was actually simple: a symmetrical, telescoped plan that stepped back and decreased in size from a central section (Figures 1, 9, and 10). The main block of the house was 101 feet across, each wing was 27 feet for a total of 155 feet across the front; it contained a central hall with two large rooms on either side; the two wings on either side provided more intimate gathering spaces and subordinate service areas; and at either ends were two spaces with identical facades but different internal arrangements. The one on the south was described as a "conservatory and that on the north as a kitchen with a conservatory front."¹ A shallow plant gallery in front of the kitchen hid its actual use from the outside.

¹Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 7.
The main entrance opened into a large hall, 11 by 20 feet, followed directly by a smaller antechamber that Carpenter called the "saloon." A grand oval staircase was at the rear of the saloon. The back door led to the expansive lawns and kitchen gardens. On either side of this hall were the Parlor and the Drawing Room. Carpenter considered each space as two rooms, describing them as "two Drawing Rooms, on the left of the hall, same dimensions as parlors."³

The Library off the Drawing Room had views of the front lawn and the side lawn looking south. Behind the library was a smaller study described as "a neat and retired apartment," a small hallway to the conservatory, and a private staircase leading to the second floor. On the north side of the house, next to the Parlor, was the Breakfast Room, a butler's closet, a safe, and service stairs to the cellar and the second floor.

Carpenter described second floor in less detail and offered no floor plan. He noted there were fifteen rooms on this floor, the largest five "contain[ed] an area of 400

²This term, "saloon," was perhaps meant by Carpenter a hall or salon where fine pieces of art was exhibited. In Ackermann's Repository, a saloon was described as "an apartment of communication, and through which the principal rooms are approached, the prevailing colours should harmonize with them, and yet be of such color or subdued character as will produce in the others an effect of greater brilliancy." February, 1820.
³Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 10. For the purpose of this thesis, the double Drawing Rooms and Parlors will be addressed as one room.
square feet each" and added that one was "used as a picture gallery." The remaining four rooms were presumably the best bedchambers. Carpenter described the walls of the picture gallery as "covered with numerous paintings, by eminent artists of Europe and America."

The 1893 auction catalogue for Phil-Ellena provided a more complete description of the second floor where there were a total of thirteen rooms, including a central hall and a "Middle Room" off the hall that functioned as a reception/sitting area. The second floor had ten bedrooms, four of which were principal chambers furnished with more valuable objects. One room, Number 8, was a closet. According to an unidentified clipping in a scrapbook belonging to George Carpenter Jr., the south end of the second floor held bedrooms for the family and guests, and in the north end was occupied by the nursery and servant chambers.

Phil-Ellena also had a third floor, but Carpenter only referred to this space as the location of a large cistern for

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4Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 19.
5Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 19.
6The disparity of the number of rooms listed in the auction catalogue [thirteen] and in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena [fifteen] could have been simply because Carpenter included bathrooms or hallways in his count. The auction catalogue might have omitted rooms in which no items were being sold.
7Unidentified article found in the "George Carpenter Jr. Scrapbook" of the Sydney L. Wright Papers, located at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
storing water for distribution throughout the house. The 1893 auction catalogue listed only a few objects for the third floor: a bath tub, several games of lawn tennis and croquet, five pairs of skates, a leather trunk and an invalid's chair. This space was clearly a storage area.

Another space within the boundaries of the house itself was the roof-top cupola that is stylistically based on the Monument of Lysicrates (334 B.C) located in Athens. Carpenter described it as "an octagonal observatory, supported by eight Grecian columns, with antique caps; also eight sets of sash doors; opening and communicating with a balcony, with forms a walk of four feet wide around the same, enclosed by a neat Chinese railing. From this deck Carpenter was able to see ships in the Delaware harbor, the church spires of Philadelphia and the roof of Girard College. According to Carpenter the elevation was 500 feet and the view was spectacular.

The Finishes

The finishes for Phil-Ellena were an intrinsic part of the opulent packaging of the interior. Carpenter took special care to describe the decorative painting on the walls, floors, and ceilings. The decorative finishes and details in Phil-Ellena were likely a product from several sources:

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*Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 21.*
Carpenter's personal taste; the popular fashion for the time; decorative guidebooks; and the particular expertise of the various artisans employed. Carpenter, a man of varied and broad knowledge, was at the least familiar with Classical architectural terminology as evidenced by his description of the Saloon as having a "ceiling divided by a rich Grecian entablature, supported by 4 Scagliola columns and antaeas." The books in Carpenter's library listed in the 1893 auction catalogue suggest his exposure to classical forms may have influenced his choice of architectural details and sculptures. The following book titles, all from Carpenter's library, predated the building of Phil-Ellena:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of book</th>
<th>Place, date published</th>
<th>Brief description</th>
<th>Price in 1893 catalogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Napoleon's Egypt</td>
<td>Paris, 1809-1822</td>
<td>21 volumes</td>
<td>59.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musée Francais</td>
<td>Paris, 1803-1811</td>
<td>Statuary, Sculpture, Greek &quot;Laocoön&quot;</td>
<td>48.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musée Royal</td>
<td>Paris, 1803-1811</td>
<td>Drawings and descriptions of Cyclopean or Pelasgic remains in Greece and Italy</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodwell's Views</td>
<td>London, 1834</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Architectura by Vitruvii Pollionis</td>
<td>Lugduni, 1586</td>
<td>Historic Dictionary of the Gods and fabulous personages from history</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell's New Pantheon</td>
<td>London, 1790</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 7.
Panels and Frescoes

Other decorative guide books and pattern books do not appear in his library, but evidence suggests that Carpenter and his artisans consulted them. For example, Carpenter or his painters might have been familiar with Nathaniel Whittock's *The Decorative Painter's and Glazier's Guide* (1827), which detailed the characteristics of various revival styles, including the Greek and Roman:

> The decoration of the Greeks is marked with a light elegance of style... It is supposed that the walls were divided into compartments or panels, and that these were filled with paintings illustrative of the actions of the God or Goddess to whom the temple was dedicated.¹⁰

Similarly, Carpenter's ceilings were divided into such panels and painted with frescoes of mythological themes in the Library, the Drawing Room, the Parlor, and Breakfast Parlor (Figures 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31). Carpenter matched the frescoes to the activity of the room. In the case of the Breakfast Parlor, the frescoes recalled images of food and seasons.¹¹ Other frescoes recalled mythological themes, as in the Library (Figures 23 and 24):

> The compartment of the ceiling is decorated with ornaments, emblematic of the arts; the centre, of circular form, represents Raphael's splendid painting of Jupiter from the fresco painting in the hall of the Vatican; a fancy border with gold

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¹¹Carpenter, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena,* 15.
rosettes in pannels [sic], encloses the compartment.\textsuperscript{12}

Whittock also described the Arabesque style: a method of dividing the walls into panels using lines or enriched moldings, "all of...them highly ornamented at the angles." In these panels were images of "birds, beasts, fishes, fruit, flowers."\textsuperscript{13} Carpenter also employed the Arabesque style in his Breakfast Parlour (Figure 31), which he described as follows:

The ceilings are decorated with arabesque ornaments, intermixed with flowers, butterflies, &c...The centre of this ceiling represents Mars in his chariot (from the beautiful painting of Raphael, in fresco, in the Vatican), encircled with festoons of flowers, and the richest specimens of Audubon's colored birds. The compartments closed by long pannels [sic], having at the centres grape vines and fruit, and in the angles at the corners, heads representing the seasons.\textsuperscript{14}

The frescoes and moldings were still part of the interior of Phil-Ellena when the photographs were taken in 1887.

Graining

Carpenter also employed grained surfaces throughout the house. Graining was a system of decorative painting used by house painters to imitate exotic or precious woods. By the

\textsuperscript{12}Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 12.  
\textsuperscript{13}Whittock, Guide, 113.  
\textsuperscript{14}Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 15.
1840s, graining was a familiar decorative technique. The expense of graining varied with the type of wood desired. Webster and Parkes's Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844) explained that some graining, as the "imitations of rare and beautiful woods done in the best manner, is expensive, but graining like oak or wainscot is cheap." 15

Whittock's The Decorative Painter's and Glazier's Guide offered another practical and technical body of advice for the appropriate finishes and techniques for graining surfaces. Whittock explained that revolutionary changes in the graining and marbleizing fields enabled a more inexpensive process for general use. Carpenter's craftsmen could have consulted this source for graining selections. Whittock provided color plates to illustrate each kind of wood. He also recommended that the graining never strive to imitate the work of a decorative painter, but to rather follow the example of "nature herself." 16

Carpenter, too, favored a realistic imitation of natural wood and one that would compliment and harmonize with all of the furnishings in the room. Carpenter praised his painter, John Gibson:

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15 Thomas Webster and Mrs. William Parkes, Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy, Rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1848): 76. This source is hereafter referred to as Economy.
The doors [are] executed in a masterly style by John Gibson of Philadelphia...the great art of the painter in this branch consists not merely in the layering on of the various colours, but in the adaptation of tints which will contrast and harmonize not only with themselves, but also with the use and character of the various apartments. Mr. Gibson has not only succeeded most admirably and effectually to make a correct imitation, but also in keeping up such tones as to secure a combination of beauty and harmony throughout the building.17

Whittock not only illustrated various woods, he also explained their character and where they could be used. For example, oak was recommended for outside applications because of its strength and durability and inside for "doors and shutters where strength is required."18 Satin wood was described as a beautiful and delicate wood suitable only for inside work. Spanish mahogany was a elegant and valuable wood that was rich and varied, robustly grained, and essentially "the highest test of the grainer's art."19

Whittock's words coincide perfectly with Carpenter's reasons for selecting each grained wood. Each room on the first floor received a different type of grained wood:

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17Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 9.
19Whittock, Guide, 35.
Carpenter's description of the grained woods from *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type of wood</th>
<th>Carpenter's description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>imitated oak and oak root</td>
<td>&quot;designed to represent strength and durability.&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parlor</td>
<td>satin wood</td>
<td>&quot;the tones of which have the lightness and vivacity so characteristic of the several apartments.&quot;</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing Room</td>
<td>elm root</td>
<td>&quot;[The] richness and variety of colours harmonize with the elegance and magnificence of the whole&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>black walnut finish</td>
<td>&quot;somber, grave, and at the same time substantial character so essential to a study.&quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast Parlor</td>
<td>Spanish mahogany</td>
<td>&quot;combining richness and warmth of tone.&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graining Carpenter chose for each room suggests that he was following the generally accepted character for each space as described by the critics. Compare, for example, Carpenter's descriptions with those in *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to House Painting*, (1828) by Davis Ramsey Hay, a housepainter and author. Hay offered "scientific" reasons for choosing cool or warm tones, and the compatible "harmonious" tones to accompany any paint selection.²⁰ Hay ascribed the following personality to each room in the following table.

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Hay's description of each room, from The Laws of Harmonious Colouring

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room</th>
<th>Characterization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drawing-room</td>
<td>Vivacity, gaiety, and light cheerfulness; light shades of brilliant colour, contrast, gilding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining-room</td>
<td>Warm, rich, substantial, not vivid contrasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parlour</td>
<td>Medium style, between drawing-room and dining-room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>Solemn, grave, no richer than necessary to give effect of grandeur, quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedrooms</td>
<td>Light, cleanly, cheerful, more contrast than any other room, gayer and brighter carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staircases, lobbies, vestibules</td>
<td>Cool tones, free of contrasts, architectural grandeur, light and shadow, simple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Hay did not specifically cite graining as the decorative finish, his words are strikingly similar to Carpenter's.

The graining Carpenter proudly described was regarded with disdain by later generations. Charles Eastlake in Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and other Details (1872) described graining as an example of "dishonest" decoration:

It is an objectionable and pretentious deceit, which cannot be excused even on the ground of economy. In the last century, when English oak and Spanish mahogany could be procured at a reasonable price, the grainer's work was, of course, unneeded.21

Eastlake's premise of truthful construction permeates Hints on Household Taste. Although other elements of Phil-

21Charles C. Eastlake, Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and other Details, Rev. ed. of 1868 London publication (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1872): 42-43. This 1872 source will hereafter be referred to as Hints.
Ellena's interiors were updated according to Eastlake's prescriptions, Phil-Ellena's finishes were not visibly altered according to later photographs. Furthermore, replacing grained wood with actual hardwoods on the walls and doors would have incurred great expense for such a large house.

Scagliola and Marbleized Surfaces

Scagliola was another finish used on the first floor of Phil-Ellena. This finish, an imitation of marble, was an extravagance, but remained far cheaper than the actual material. The primary ingredient of scagliola was plaster mixed with chips of other matter to simulate the grains of the marble desired. In The Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy, Webster and Parkes offered a more precise description:

This is a material which is made to imitate various marbles...and serpentine, so well, that is is difficult to discover, by the appearance, that it is not real stone. It is much employed for columns in the interior of houses, also for lining of walls...It admits a very beautiful polish, but is cannot be employed on the outside of a building, as it is destroyed by damp...This substance is very useful where great richness and magnificence is required at a small expense.22

The Hall, the Parlor and the Drawing Room of Phil-Ellena each had four columns of scagliola.

22Webster and Parkes, Economy, 216.
Several other surfaces in the hall were decorated to imitate marble. According to Carpenter, the floor of the hall was "covered with oil cloth in one piece, designed to match the Scagliola columns."\(^{23}\) The walls were "panneled [sic]...the ground work being divided in blocks of variegated marble."\(^{24}\) In addition, several free-standing busts were supported by "imitation marble pedestals," as noted in the auction catalogue. Carpenter's use of marble finishes on the floor, walls, and columns was not unusual for the period. At the least, this infusion of marbles, all simulated, was another sign of wealth.

Late nineteenth-century critics of design, such as Eastlake, did not approve of murals and wall treatments that were imitative of other materials. Eastlake stated that any finish imitating marble "is a sham, and ought to therefore be condemned."\(^{25}\) Eastlake specifically criticized floor cloths which imitated real materials:

When the material known as "floor cloth" was first used in this country for halls and passages, its design began with an imitation of marble pavements and parquetry floors; I have seen a pattern which was intended to represent the spots on a leopard's skin. These conceits were thoroughly false in principle, and are now gradually being abandoned. A floor-cloth...should seem to be what it really is.\(^{26}\)

\(^{23}\)Carpenter, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, 8.

\(^{24}\)Carpenter, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, 8.


\(^{26}\)Eastlake, *Hints*, 51.
Eastlake advocated a geometric pattern for floor cloths.

The photographs of the hall taken by George Wood in 1887 show a floor surface, either an oilcloth or painted wood, with a geometric pattern (Figure 22). It is uncertain, however, if the Carpenters followed Eastlake's advice exactly. The floorcloth in Phil-Ellena's hall as seen in the 1887 photograph could have been as it was originally, having a marbleized geometric pattern, or a cloth that was updated or painted over with a new geometric design. It is impossible to detect this subtle detail in the photographs.

Floor Coverings

Other rooms throughout the house also show changes in the floor coverings. When Phil-Ellena was built, the fashion was to carpet a floor wall to wall, primarily to disguise the unattractive soft wood floors. According to Carpenter, the first and second floors were carpeted. The Parlor had a "rich Wilton...with double borders," the Breakfast Parlor had a Saxony medallion carpet and the upper floor chambers contained Saxony and Brussels carpets.

George Wood's 1887 photographs of the Parlor, however, show that the Wilton carpet had been taken up, the wood floor had been exposed and varnished, and several Oriental rugs had

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28Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 10, 15, 18 respectively.
been added. This change is in keeping with decorating guides of the late nineteenth century that recommended rugs instead of wall-to-wall carpeting. Eastlake derided wall-to-wall carpets, reasoning that such carpets wasted material, they could not be reused and, most importantly, they covered the floor and hid the character of the wood. He wrote: "No one wants a carpet in the nooks and corners of a room; and it is pleasant to feel that there, at all events, the floor can assert its independence."29

American critics urged similar advice on their readers. Harriet Spofford, in Art Decoration Applied to Furniture (1878), noted that Oriental carpets "are to be used as rugs...leav[ing] a border of the bare wood or tile around their edge."30 Spofford specifically mentioned that dining room floors should be "kept bare with a center carpet."31 In another decorating guide, The House Beautiful (1878), Clarence Cook prescribed larger area carpets: "I do not like to see several rugs in a room, but prefer one large one, large enough to cover the whole floor, up to, or nearly up to the large pieces of furniture."32 Cook claimed that smaller

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29Eastlake, Hints, 109.
31Spofford, Art Decoration, 191.
rugs made a room look patchy and could trip children and older people.

In Phil-Ellena, the advice of these critics was visibly followed, but it is uncertain if the redecoration relied on specific recommendations. The Breakfast Parlor followed Spofford's and Cook's advice by having one large Oriental carpet in place of the Saxony medallion carpet (Figure 31). The Parlor, however, defied Cook's criticism by having several smaller Oriental carpets throughout the space (Figures 29 and 30).

Despite this advice, most of the bed chambers were still carpeted wall-to-wall in the 1887 photographs. Only the Smoking Room and Bedroom C had alternative treatments; the former used a large Oriental carpet, the latter several small Turkish rugs (Figures 32 and 37). It is uncertain if the wall-to-wall carpets in the other bedrooms were original; after forty years the original carpets may have been replaced. However, the values in the 1893 auction catalogue suggest that these carpets were old. For example, the 56 yards of English Body Brussels Carpet to be sold from Bedroom No. 3—one of the larger bedrooms—was valued at $0.25/yard. The carpets in several other rooms also had low values listed.
Stained Glass

Phil-Ellena was a showcase for Carpenter's various collections as well as for the beautiful objects and finishes that the artists and craftsmen produced. One unusual and impressive element of Phil-Ellena would have been the stained glass windows throughout the first floor. Carpenter described the glass on the first floor and stair landing as follows:

A Franklin Window, with stained glass, executed by Mr. Gibson of New York, who is entitled to great credit for the superiority and beauty of his work... The principal subject in this window is the picture of Aurora by Guido. The side lights of this window, as well as the side and top lights of the front and back doors, are filled with trophies of game and fish, fruit and flowers; the whole of the colours of the richest and most permanent kind are burnt in the glass, and renders them almost as enduring as time.³³

Stained glass was also installed in large bay windows located in the Library and in the Breakfast Parlor.

This type of stained glass was achieved by actually painting onto prepared glass and heating it to "burn" in the color:

After the figure to be put upon the plate is drawn upon paper, and painted as desired, it is transferred to the glass, which has been prepared to receive it. This has to be done with artistic skill, equal to that employed upon an oil painting, and requires much more care in its execution. In transferring fruits and flower pieces, all the delicate tints of the objects must be copied with the greatest nicety. The glass it then put into a

³³Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 8.
kiln, and submitted to a heat almost sufficient to fuse it, which not only has the effect to add greatly to the beauty of the painting, but makes it a part of the glass itself, no power being able to remove it.\textsuperscript{34}

According to Nathaniel Whittock in \textit{The Decorative Painter's and Glazier's Guide} (1827), the resurgent of interest in stained glass was caused by the revival of Gothic architecture.\textsuperscript{35} Whittock also published recipes needed to produce this colored glass.

Stained glass was rare in residential settings of the 1840s and even in ecclesiastical settings causing comment. According to one scholar, "The installation of a stained glass window was still an exceptional occurrence in the mid-1800s and often received mention in local newspapers and guide books."\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{Household Furnishings}

The furniture selected for Phil-Ellena was similar to the finishes and floor coverings in that some items remained in the house until the auction sale while others were bought later to update the interior, thus producing an overlay of styles.

The original furnishings were described by Carpenter in \textit{A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena}. The Parlor contained:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{34}Freedley, \textit{Philadelphia and Its Manufactures} (1867), 302
\textsuperscript{35}Whittock, \textit{Guide}, 205.
\end{flushright}
Rose-wood Gothic sofa tables, with Egyptian marble tops; chairs, ottomans, sofas and lounges, with embroidered needle work covering...a pier table, with several hundred small blocks of polished marble, all from different localities and from various parts of the world, manufactured in Italy and accompanied with a record describing their qualities and localities.\(^\text{37}\)

In the Drawing Rooms, Carpenter wrote, furniture was "rose wood of very superior finish, manufactured in Philadelphia and New York, and fully equal to any of the French importations."\(^\text{38}\) For the Library, Carpenter identified the designer of the furniture:

The room is filled with book cases, of the same material [as the black walnut grained doors] made in the Gothic style, from designs by Mr. Johnson, who is entitled to great credit for his drawings and drafts of these and various other designs in different parts of the building.\(^\text{39}\)

The Study, just off of the Library, contained "revolving chairs, carpets, French escritoires, book-cases."\(^\text{40}\) Other rooms were in described much less detail. Carpenter noted that the furniture in the Breakfast Parlor was made of mahogany and rosewood. In the upstairs bedchambers, the furniture was rosewood, walnut and mahogany, "most of which was manufactured in a superior manner by the industrious and enterprising Robertson, No. 137 Walnut Street."\(^\text{41}\)

\(^{37}\)Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 10.
\(^{38}\)Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 11.
\(^{39}\)Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 12.
\(^{40}\)Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 13.
\(^{41}\)Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 18.
Although the furniture was described fleetingly, there was a theme to Carpenter's selection of furniture that corresponds both to furniture that was popular in the 1840s and to Hay's theories of harmonious colors. Carpenter selected furniture for the Library, for example, that fit the character expected for this space: somber and Gothic. Even the wood--black walnut--fit the mood of the room. Other rooms reflected a similar consideration. Rosewood furniture was chosen by Carpenter for the light, elegant character of the Drawing Room and the Parlors, and mahogany and rosewood for the Breakfast Parlour, a room of warmth and richness.

Mahogany and rosewood were both popular furniture materials in the 1840s. Both were also imported, which caused the price to be relatively high. The choice of rosewood by Carpenter, therefore, was a sign of wealth. This wood was a desirable alternative to the previously popular mahogany that was becoming increasingly harder to obtain by the mid-nineteenth century.42

The 1887 photographs provide many examples of furniture that appear to be part of Carpenter's original selection. The discovery of these pieces in the photographs taken more than forty years after the house was built indicate that they

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were treasured by the Carpenter family and were thus still worthy of integration in a new scheme.43

Library

The only specific furniture style mentioned by Carpenter for the Library was the Gothic employed on the bookcases. The presence of the Gothic style in Phil-Ellena was not unusual for the 1840s. As early as 1810, cabinetmakers in Philadelphia advertised Gothic and Egyptian furniture.44 By the 1820s and 1830s, many sources for Gothic furniture were available, including Rudolph Ackermann's The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufacture, Fashions, and Politics, a monthly magazine from London, and John Claudius Loudon's Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture originally published in London in 1833. The Gothic style was popularized as a decorative packaging of the familiar neoclassical form.45 By the 1840s and 1850s the Gothic Revival style was integrated with other styles such as Grecian, Elizabethan and Rococo Revival.

43The Carpenter family by 1887 had suffered some loss of wealth due to the failing economy. The funds to redecorate the entire house might not have been available.


The 1887 photograph of the Library featured the Gothic cabinets described by Carpenter, complete with their original titles above the doors (Figures 23 and 24): Zoology, Art, History, etc. The cases were described in the 1893 auction catalog as "Walnut, single bookcases, Gothic style," and sold from $5.50 to $8.50 apiece.46 The cases followed the general ideal for a country villa library, as described in Loudon's Encyclopedia (1833) and Downing's Architecture of Country Houses. Downing, relying heavily on Loudon's illustrations, stated that Gothic cases in the library were ideal under certain conditions:

When there is a large collection of books to be provided for...and extended along both sides for all round the library...busts of distinguished men, in different departments of letters, may be so placed along the top as to designate to what particular class of books the space directly below is allotted.47

The bookcases in Carpenter's library, however, were much simpler in style than those illustrated by Downing, having a clean trefoil cut-away grille in the doors instead of ornate filigree. Other pieces in the room in the same simple Gothic

46Sale of the Elegant Household Furnishings of George Washington Carpenter, 1893. Published by Stan. V. Henkels. The prices were written by hand in the margin of this catalogue. This source will hereafter be referred to as Sale. There were no pages noted.
style were several pointed-arched chairs. Each back made up of one central larger arch and two smaller ones. These chairs had similar companions in the hall.

Several Grecian-styled chairs appeared in another photograph of the Library (Figure 23). These chairs resemble those produced by the French emigré craftsmen Michel Bouvier and Anthony Quervelle in Philadelphia in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were modeled after the ancient Greek klismos form. The mature phase of the Grecian style occurred just before Carpenter built Phil-Ellena, but it was never absent from the interior. Bouvier may have produced these chairs for Carpenter, as his name was included in the list of craftsmen in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena. Bouvier also produced furniture for Joseph Bonaparte's mansion "Point Breeze," with which Carpenter was certainly familiar.\(^4^8\)

Library furniture had a distinctly strong character, according to Downing. He recommended library chairs should be heavier and more solid than those in a drawing room or dining room. He preferred those made of oak or black walnut and covered with leather. Downing illustrated chairs with "pure classical style...a well-stuffed seat, and an easy

\(^{48}\)A further description of Bouvier's work and his connection to Carpenter and Bonaparte will be discussed in the Appendix. Carpenter was present at the auction sale of Joseph Bonaparte's estate in 1845. He might have been a visitor to Bordentown earlier than this date.
curve to the back, united to pleasing outline and proportions." Downing also provided a few examples of library tables in the classical style, one of which was strikingly similar to that in Carpenter's Library on which many heavy, massive books were placed. Both the table and the chairs in the Library fit Downing's suggestions, but the 1887 photographs do not tell a viewer if these chairs were placed in this room as Carpenter had originally intended. No evidence remains to explain the history of the individual pieces. However, the fact that the furniture survived until the late nineteenth century suggests that these pieces were used in the house, quite possibly in the Library.

The term "antique" was used frequently in the 1893 auction catalogue, either to describe a piece that was genuinely old or a piece that imitated an antique style. Many of these "antique" pieces appear to be of the former category. An example is the "Antique French Rosewood Table, very elaborately carved, the legs in the shape of a griffin, tilt top," located in the Library, that sold for $36.00. This piece, although unusual, does fit in with the late Empire style, typically known for its heavy appearance, strong, clean forms, animal legs and feet, heavily carved details

50 Sale, a relatively high price for the catalogue.
such as dolphins and acanthus leaves, usually made of mahogany or rosewood.\textsuperscript{51}

By the 1870s the image of the library, as offered Eastlake and Spofford, was still very similar to the somber, grave characterization described by Hay in \textit{The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to House Painting}. Although Eastlake did stress less decoration and the use of Turkish rugs instead of floral, wall-to-wall carpetings, he also recommended the use of oak, a strong and solid wood. Even the busts were approved, but on pedestals instead of the tops of the bookcases:

It used to be the fashion to place a plaster urn or bust at the top of each bookcase, to give what the upholster called a 'finish' to the room...busts at so high an elevation...convey a very distorted notion of the features which they represent.\textsuperscript{52}

Harriet Spofford also liked busts for niches and pedestals in the library. She wrote that busts "are welcome additions, for they seem to people the room with illustrious shapes proper to it." She also suggested "somber [rather] than bright" colors for a library.\textsuperscript{53}

Perhaps because these prescriptive sources did not criticize the traditional decorative values of the library,

\textsuperscript{52}Eastlake, \textit{Hints}, 127.
\textsuperscript{53}Spofford, \textit{Art Decoration}, 216-217.
Carpenter's library received little updating by 1887. The room also was not a public space used for entertaining. As mentioned before, the floor was covered with a wall-to-wall floral-patterned carpet—a English Wilton as described in the 1893 auction catalogue. The entrance to the Library, however, was updated following the late nineteenth-century aesthetic with a Turkish-patterned cloth or carpet was hung inside a Grecian cornice (Figure 25). The central pattern cut away to make an opening. The cut-out frame resembled the shape of a Turkish mosque and the carpet design for prayer rugs. On the floor lay a small Turkish carpet. The influence of Moorish design, a catch-all label for any style from the Middle East, was discussed in great detail by Harriet Spofford. In this case, the Moorish arch, as illustrated by the carpet, was praised by Spofford: "Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Moorish style, after the horseshoe arch...[is] the beauty and variety of its pattern of diaper...with its usual light colors and airy arches, a joyous and exquisite ensemble."54

Drawing Room

The furniture in the Drawing Room was a similar mixture of older and new pieces (Figures 27 and 28). Some pieces received a superficial "modernization" typical of the late

54Spofford, Art Decoration, 148.
nineteenth century, but their overall forms, the materials and upholstery, distinguished them as being mid-nineteenth century. Despite the efforts to update this room and the Parlor, they both fit the popular convention associated with a traditional reception room. When Eastlake described this typical gathering space, he was also describing Carpenter's drawing room exactly:

After dinner the ladies ascend into a green-and-gold papered drawing-room to perform on a walnut-wood piano, having first seated themselves on walnut-wood music-stools...A few years ago all these last-mentioned articles of household furniture were made of rosewood. In the early part of this century it was de rigueur that they should be mahogany; so the fashion of taste goes on changing from age to age.55

Eastlake's depiction of what was to him the old-fashioned drawing room was based on the theories of Loudon and Hay. Loudon noted that maple, satinwood or rosewood were suitable for drawing room chairs. This advice agreed with Hay's theory of color: vivacity, gaiety, and light cheerfulness, light shades of brilliant colors, contrast and gilding.

The majority of the seating pieces in Phil-Ellena's Drawing Room were described by the auction catalogue as rosewood, suggesting that the pieces were original to the 1840s or at least to the mid-nineteenth century when rosewood was popular. The furniture also had spring seats and tufted

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55Eastlake, Hints, 73-74.
backs. The use of tufting would have been relatively new in the 1840s. It would also another mark of modern design and Carpenter's progressive tastes.\textsuperscript{56}

The upholstery of the suite of furniture described in the auction catalogue also were reminiscent of Eastlake's description of the traditional drawing room: white satin with four feather pillows and cushions, each with green and gold cord edging. The suite included two sofas, a rosewood "Comfortable arm chair," two rosewood divans, and two rosewood ottomans—all in matching upholstery. The curtains were of "embroidered satin damask" with a design of green floral on a gold background.\textsuperscript{57}

Silk was a popular choice for fancy drawing rooms. Loudon's Encyclopedia (1833) and Webster and Parkes's Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844) suggested silk as the best choice of seating materials for the drawing room.\textsuperscript{58} Downing mentioned specifically that the sofas found in the drawing room were usually covered in "figured damask, either

\textsuperscript{56}According to Edward Troxell Freedley's Philadelphia and its Manufactures (Philadelphia: 1867) on page 293, spring-seated sofas were a luxury, "almost a novelty," in 1840.

\textsuperscript{57}Sale of the Elegant Household Furnishings, 10-13. The prices of the furniture sold were as follows: $5.50 for the armchair, $3.75 for one sofa and $4.00 for the matching sofa; $3.00 for the two divans and $3.50 for the two ottomans; $50.00 for the 10 strips of curtain material.

\textsuperscript{58}Edgar N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., A Documentary History of American Interiors (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons: 1980): 134. This source summarized the general suggestions by Loudon and Webster and Parkes.
worsted or silk.\(^\text{59}\) A suite of furniture—in matching upholstery—was fashionable in the 1840s. Loudon had recommended that the fabric used on the cushion of easy chair be the "same furniture [fabric] as the sofas and windows curtains."\(^\text{60}\) But late nineteenth-century critics such as Clarence Cook liked neither the style of earlier upholstery nor its use of fabric:

> It would be found good for the health, and conducive to the freshness and simplicity...to get rid of upholstery and stuffing in our furniture as far as possible.\(^\text{61}\)

Carpenter followed Loudon's advice regarding the drawing room chairs:

> Fancy chairs...may be made of rosewood, maple, satin, or any other kind of fancy wood; and French polished. The seats are first caned....Their great advantage in a drawingroom [sic] is their lightness. They may have hair cushions covered with the same furniture as the curtains and sofas; or they may have stuffed seats covered with damask.\(^\text{62}\)

Several "fancy French Lacquered cane seat chairs" were described in the 1893 auction catalogue. They also appeared in the 1887 photographs having simple flowered or embroidered

\(^{59}\)Downing, Architecture of Country Houses, 427.


\(^{61}\)Clarence Cook, The House Beautiful, 58.

\(^{62}\)Loudon, Encyclopedia (1977), 1061.
seats. Some of these chairs appeared with fringed skirts—a more fanciful touch.

Along with the suite of satin-covered seating pieces were two Gothic tables at either end of the Drawing Room that Carpenter had described in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena as being in the Parlor: "rose-wood Gothic sofa tables, with Egyptian marble tops." These peculiar Gothic tables do not appear anywhere else in the 1887 photographs. The auction catalogue described these tables as "Antique rosewood tables, Gothic style, elaborately carved, with a black and gold marble top." Each were annotated as selling for $12.00.

The Drawing Room, identified in the 1893 auction catalogue as the "Reception Room," retained most of Carpenter's selections, and was updated only superficially. Furniture pieces were not removed even when fashion trends suggested otherwise. The center tables found in this large room and the Parlor were popular in the nineteenth century and enjoyed a special significance when precious lighting devices such as Argand-burner lamps and solar lamps were placed upon them to provide light for the entire room. In 1850 Downing wrote:

Centre tables have long been popular pieces of furniture...the emblem of the family circle. [They] depend for their good effect mainly on the drapery or cover of handsome cloth or stuff usually spread upon their tops, and concealing all but the lower part of the legs.  

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63 Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 10.
64 Downing, Architecture of Country Houses, 429.
The Drawing Room's center table had a cover as described by Downing (Figures 27 and 28).

The piano of Phil-Ellena's Drawing Room was a typical element of middle-class homes. According to Downing, a piano was the "universal accompaniment of the drawing-room or parlor in America." By 1850 the interest and demand for the piano intensified, becoming the symbol of family respectability and financial prosperity. It was to be positioned in a prominent area of the parlor, becoming the new center of family activity and socialization.65 Eastlake also noted the importance of the piano to the traditional drawing room scheme.

The Drawing Room, as it was photographed in 1887, exhibited a few exotic furnishings, such as a Turkish carpet on an ottoman that matched, in spirit, two small Moorish-style tables. Critics such as Spofford promoted exotic furnishings to be juxtaposed with the mundane. The Moorish parlor in Spofford's book was decorated with "sumptuous gold-threaded material for coverings of the various articles of furniture...as as a general rule are entirely covered with drapery and cushions revealing no woodwork."66


66Spofford, Art Decoration, 145.
The primary lighting devices in the downstairs rooms were elaborate gasoliers that Carpenter purchased from Cornelius and Company, a prominent manufacturer in Philadelphia. These fixtures remained in the house and were described in the 1893 auction catalogue, as "Antique German Silver chandelier, very ornamental, decorated with hundreds of cut glass prisms, six branches for gas, and twelve branches for candles." They sold for eighteen dollars each.

Two large pier mirrors between the pair of windows at the front and back of the Drawing Room also remained in the house when the house was photographed in 1887. Carpenter described them as French plate pier glasses, 120 inches by 40 inches, having "superb" frames manufactured by Robinson. A note in the auction catalogue recorded they sold at $16.00 apiece. Perhaps these mirrors had remained because, as the auction catalogue stated, they were "heavy."

Parlor

Other than a new floor treatment as described earlier in this chapter, the Parlor did not change much from its original installation when comparing what Carpenter wrote about the room and what the 1887 photographs (Figures 29 and 30). Carpenter described the chairs, ottomans, sofas and lounges as having an "embroidered needle work covering".

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This same suite appeared in the 1887 photographs and was described in the 1893 auction catalogue as "Antique Ottoman Sofa, covered with handsome embroidered work, with three feather pillow cushions to match." The auction catalogue also noted other pieces in this suite: sofa with four pillows and six antique small ottomans. Matching pieces might have been the "antique walnut rocking chairs, embroidered seat and back." Although sounding exotic, the ottoman was a standard piece of furniture in the 1840s. Loudon recommended it as villa furniture. It could be placed against the wall or in the corner of the room, or even in the center as a free-standing piece.

Another clue about the an earlier furnishing scheme of the Parlor can be based on the curtain material described in the 1893 auction catalogue: "maroon plush lambrequins for five windows with brass cornices, including two pieces over the pier window." The auction catalogue also described the same maroon plush fabric for several French lacquered chairs, as well as five "antique walnut arm chairs" and a walnut reclining chair in the Drawing Room. It is uncertain that the maroon plush was the original upholstery for a suite of furniture and its matching curtains. Plush was a common fabric, one that might have been chosen for the re-upholstery of these pieces. The color maroon also was more fashionable

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68Sale of the Elegant Household Furniture, 3.
in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s than earlier. The spreading of these pieces throughout the downstairs rooms could be the result of rearranging these pieces for a new look.

However, the style of curtains in the Parlor in the 1887 photograph indicates that the suite might have been upholstered in the 1850s. The design of the curtains was typical of the 1850s. Such designs included a full cornice, an undercurtain, a lambrequin, tassels and tiebacks. Godey's Lady's Book illustrated similar designs by W. H. Carryl in the 1850s. The fact that these curtains survived long after they were installed suggests that curtains were expensive and not easily replaced, despite the bitter comments that Eastlake made about curtains with cornices likely to "cut and fray the curtain which it crowns" being "contemptible in design."69

The 1887 photographs of the Parlor show a room less formal in feeling than the Drawing Room. This is perhaps the result of removing the wall-to-wall carpeting. Clarence Cook was an advocate of making the parlor less formal. In The House Beautiful (1878), he changed the name from "parlor" to "living-room" to promote the filial activities within this space: "The room ought to represent the culture of the

69Eastlake, Hints, 96.
family--what is their taste, what feeling they have for art...it should represent themselves, and not other people."70

Hall

The Hall as seen in the 1887 photographs was sparsely furnished, having only a few Gothic chairs (Figure 22). The Gothic hall, according to Loudon, recalled the heroic past of the English, but was adaptable to "that style of Architecture applied to articles suited to modern habits of society."71 The chairs in the Hall most closely resemble those in Loudon's Encyclopedia designed by Mr. Lamb for cottage dwellings rather than that suited for villa furniture. The simplicity of the Gothic chairs suggest that Carpenter had a restrained and conservative sense of style that was both elegant and functional. The finishes and other decorative elements were far more elaborate than the simple furniture found in the Library, Hall and a few of the bedrooms. Although Carpenter protested that the furniture was equal in craftsmanship to that made in France, the furniture still retained the austerity and plainness of the earlier Grecian style.

The 1887 photographs show the hall decorated with two massive marble vases and several busts on pedestals, and "Four Rosewood Hall Chairs, Gothic style," as noted by the

70 Cook, The House Beautiful, 48-49.
71 Loudon, Encyclopedia, 1089.
1893 auction catalogue. Mr. Johnston, the chief draftsman of Phil-Ellena, possibly designed these chairs, along with the Gothic bookcases in the Library and other pieces in the house. The only other furnishings in the hall were two hanging coat racks and one iron umbrella stand, all of which were noted in the 1893 auction catalogue but did not appear in the photographs. This hall was clearly a passageway to the other rooms and a space designed to impress visitors, not a "living hall" as in the medieval or Queen Anne Revival sense.

Breakfast Parlor

According to Carpenter, the Breakfast Parlor furniture was made from mahogany and rosewood. The 1893 auction catalogue identified this room as the "Dining Room," and the list of contents reflects changes from the original furnishings. The catalogue listed not rosewood, but six "walnut dining room armchairs, upholstered in haircloth." The chairs in the photograph appear to be simple chairs with turned vertical elements at the back and sides connecting the seat and the armrests.

The photograph, shows two Grecian style chairs at the rear of the room that may be from the original set (Figure 31). The 1893 auction catalogue described a pair of mahogany side chairs selling for $3.00. The photograph shows a klismos
shaped chair with curled armrests placed before a secretary. This chair is similar to those in the Library, but lacks the back splat. This chair was not identified in the auction catalogue.

A few larger pieces of rosewood furniture remained in the room at the time of the auction sale. The auction catalogue listed several "antique" cabinets including "Antique French Rosewood wine cabinet; a pair of cabinets that opened both back and front, and lined with satinwood," selling for $10.00; and "Two Antique Rosewood Side Cupboards, with closet bases, light marble tops, surmounted with small cabinets," at $2.00. These descriptions match the sideboards in the photograph of the Breakfast Parlor.

During the nineteenth century, the dining room as a separate room dedicated primarily for eating grew in popularity:

A specialized dining room was a symbol of economic success, and a spate of nineteenth-century architectural design books...jealously guarded this indicant of middle class status for those who had both sufficient money and admirable taste.\(^\text{72}\)

The Breakfast Parlor, yet another space for entertaining and social gathering, still provided a space for activities other than eating. Often these rooms were used as a sitting room or office. Carpenter's dining room, as seen in the

photographs, was typical: this space contained a desk as well as a rocking chair relaxation.

The dining room received attention from such critics as Harriet Spofford. Like Hay, Spofford recommended subdued richness, an ample chimney place, and a sumptuous space that put guests at ease. For the walls, "the warm, rich colors are the best." The purpose of these decorations was to recreate the medieval eating hall: "A dining room represents all the banqueting of its original, the great hall, its furniture needs to be solid and heavy...this table needs to be of generous size." Spofford also recommended a particular style for the seating pieces:

[The chairs] should be strong and comfortable ones, with broad seats and highbacks, those of the host and hostess a very little higher and more throne-like than the others, for the convenience of commanding the situation. They are best upholstered in morocco [leather].

In Phil-Ellena's dining room, the 1887 photographs show a similar throne-like head chair with a high back and long, turned elements. The style was based on early eighteenth century turned chairs known as bannister backs. The other chairs appear to be too spindley and delicate to fit Spofford's recommendations.

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73 Spofford, Art Decoration, 194.
74 Spofford, Art Decoration, 195.
75 Spofford, Art Decoration, 196.
76 Spofford, Art Decoration, 196.
Office

A small office was located off the dining room (Figure 33). When Phil-Ellena was built, Carpenter described the Breakfast Parlor as having a large bay window "of stained glass, similar to that of the library, looking to the northwest." This window was removed sometime before the 1887 photograph in order to create an additional room. The fireplace has an oval opening for coal instead of a simple Grecian grate for hot air as seen in the Parlor, which suggests a mid-century date. Instead of plaster cornices, a wallpaper band acted as a visual cornice. Several Turkish carpets were hung on the walls and over a door and a window, a style inspired by late nineteenth-century aesthetic choices.

Several of the chairs in this room, the Smoking Room, and several bedrooms had forms reminiscent of the flattened S curves and scrolls found on patterns in John Hall's Cabinet Maker's Assistant (Baltimore, 1840) and Robert Conner's Cabinet Maker's Assistant (New York, 1842). Conner and Hall's catalogues offered drawings of large pieces with broad, plain veneered surfaces, an absence of gilding, and bulbous feet. The reclining chair in the Office bears a striking resemblance to a "Recumbant chair" in Conner's

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77 Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 15.
78 Mayhew and Myers, A Documentary History of American Interiors, 130.
catalogue with the same curule legs and tufted back.\textsuperscript{79} The upholstery material appears to be leather, following a recommendation by Loudon that a reclining easy chair be "covered in morrocco leather, with button tufts."\textsuperscript{80}

The 1893 auction catalogue labeled this room the "Billiard Room," suggesting the use changed between 1887 and 1893. The contents of the room according to the auction catalogue include a billiard table, a French walnut cabinet, two lacquered cane seat chairs, two velvet carpet ottomans, and 28 yard of Venetian carpet. The annotated prices for these pieces were low, suggesting that this room, when refurnished for the use of the billiard table, was kept modest and functional.

Study or Smoking Room

The Study, identified as the "Smoking Room" in the 1893 auction catalogue, contained an assortment of old and new furniture made from a variety of woods (Figure 32). The auction catalogue listed four distinct groups. The first group was only a single piece described as an "antique rosewood lounge in maroon plush." The upholstery suggests it was once part of the Parlor suite of furniture. The second group was a suite of walnut furniture which included a carved

\textsuperscript{80}Loudon, \textit{Encyclopedia}, (1977) 1056.
lounge upholstered in green terry, a pair of carved armchairs to match, a pair of carved chairs at the window, and a carved rocker in haircloth. A mahogany piano and stool, attributed to famous pianoforte maker Thomas Loud, made a third group of furniture. The fourth group contained more exotic pieces that were probably the newest additions to this room. In this group were a few exotic pieces which included "a bamboo table and two chairs, a rattan log basket, and a Chinese 'Lon Lou Ye' or bamboo reclining chair, a very old and curious chair, made by a South Sea Islander, and a pair of bamboo and bead portieres."

Spofford explained in detail how the Oriental style could be incorporated into the house, especially for "light, balconied, summer rooms and well-built dry garden pavilions." The chair of choice for Spofford was one made of bamboo and rattan: "The long low extension-chair with its square outlines... arm chair... whose frame is composed of an opposing slant, black-lacquered and gilt." Clarence Cook recommended a similar chair:

The Chinese make a picturesque and comfortable chair out of the large shoots of bamboo, and their reclining chairs, with a foot-rest that can be pushed out or in at pleasure, are almost indispensable to a house in the country.83

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81 Spofford, Art Decoration, 164.
82 Spofford, Art Decoration, 164.
83 Cook, The House Beautiful, 60.
The presence of these pieces, as well as several large Chinese porcelain seats, added to the informality of this space. Yet the room still retained Carpenter's furnishings as its basis. The photographs show four pedestals and busts lining the walls. On the fireplace are several Argand-burner lamps with glass cut prisms; these fixtures were popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. Several pieces of children's furniture also were located in this room. The odd mixture of furniture suggests that this room had many purposes, a fact supported by photographs that show a group of women sewing around the large center table.

Bedchambers

The primary bedchambers followed similar patterns of change as the rooms on the first floor. Three of the bedchambers contained simple Gothic-styled suites of furniture. One suite, as described by the 1893 auction catalogue, included several "antique" pieces including a massive, Gothic, mahogany, high-post bedstead, a walnut dressing bureau, and one or two walnut double wardrobes.

84 The "primary bedrooms" were the four larger bed chambers identified by Carpenter in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena. These four rooms were titled by George Wood in his 1887 photographs as Bedroom A, B, C, and D. The 1887 auction catalogue numbered these rooms. For clarity, these spaces will be identified first by the auction catalogue number and in parenthesis by the photograph letter.
The sale prices for these bedsteads not including the bedding—ranging between $2.50 and $11.00—were actually high when compared to the bedsteads in the servant spaces which ranged from $0.10 to $0.50 apiece. The auction catalogue also noted the bedding of the bedsteads in each of the primary chambers: a hair mattress, tucker springs, a down bed, and down bolsters and pillows.

The bedsteads were likely designed by William Johnston as part of the Gothic furniture and other designs he executed for Phil-Ellena. The bedsteads are quite simple in form and detailing, when compared to the designs offered by Loudon as appropriate for the villa. The absence of elaborate carving and the massive form was closer to the cottage furniture illustrated by Loudon. The presence of the simple furniture suggests that Carpenter had the same elegant, but restrained taste in furnishings for the bedrooms as he did for the Library or Hall furniture.

All three high-post bedsteads in the 1887 photographs had short, white, gauzy bedhangings (Figures 35, 37, and 38). When these photographs were taken in 1887, the need for heavy bedhangings to provide warmth had been nearly eliminated with the advent of improved central heating. The cleanliness movement advocated by Eastlake and Cook also promoted less fabric around the bed and windows for health concerns and to
avoid blockage of "the rays of the sun." In addition, light bedhangings would have been more appropriate for the summer months. Other pieces in the rooms appear to have been slip-covered, a common tradition of outfitting the house in the summer. By the 1880s, the windows could also have had wire screens, thus eliminating the need for "bug bars" or a protective fabric canopy around the bedstead.

In Room No. 3, several pieces of furniture were listed in the auction catalogue as "antique" (Bedroom A, Figures 34 and 35). This description, as well as the appearance of the pieces, suggest that the items were either installed when the house was completed or shortly thereafter. An "Antique French rosewood lounge, covered with cretonne," visible in one 1887 photograph, closely resembled the flat scrolled furniture illustrated by John Hall in the Cabinet Maker's Assistant (1840). The floral cotton-type fabric upholstery on the lounge matched the upholstery on an ottoman and pillows at the foot of the bedstead and described in the 1893 catalogue as a "Walnut Turkish chair, spring seat, covered in cretonne."

Two other bedchambers with similar furniture suites were also labeled "antique" in the auction catalogue. Room No. 1

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86 Mayhew and Myers, A Documentary History of American Interiors, 135.
87 Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior Decoration, 159.
(Bedroom D, Figures 38 and 39) had an "antique mahogany lounge, handsomely carved, Grecian design, upholstered in hair cloth." The 1887 photograph of Bedroom D shows the same lounge to the side of the marble mantel covered with a shiny hair-cloth-type fabric. In Room No. 4 (Bedroom C, Figure 37), the bedroom suite was accompanied by "[Six] antique French Rosewood chairs with upholstered seats." These chairs might have originally been part of the furniture in the Drawing Room or Smoking room and subsequently replaced by newer pieces of furniture.

The remaining master bedchamber, Room No. 1 (Bedroom B, Figure 36) had a turned walnut "Jenny Lind Bedstead," a low-post bedframe without any tester or bedhangings. At the foot of this bed was an ottoman described as a "walnut comfortable chair, upholstered in handsome Turkish toweling."

Some items added to the bedchambers gave them an updated look. Three of the bedchambers had a small Japanese screen placed near the doorway. The screens were part of the Oriental style recommended by Harriet Spofford. The rooms also have a density of objects and pattern that was typical of the late nineteenth century. However, the rooms were not updated as strictly as Eastlake recommended in Hints on Household Taste:

Bedroom chairs of modern manufacture are, as a rule, of simpler, and therefore of better design, than those made for the drawing-room...The best...can be found ready-made are the rush-
bottomed 'nursery' chairs, of which the wood-work is stained black, with low seats and high backs. 88

The Mechanical Systems

Plumbing

Carpenter carefully described Phil-Ellena's mechanical systems and named the various craftsmen involved. Having an interest in the scientific world, Carpenter seemingly wanted to show how his innovative, "modern" plumbing and heating systems could function successfully.

According to A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, the plumbing system used a "superior force pump with air chamber," by which water was conveyed from a well "a short distance from the house" to a "large cistern in the attic storey" of the main house. From this cistern water was distributed via "hydrant pipes through the house, supplying baths, kitchen, [and a] fountain [in] front of the house, etc." 89 The plumbing and the fixtures in both the main building and the hothouse were manufactured by Wright and Hunter, plumbers, located at Eighth Street below Market Street.

89Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 17-18.
Several other pumps were located elsewhere on the property. The kitchen had a cistern pump and a hydrant for cold spring water. Boilers in the kitchen heated the water.\footnote{Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 16.} The barn had a pump to provide water for cleaning and watering the horses. The water supply in the Hot House was located in large cisterns above and below grade that held a total of 6,000 gallons. Pumps and hydrant pipes from these cisterns provided a constant supply of water to the "extensive collections of exotics contained in the greenhouse."\footnote{Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 25.} The Conservatory attached to the main house had water pumped from a cistern in basement that collected rain water from the roof of the main building. According to Carpenter, the basement cistern held about 1,500 gallons.\footnote{Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 14.}

The pumps Carpenter described were part of a water ram system. A ram could raise water from a well or spring uphill to a house or barn by force of air pressure, gravity and valve action. Carpenter's estate as he described it had all the components necessary for a water ram system: a source of water (the springs), a dammed water reservoir (the Silver Lakes), and a slope up to the main house.\footnote{The Spring House south of the main house stood over a natural spring, one of several that supplied water to the two artificial lakes stretching to the west of the main building. According to Carpenter, the lakes were "several hundred feet in length, about 100 feet in width from north to south, and were at a depth of 8 to 10 feet at the dam." He called them}
The water ram began to be used in America in the 1840s primarily as a farmer's aid to provide water for irrigation. However, the ram had the potential for supplying water for other uses such as "ornamental gardening (including fountains and waterfalls) [and] indoor plumbing." Springbrook, an estate owned by Caleb Cope, had a hydraulic water ram installed between 1843 and 1849. This estate was close to Phil-Ellena, only eight miles north of Philadelphia. Cope, the president of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, might even have known Carpenter.

Another water ram system of the same period was installed at the Pearson House in Trenton, New Jersey, designed by John Notman in 1849. This particular system was similar to that at Phil-Ellena; a water ram fed by springs on the property supplied water to a thousand gallon reservoir on the third story of the house. Water was used for the kitchen, baths and water closets.

Information about water rams had been available in America by the 1830s. The water ram was included in the first

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the Silver Lakes because of their "great expense to the proprietor." [Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 27.]

95 Downs, "The American Water Ram, Part II," APT, 82.

In the latter half of the 1840s, water rams became increasingly popular. Innovators as John H.B. Latrobe, *The Farmer's Cabinet* (1844), and by Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), discussed the benefits of the water rams and advocated them for home and farm uses. Downing wrote of the water ram in *The Architecture of Country Houses*:

> Most of the new villas lately erected are supplied with water (through a tank in the roof) by that most perfect and simple of all little machines—the Hydraulic ram. By the aid of this, a small stream or overflowing spring, within 1000 feet of the site of the house, may be made to supply all the bedrooms, water-closets, and kitchen offices with water, at any point where it is needed.

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Private water ram systems were expensive. In 1844, John Latrobe, son of famous architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, purchased an English-made water ram and piping for $100.00. In 1844, he installed this water ram in his country house in Maryland.\textsuperscript{101} By 1850s the prices had decreased. Downing's American-made ram and piping cost about $60.00; the water ram alone cost between $12.00 and $20.00.\textsuperscript{102} The piping was the most expensive part of the ram system. Carpenter's ram, having been installed relatively early, may have been imported and similar in price to Latrobe's. Despite the initial cost, the water ram required minimum repairs. Carpenter's choice of the water ram seems a testament to both practicality and modernity.

Carpenter mentioned baths in his house, but not waterclosets. Carpenter might have chosen not to call attention to the waterclosets installed in Phil-Ellena. Before 1860, only the pan-style water closet was available. This type was unpleasant and noisome because of the primitive design and materials—a sheet metal pan and a cast iron hopper—were difficult to clean. For this reason, the water closets were typically located at the rear of the house or

\textsuperscript{101}Downs, "The Introduction of the Water Ram," (1975), 60 and 77.
\textsuperscript{102}Downs, "The Introduction of the Water Ram," (1975), 97. Downing's prices were published in the *Horticulturalist* (February, 1852): 99.
near the servants' quarters. One of the closets on the second floor possibly housed the water closet.

Water closets were not uncommon in the mid-nineteenth century. In Downing's *Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), bathrooms were a planned convenience in eight of the thirteen villas and for one of the expensive cottages.

Heating System

Carpenter installed two types of central heating systems in Phil-Ellena: a hot-water system using pipes in the Conservatory; a hot-air system in the Hot House; and a separate hot-air system in the main building which used two large hot air furnaces in the cellar to heat the air. Both hot-air systems used a ducts to convey hot air throughout the structure.

The Hot House had a shed housing six, large, underground hot-air furnaces for "anthracite coal, us[ing] brick flues about 800 feet in length by Robert Luther of Philadelphia." Carpenter noted that the building was divided into three

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different apartments according to the plant varieties, each having different temperatures controlled by separate furnaces and flues.

Around the Conservatory of the main house, another furnace and boiler with iron pipes conveyed hot water "for heating the air in winter." Carpenter described it as "far superior to the brick flues...done by machinists and founders Morris, Tasker and Morris, Philadelphia."¹⁰⁷ According to Eugene Ferguson in his article "An Historical Sketch of Central Heating: 1800-1860," hot-water heating systems were not common before the 1830s. It was not until 1836 that an installed hot-water heating system, the Orangery of the Royal Palace at Windsor in England, was published.¹⁰⁸ Carpenter might have been inspired by accounts of that system as he selected the same heating method for his Conservatory, a space having similar requirements to an orangery.

The central heating system using hot air as its vehicle was not new to Philadelphia in the 1840s. Information about central heating systems was available in books such as one by Thomas Tredgold, Principles of Warming and Ventilating Public Buildings, (London, 1824). A central heating/duct system had

¹⁰⁷Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 14.
been installed in the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1808. A Philadelphia house with an early example of central heating system located at 109-11 N. Sixth Street. The system in this house, built circa 1840, was designed as follows:

[The house] had subsidiary brick flues joining the main flue for carrying the heat to the upstairs room and expelling it by means of iron registers at the base of niches. A furnace must have supplied heat from the basement.

The 1887 photographs of Phil-Ellena show similar iron registers in a Greek Revival pattern in the Drawing Room and Parlor fireplaces. Other fireplaces coal stoves such as in the Office.

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CONCLUSION

The visible furniture and finishes, and the sophisticated, hidden mechanical systems must have dazzled the eye and pampered the occupants of Phil-Ellena. That much of the original fabric of the house remained after over forty years suggests the high quality of the original work, as well the sentimental value. An upholsterer who had produced some of the original furnishings for Phil-Ellena commented on their appearance when he visited fifty years later:

I trod the halls and roam through the rooms that had once been so familiar. I saw some of the work that I had done in '44, and I could not help thinking that time and wear and tear had dealt more kindly with my work than it had dealt with G.C.M. [the author].

One question still remains about Phil-Ellena: why was this impressive structure torn down? A credit study of Carpenter's drug manufacturing business provides missing information. The study reveals the profile of Carpenter's business from in 1850 to its demise in 1893. According to an annotated description of a Dun and Bradstreet Report on George Washington Carpenter and Company, the business was highly successful in the 1850s. Carpenter's character was assessed as "good," and his credit "undoubted," the highest

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1Evening Bulletin, March 19th, 1899 by G.C.M.
credit rating given. After Carpenter's death, the firm maintained its success until 1873 when the payments were "not always prompt." By 1889, the firm was described as "a solid, ample firm that pay slow. Not making money, but holding their own, same two men [George Carpenter, Jr. and William Henzey] throughout." The failure or slowing of business may be attributed in part to the national economic panics in the 1870s and again in the 1890s. In addition, the railroad along the West line was officially open in 1885, therefore making the farmland near these stations attractive for new housing developments. These conditions combined to provide the impetus to sell the house and property for a sizable profit. It is not surprising that the furnishings--then nearly fifty years old--would also have been sold.

Phil-Ellena's grounds became a luxury housing development with winding streets. The deed from the sale of the property between Ellen D. Carpenter et al to Sydney D. Wright et al explained the financial agreement in more detail. The property was to be sold as one estate for the sum of one dollar to each of the granters to Wright and a trust that he

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2Dun & Bradstreet Collection, 1840-1895, Vol. I: 341. Mark Lloyd, the University of Pennsylvania Archivist, combined and annotated the records of the Dun & Bradstreet Reports on Carpenter from the Dun & Bradstreet Collection, Manuscript Division from Baker Library, Harvard University. His notes are greatly appreciated.

established. The trustees were responsible for selling the land as soon as possible and the proceeds of land sale were to pay annuities to Ellen Carpenter per annum. Her children also received a share in the money accumulated from the sale of the land. Anthony Drexel and Edward Stotesbury were part of this trust, later known as the Carpenter Homestead Association, that assist in the sale and development of one hundred acres of land. Sydney Wright later sold his shares to a new trust in 1893. It was at this exact time that the auction took place.

Phil-Ellena was a remarkable house and its interiors reveal much about cultural values and the influence of fashion. It was perhaps Carpenter's extreme financial success that secured a permanent record and advertisement for the joys of suburban life. Carpenter and his house, Phil-Ellena, brought glamour to an area that in the mid-nineteenth century was just becoming part of one of the largest cities in the country. The impact of this house and Carpenter's visions for Germantown was leviathan in the sense that his

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4Deed from Ellen D. Carpenter et al to Sydney L. Wright et al, March 19, 1892, TG Roll 157: 508, City Hall, Philadelphia.

5This deed stated that the tract was unable to sell without the improvement of the land by grading out the property and building of roads and sewers. This information was stated in the deed between Sydney L. Wright and Anthony Drexel and the Provident Life & Trust Company, June 13th, 1893, TG, Roll--: 341. The Pelham estates still remain on the property.
name and legend still lingers. The upholsterer also remarked in 1899 how Carpenter transformed Germantown:

Mr. Carpenter was a gentleman with a quick eye for the beautiful, as well as highly cultured in the art that beautifies, and art and money were drawn heavily upon to meet the requirements. Indeed, the fame of this place spread far beyond the limits of Philadelphia....To Germantown it was a revelation, and I have always thought that it was the beginning of the movement that made Germantown what it is today....It was truly quaint, old-fashioned, sleepy town, but Mr. Carpenter awakened it to 'new life,' and I think it has been improving ever since.⁶

The aesthetic choices made by Carpenter in 1844 were honored by his family during the time that Phil-Ellena stood. The decorative elements that were considered opulent in the 1840s were old-fashioned to critics such as Eastlake and Spofford. But like many families, new furnishings were not bought en masse unless the family moved to a new residence. While the Carpenter family could have afforded entirely new furnishings, they chose not to do so. Only a few, choice pieces of furniture or carpet were added. This pattern suggests that, despite the wealth of the Carpenter family, they more or less had typical, if not conservative, taste in decorative arts. George Carpenter's persona, however, remains strongly present in all of the photographs of his mansion, Phil-Ellena.

⁶Evening Bulletin, March 19th, 1899 by G.C.M.
The following craftsmen and artists were a few of the over five hundred individuals noted by Carpenter in *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*. Their occupations and locations of work were listed in the *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory* for 1846 (Philadelphia: Edward C. and John Biddle, 1846).

Note: Those names in **bold lettering** were selected for more detailed study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archer, Abel</td>
<td>furniture carpenter</td>
<td>Dunton ab Otter (K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailey, Samuel B</td>
<td>chairmaker</td>
<td>119 Space</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bouvier, Michel</strong></td>
<td>mahogany and marble</td>
<td>93 S 2nd h 80 S. Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, Hay &amp; Bowdle [Bowdie]</td>
<td>glass manufacturers</td>
<td>17 &amp; 19 Minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cornelius &amp; Co.</td>
<td>lamps</td>
<td>4 Franklin/ 181 Cherry and 176 Chestnut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crout, J &amp; H</td>
<td>cabinetmaker</td>
<td>360 N. 6th st.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtis &amp; Hand</td>
<td>hardware</td>
<td>212 S 2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davenport, R.W.</td>
<td>hardware</td>
<td>212 S 2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowling, Edward &amp; John</td>
<td>plasterer</td>
<td>Locust n Sch 3d and 14 Wagners al.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edwards, William Cunningham</td>
<td>cabinet maker and upholsterer</td>
<td>11 &amp; h 9 N 8th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Field, Peter</td>
<td>painter</td>
<td>2 S 7th, h 472 Callowhill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finly [Finley] Thomas</td>
<td>carpetweaver</td>
<td>NW Broad and Fitzwater</td>
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<td>Finly, William</td>
<td>upholsterer</td>
<td>SE 2nd and Walnut, h 11 Montgomery Sq.</td>
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<td>Frankland [Franklin], James</td>
<td>cabinet maker and plasterer, exterior and interior</td>
<td>George ab Sch 6th</td>
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<td>Furness, John</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>9 State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaskill, Aaron W.</td>
<td>plasterer</td>
<td>10th bel Melon,</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gibson, John</strong></td>
<td>plain and decorative house painter</td>
<td>79 S 11th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haines, A &amp; B</td>
<td>glass and colors</td>
<td>397 High</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hastings &amp; Philips</td>
<td>carpets</td>
<td>190 Chestnut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hoxie [Hoxsie] Solomon</td>
<td>stoncutter</td>
<td>Sch 2nd and Chestnut h. Chestunt n Sch 2nd</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Johnston, William</strong></td>
<td>architect</td>
<td>101 S 5th ..</td>
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<td>Jones, Joel</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Beaver ab 3rd,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kell[e]y and Farley</td>
<td>scagliola manufacturer</td>
<td>45 Zane Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Jambre, A.</td>
<td>Upholsteress</td>
<td>301 Chestnut</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mather, Edwin M</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>306 Pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monachesi, Nicholas</td>
<td>Portrait painter</td>
<td>156 Pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris, Tasker and Morris</td>
<td>Manuf. of coal grates, welded iron pipes, iron founders</td>
<td>5th bel Franklin (S) Store SE 3rd &amp; Walnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzzy, Wm. M [Muzzey]</td>
<td>N. Eng Glass Co.</td>
<td>19 Commerce h 104 N 9th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolen, Spencer</td>
<td>Looking glasses</td>
<td>78 Chestnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orne, J.B.</td>
<td>Carpet warehouse</td>
<td>183 Chestnut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potts, L M</td>
<td>White &amp; blacksmith</td>
<td>9th &amp; vine, h Green ab 11th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riddle, Crawford</td>
<td>Cabinetmaker</td>
<td>173 Chestnut h 54 Gaskill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Thomas</td>
<td>Cabinetmaker</td>
<td>24 Morgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, C.N.</td>
<td>Looking glass manuf.</td>
<td>86 Chestnut h Fine ab 10th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rush, John</td>
<td>Ship carver</td>
<td>Penn ab Maiden, h Penn ab Poplar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savery, Wm &amp; Thomas</td>
<td>Lumber merchant</td>
<td>289 n 6th &amp; 269 n 7th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smedley, Nathan</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Vine n Sch 7th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorn, Joel [T.]</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>28 N 12th h Vine ab 12th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wickersham and Davis [William M]</td>
<td>Wire workers</td>
<td>318 High h 18 Garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodside, John H.</td>
<td>Painter [of John Rush sculptures]</td>
<td>88 N 5th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MICHEL BOUVIER (17??-1874)

Bouvier, a cabinetmaker, had been an ardent supporter of soldier for Napoleon before leaving France. He came to America in 1815 and set up a cabinet-making shop in Philadelphia on South Second Street.\(^1\) In 1818, Bouvier did some unidentified work for Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, at Bonaparte's home, Point Breeze, in Bordentown, New Jersey. Bonaparte had arrived in Philadelphia in 1816. Joseph Bonaparte hired a group of French emigrés to produce fine French furniture, including Alphonse Lejambre, an upholsterer.\(^2\) After the Point Breeze home burned in 1820, Bouvier was hired to refurnish it.

Bouvier also did repair work for fellow French emigré Stephen Girard. Girard had furnished his house before 1820, 

\[^{1}\text{Kathleen Matilda Catalano, "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia, 1820-1840," Master's Thesis, University of Delaware (1972): 141. This source is hereafter cited as "Cabinetmaking."}\]

\[^{2}\text{Bonaparte has an interesting connection to Carpenter, other than the fact that several of the French artisans for Point Breeze also worked at Phil-Ellena. Carpenter purchased many busts and paintings at the sale of Bonaparte's household furnishings and artwork in 1845. A copy of this catalogue located at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, lists the buyers and prices paid for the items sold. Carpenter was listed several times. The name of this catalogue for future reference is Catalogue of the Valuable Paintings & Statuary, The Collection of the Late Joseph Bonaparte, by Thomas Birch Jr., 1845. (This catalogue is located at the Baltimore Museum of Art. A reproduced copy was given to the Athenaeum of Philadelphia by Wendy Cooper.) Carpenter might have visited Bonaparte during the ex-king's stay in America from 1816 to 1839. The collection of art, furniture and high-style decoration was hailed as one of the most richly furnished home in America.}\]
but he continued to buy furniture. Bouvier repaired, polished, and fastened knobs on a secretary for Girard. Girard, in turn, helped launch Bouvier into society. Bouvier received clients as far away as Havana and New Orleans. He died a wealthy man with an estate totalling over $157,000.\(^3\)

Carpenter listed Bouvier in the appendix of his document *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, but there was no special mention of Bouvier's particular role at Phil-Ellena.

**JOSEPH & HENRY CROUT, CABINETMAKERS**

J & H. Crout were amongst the more successful cabinetmakers in Philadelphia in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were given special notation by Carpenter in the appendix of *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*.\(^4\) The Crouts were members of a group of well-known cabinetmakers such as Anthony G. Quervelle, A. LeJambre, Charles H. White, Joseph Barry and Ignatius Lutz. Joseph Crout began the business in 1833. J & H Crout, George Ritter and Robert Bringlyhurst were also known to be the city's most successful undertakers supplying everything that was needed for funerals and burials.\(^5\)

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\(^3\)Catalano, "Cabinetmaking," 140.

\(^4\)The cabinetmakers noted as such by Carpenter were Thomas Robertson, Crawford Riddle, Samuel B. Bailey, J. & H. Crout, and W.C. Edwards, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, 30

\(^5\)Catalano, "Cabinetmaking," 18.
Joseph Crout was a member of the Franklin Institute, a prestigious professional society, from 1841 to 1852. Joseph and his brother Henry, received recognition throughout the 1840s for the pieces of their work displayed at the annual Franklin Institute exhibitions. Their work featured entirely of American woods, a characteristic praised by the judges at the exhibitions. These pieces were stocked in their cabinet warerooms at 360 North Sixth Street where J and H. Crout urged their subscribers to inspect their "splendid assortment of furniture, manufactured from a selection of American wood, such as has never before introduced to the American public."  

Contemporary references to the Crouts' work suggest that their use of native woods was unusual and that it was for this innovation that they were best known. For example, the diary of General August Pleasanton contains the following entry:  

Saturday, May 15th, 1841--Philadelphia.  
This morning I walked up Sixth Street to examine some Cabinet work which has been made by a Mr.

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6Public Ledger, Philadelphia, May 10, 1841.
Crout with wood of different kinds of American growth--[the] specimens were excellent and some of them very beautiful...the whole collection reflected upon the workmen, as well for their execution as for their taste.9

In 1850, the Crouts employed twelve workers to make furniture which still fit the above description. The Crouts worked out of a shop which was located in Joseph Crout's home, a relatively small family-owned business which combined manufacturing and retailing all under one roof and provided goods for a limited clientele.10 The size of their business in 1841 so small that the "greater portion of the Furniture was to be removed at one time by a gentleman of the city for his mansion in the country."11 This reference strongly suggests that the gentleman mentioned was George Carpenter.

J. and H. Crout went out of business in the early 1850s, perhaps because they were unable to compete with "newer, more innovative firms which began to flourish by that time."12

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10Talbott, "Philadelphia Furniture," 211.

11Public Ledger, Philadelphia, May 10, 1841

12Talbott, "Philadelphia Furniture," 211. Other cabinet makers listed by Carpenter of interest are Thomas Robertson, a member of the Society of Journeymen Cabinetmakers and Samuel B. Bailey who exported to other domestic or foreign ports, as did Michel Bouvier.
WILLIAM AND JOHN GIBSON

William Gibson, a stained glass artist, established a stained glass studio in New York as early as 1834. He was listed in the city's directories through 1895. He set up this studio with his two sons when he arrived in New York City, according to a 1879 edition of Harper's New Monthly Magazine and became the "father of glass painting in the United States." The studio, according to the 1854 edition of Trow's New York City Directory, was described as a "stained glass works and gallery of architectural decorative art." Gibson worked in New York, as well as other major cities such as New Orleans and Philadelphia. The Gibson studios provided the "stained glass door for the reservoir room" for the Pearson House in Trenton, New Jersey, designed by John Notman in 1849. The city of New Orleans received its first stained glass in 1854, manufactured by the Gibsons and installed in Trinity Church.

According to Freedley's Philadelphia and Its Manufactures (1867) J. and G. H. Gibson had several prestigious projects in 1852 including the glass ceilings of the House of Representatives and the Senate chamber in Washington, D.C. Both of these were done in "rich colors, which give the

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effect of Mosaics set in silver." Freedley also noted that the glass produced by the Gibsons was considered "quite equal to that of European manufacture."

The Gibsons relied on related trades to provide additional work when stained glass was not in demand. Gibson's two sons were landscape painters and Gibson, himself, painted window blinds. Gibson eventually returned to England while the sons continued to run the business. Although contradictory, a late-nineteenth century source provided two reasons for diminishment of the firm: "[Gibson] did not succeed in securing the market expected, probably for two principle reasons--because his product lacked high merit and because people were too poor generally to pay him enough to warrant him to continue." This comment seems contradictory.

Carpenter praised "Mr. Gibson of New York" for executing the stained glass in the first floor landing and in the Library and Breakfast Parlor. He noted that Gibson was "entitled to great credit for the superiority and beauty of his work in this and other parts of the building." The

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16 Freedley, Philadelphia and Its Manufactures, 302.
17 This information was kindly provided by Jean M. Farnsworth in her article entitled "The Stained Glass of New Orleans," Stained Glass (Winter 1990): 283.
18 History of Architecture and The Building Trades of New York, New York, 1899, II, 17-19, cited in Sturm, Ibid, 15. This information was also provided by Farnsworth.
19 Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 8.
subject of the glass, as Carpenter noted, was a picture of Aurora by Guido framed by side lights of glass depicting "trophies of game and fish, fruit and flowers; the whole of the colours of the richest and most permanent kind are burnt in the glass."20

WILLIAM L. JOHNSTON (1811-1849)

William Johnston was listed in the city directories as a house carpenter from 1833-1840. After 1841 he listed himself as an architect and changed his name from Johnson to Johnston and added an middle initial. Johnston was a teacher as well as an architect/draftsperson. During the year of 1838, he taught shading, perspective and ornamental drawing with John E. Carver at the Carpenters' Company architectural school. In 1841 he was reappointed as a teacher and worked there until 1845.21

Johnston's earliest known project was the First Methodist Protestant Chapel at 11th and Wood Streets in 1840. Other projects about this time included the Mercantile Library (1844), Odd Fellows Hall (1845), and Spring Garden Commissioners' Hall (1848). Johnston was best known for his design of the Jayne Building (1847-1851), a granite proto-

20Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 8.
skyscraper that was finished by Thomas Ustick Walter after Johnston's death from tuberculosis in 1849.\textsuperscript{22}

Johnston's contributions to Phil-Ellena might have helped his career. It was just after Phil-Ellena that Johnston changed his name and his profession. Carpenter credited Johnston with drafting architectural details: "Johnston, draftsman, for his faithful and accurate delineations and drawings of the mouldings, cornices, and various devices made use of in and about the building."\textsuperscript{23} Johnston was credited with furniture designs as well, such as the bookcases in the Library described as in the "Gothic style, from designs by Mr. Johnson, who is entitled to great credit from his drawings and drafts of these and various other designs in different parts of the building."\textsuperscript{24}

It remains uncertain if Johnston provided architectural services for Carpenter. Carpenter gave only himself credit as the designer of the plan and stated outright in \textit{A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena} that no architect was employed. This house would have required some architectural understanding. Carpenter possibly did not want to compromise his own ego by giving this young architect, Johnston, all of the credit.

\textsuperscript{22}Tatman and Moss, \textit{Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects}, 422.

\textsuperscript{23}Carpenter, \textit{A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena}, 28.

\textsuperscript{24}Carpenter, \textit{A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena}, 12.
NATHAN SMEDLEY

Nathan Smedley was noted by Carpenter to have worked as the carpenter and chief builder. This profession was confirmed by the city directories. Smedley’s job was described by Carpenter as being responsible for "carrying out the various plans, as well as for numerous original designs...projecting the design and plan of the main building and all the out-houses on the grounds...superintending the work."25

ALPHONSE LEJAMBRE (1786-1843) & ANNA LEJAMBRE (1799-1878)

Carpenter identified "A. Lejamtree" in A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena. This name, misspelled by Carpenter, refers to one part of a family upholstery business under the "Lejambre" title. Anna Lejambre was listed as an upholsteress in the city directory of 1845. By the time Phil-Ellena was completed, her husband, Alphonse Lejambre, had died. Both Anna and Alphonse might have contributed to the upholstery and furniture produced for Phil-Ellena, although it remains uncertain exactly which Lejambre and what work was executed for Carpenter. Alphonse Lejambre, and his wife, Anna, were members of the group of French emigré

25Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 28.
craftsmen in Philadelphia which included the well-known cabinetmakers Anthony Quervelle and Michel Bouvier.26

[John Peter] Alphonse Lejambre, (1786-1843) had been born in Villiers (Villiers-sur-Marne) near Paris. A soldier in Napoleonic Wars, Lejambre left France in the 1820s and settled in Philadelphia. Alphonse was member of the French Benevolent Society founded in 1793. Some other members included Stephen Girard, James Vanuxem, Michel Bouvier, Anthony Quervelle, and Alphonse Quentin.27

Lejambre began his career assisting Michel Bouvier on Point Breeze, Joseph Bonaparte's country house near Bordentown, New Jersey, after it burned on January 3, 1820.28 Lejambre first had an upholstery business in Philadelphia. Alphonse was listed in directory of 1825 as "Upholsterer, 85 S. 2nd Street, across from Penn Bank" a few doors down from Bouvier's cabinetware shop at 91, S. 2nd Street. Lejambre and his family emphasized their French background, with titles on advertisements such as "French Cabinet Maker and upholsterer." Advertisements of the 1830s promoted services for upholstering furniture, bed hangings, draperies, and

\[\text{Talbott, "Philadelphia Furniture," 173.}\]
\[\text{Strickland, "The LeJambre Family.," 602.}\]
\[\text{Strickland, Peter L.L. "Furniture by the LeJambre Family of Philadelphia," Antiques, 113 (March, 1978): 606. This article will hereafter be cited as "The LeJambre Family."}\]
carpets. The firm later was in business for 83 years, from 1825 to 1907.

Lejambre's wife, Anna Rainier, was also involved in the business. Anna (1799-1878) was the daughter of John and Deborah Ranier of Crosswicks, near Bonaparte's house in Bordentown, New Jersey. Both Anna and Alphonse were buried at St. Mary's Church on 4th Street, Philadelphia.

The 1850 Census of Manufactures listed seven workers in the shop. By 1880 the firm had grown. Anna and her son, Henry Lejambre, employed 36 men and women at their shop at 1206 Walnut Street. Anna was known as Madame Lejambre, listed in the Philadelphia directories as upholstress under A. Lejambre. She ran the firm with her children. Eugene, Anna's grandson, administered the business until 1907.

Manufacturers who catered to the upper class in 1880 were Anna and Henry LeJambre, Daniel Pabst and Gottlieb Vollmer. All three of these firms are thought of today as being "among the finest in Philadelphia in the second half of the

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29 A bill to J. J. Skerrett, Esq. dated December 29, 1834, contains references to the variety of tasks which an upholsterer carried out which included taking up carpets, making mattresses, putting up curtains, and providing ticking and curled hair. [Loudon Papers, (Mss., Historical Society of Pennsylvania), Box 35.]


nineteenth century because of the examples of their work which survive."  

NICHOLA MONACHESI (1795-1851)

Monachesi was a history and portrait fresco painter born in Tolentino, Italy. He was a pupil of Gaspara Landi at the Academia de S. Luca, Rome, where he won the first prize for painting. In 1831 he emigrated to America and settled in Philadelphia where he lived the rest of his life.

Among his earliest patrons were Stephen Girard, Madame Rush, and Joseph Bonaparte. In 1832 he did a series of frescoes in St. John's Roman Catholic Church (then the Cathedral) in Philadelphia. This project brought him into prominence. These paintings were said to have been the first true frescoes executed in United States. Monachesi also produced work for the Roman Catholic Churches of St. Mary, St. Joseph, St Augustine and St. Philip, all located in Philadelphia.

In 1833-34 he frescoed the Philadelphia Merchant's Exchange by William Strickland. He also frescoed the

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32 Talbott, "Philadelphia Furniture," 173. The family name was spelled Lejambre in the nineteenth century, but is now spelled Le Jambre (also this way in 1846 Directory). Lejambre's descendents still have objects that Bonaparte gave to Alphonse. Today Lucien Alphonse Le Jambre, Mirabah Le Jambre Combs, and James A. Le Jambre own the Le Jambre Family Papers [Strickland, "The LeJambre Family," 600].
interior of Matthew Newkirk's residence by Thomas U. Walter, the decorations of which were carefully preserved when it was made into St. George's Hall. In 1841-42, his large historical picture, The Murder of Jane McCrea, was exhibited in Philadelphia.33

Carpenter praised Monachesi as "a distinguished artist...of Italy....[The] ceilings...on the first and second floor are drawn true to nature and art by the talented and far-famed Monachesi."34 The subjects of these frescoes were taken from Raphael's paintings in the Vatican, as well as illustrations of animals and fruit.

CRAWFORD RIDDELL (RIDDLE)

Crawford Riddell supervised the wareroom for the Society of Journeyman Cabinetmakers located at 48 S. 5th Street in 1834. The wareroom was set up to defend the members against "a system of tyranny, exaction and injustice--to submit to which would be to lose sight altogether of the dignity of


34Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 9.
men." Riddell's wareroom was successful, acting as the largest retail store in the city. By 1834, there were six large rooms; the clientele were of the middle and upper-middle classes.

The following advertisement appeared in the Public Ledger, May 10, 1841:

Elegant Cabinet Furniture at the Journeyman Cabinet Maker's Wareroom, No. 48 South Fifth St., below Walnut. The Subscriber respectfully invites the attention of his numerous customers in the city and throughout the country to his splendid assortment of furniture, which for beauty of design, variety of pattern and moderate prices, he assures them cannot be equalled in the U.S. N.B. The Furniture is manufactured by the best workmen in the trade--apprentices and incompetent workman being positively excluded.

CRAWFORD RIDDELL

JOHN RUSH (1782-1853)

John Rush was the son of the famous wood sculptor, William Rush (1756-1833). John Rush was listed in the McElroy's Business Directory of 1846 as being a shipcarver, as was his father. The 1893 auction catalogue actually stated that

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35 Catalano, "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia," 45. Catalano found this information from The Pennsylvanian, March 6, 1834.
36 Catalano, "Cabinetmaking," 46.
William Rush executed the mythological figures at Phil-Ellena.

The work done for Phil-Ellena included carved figures of Flora and Ceres in niches outside the Conservatory, Minerva and Eloquence at the Museum, and a series of vanes that were placed on top of the Summer House ("a youth in a shivering position seated on blocks of ice with his mantle drawn around him"), on top of the cottage barn ("a mermaid, a copy of that on the Tower of the Winds"), on top of the barn ("Diana with bow, arrows and hound"), and the Spring House ("Neptune").

The auction catalogue of 1893 listed several wooden outdoor sculptures by Rush. These included mythological figures such as Achilles and Ivanhoe, and historic figures such as Dr. Alexander and David Rittenhouse. Carpenter wrote, "These and other statues...were executed by Rush, in whose work the great genius of his distinguished sire is traced, and by whose pliant hand the inanimate log is suddenly made to start into all the semblance of life and beauty."

JOHN ARCHIBALD WOODSIDE, SENIOR (1781-1852)

Carpenter cited Woodside as the painter of many of Rush's wooden sculptures that were placed on the outbuildings and on

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37Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 14, 24, 26, 27, 27 respectively.
38Carpenter, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 14.
the lawn. Woodside was a sign and ornamental painter. He also painted still life and animal pictures. Born in Philadelphia, Woodside occupied a shop in Philadelphia from 1805 to death on February 26, 1852. His work was much admired by his contemporaries, including William Dunlap, author of *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in America* (1834). Dunlap stated that Woodside painted signs with talent beyond many who painted in higher branches. Woodside was a member of the Artists’ Fund Society. He exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from 1817 to 1836.\(^\text{39}\)

The following list of craftsmen and artists were provided by Carpenter in *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena* in a non-alphabetized list. Carpenter stated that these people "furnished materials of different kinds for the buildings and various improvements on the grounds; also, the operatives, as far as could be ascertained, who were employed at the work."\(^\text{40}\)

The names, over five hundred, are now presented in a sorted and alphabetized state.

The **bold** names were given special notation by Carpenter as being contractors.


\(^{40}\)Carpenter, *A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena*, 31.
<table>
<thead>
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Photographs taken of Phil-Ellena by George Bacon Wood in 1887. This collection is located at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

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U.S. Census of 1870, Roll 1437, T-9, Page 26. This information was found at the National Archives, Philadelphia.

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Secondary Sources


Figure 1: Elevation and plan of first floor of Phil-Ellena, A Brief Description of Phil-Ellena, 1844.
Figure 2: 1848 Map of Germantown Township, Philadelphia by J.C. Sidney and R. P. Smith, the Free Library of Philadelphia, Map Department.

Figure 4: 1899 Atlas of Philadelphia, 22nd Ward by G.W. and W.G. Bromley, the Free Library of Philadelphia, Map Dept.

Figure 5: Watercolor of Phil-Ellena, no date or identification, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia.
Figure 6: George Washington Carpenter, from the George Clarence Johnson Scrapbook, Vol. II "Pictoral Germantown Road and Vicinity and Some of its Inhabitants," 1933, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia.

Figure 8: "Greenhouse Interior with Three Women and a Man, First Version," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.S3. Photograph possibly shows Ellen Carpenter and her two daughters, Fannie and Ellen, and Emlen Carpenter.
Figure 9: "Front of House from East with Boy," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9120.60.

Figure 10: "Front Facade," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.42
Figure 13: "Entrance Footpath with Statues and Fountain" photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.86.

Figure 14: "Museum Facade," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.58.
Figure 16: "Summer House," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.64.
Figure 17: "Clock Tower," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.66.
Figure 18: "Farmer's Cottage" photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9120.65.
Figure 19: "Main Barn with Man Grooming Horse," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.70.
Figure 20: "Kitchen Garden," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.49.
Figure 22: "Hall From Front, with Urns," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.4.
Figure 23: "Library From Drawing Room Entrance," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9121.49.

Figure 24: "Library from Drawing Room Entrance," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9120.48
Figure 25: "Entrance to Library from Drawing Room," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9120.52.
Figure 26: "First Floor From Library Through Drawing Room," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.15.

Figure 29: "Parlor From Front," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.69.

Figure 30: "Parlor From Rear," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.70.
Figure 31: "Breakfast Room From Parlor," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.9.

Figure 32: "Smoking Room From Library," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P.8969.35.
Figure 33: "Office Off Breakfast Room," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.31.
Figure 34: "Bedroom A," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.23.


Figure 37: "Bedroom C," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.28.
Figure 38: "Bedroom D," photograph by George B. Wood, Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 8969.29.
