1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Cliveden (Chew House)

Other Name/Site Number:

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior January 20, 1961.
Updated documentation approved by the Secretary of the Interior February 27, 2015.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 6401 Germantown Avenue Not for publication:__

City/Town: Philadelphia Vicinity:__

State: PA County: Philadelphia Code: 101 Zip Code: 19144

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s): X
Public-Local:	District:
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	2	buildings	1
sites	0	sites	0
structures	0	structures	0
objects	0	objects	0
Total	2	Total	1

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic Sub: Single Dwelling

Current: Recreation and Culture Sub: Museum

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: ColonialSub: Georgian

Materials:
Foundation: stone
Walls: stone, stucco
Roof: wood (shingles)
Other: wood (cornices, window frames, doors and door frames, shutters, interior paneling)

Summary

Cliveden is nationally significant for both its high degree of historic integrity as an exemplary work of Georgian architecture as well as for its central role in the Battle of Germantown (1777) during the American Revolution. Built between 1763 and 1767, the house still evokes its eighteenth-century character when national dilemmas, like debates over the status of slavery and servitude in the American colonies and the United States, were topics of intense discussion. Benjamin Chew, who in addition to being a prominent lawyer in Pennsylvania also owned several plantations in Maryland, collaborated with skilled craftsmen to construct the house, which served as the family's summer retreat through the tumultuous years surrounding the establishment of the United States.

The house is set back from the road toward the center of a six-acre lot along Germantown Avenue, six miles northwest of central Philadelphia. The ashlar facade of the main house follows the symmetrical forms of Georgian architecture with its emphasis on the forms, patterns, and ratios of the ancient Greek and Roman world. With its design largely derived from volumes of printed architectural patterns brought from the United Kingdom, Cliveden epitomizes the ideals of elite design within the American colonies while simultaneously incorporating regional Philadelphia building materials and practices. The property thus shows visitors how British architectural and landscape traditions were applied and adapted to suit a country house in North America. Throughout the Chew family's long history of ownership and residence at Cliveden they made several additions and alterations to the property. None of these changes, however, have significantly limited the site's ability to convey its historical meaning during the period of significance. Rather, the small alterations and additions enhance the property's value by demonstrating a record of changing design styles and tastes while remaining faithful to the original 1760s design.

The Battle of Germantown, which literally took place at the front door of the property, was a central reason for adding Cliveden to the National Register of Historic Places in 1961. The battle, a skirmish between colonial and British troops in the fog of an October morning, was a defeat for the American forces. But the demonstrated resilience of the colonial soldiers was seen as a positive sign by the French government, which entered the war on the side of the Americans in early 1778. The open fields that surrounded the property in the 1770s are now a residential neighborhood, making Cliveden the best resource through which to tell the story of the battle and its aftermath.

While the battle stands as a singularly important historical event, Cliveden's high degree of historical integrity also provides a material context through which visitors can gain a sense of how the house's eighteenth-century owners, as well as people bound as slaves and servants, lived and used the space.[1] Together under one roof, the contrast between highly finished formal spaces and rough undecorated rooms designated for the use of servants and slaves echoes the contradictions and complexities of American history. As an active historic site, Cliveden helps visitors and stakeholders in the neighborhood to understand the War for Independence and the struggle for freedom, as well as the lifestyle and tastes of the elite in the eighteenth century, distinguished from the way of life of the enslaved and those in service. These important narratives can be explored through the design and setting of Cliveden.

[1] During Cliveden's history, both slaves, primarily African Americans bound as laborers for life, and servants, usually whites but also sometimes blacks who were bound for contractual periods of varied lengths of time, were used and owned by the Chew family. Individuals' status as slaves or servants was not always clear in the records or in the way Chew and his family discussed their domestic laborers. Unless a laborer was specifically described as a slave or servant, throughout this nomination, the terms "slave" and "servant" are used together to describe the laborers at Cliveden because the status of these people was usually unclear even during the time period. Both forms of unpaid labor were used by the Chews throughout the period of significance for the site.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Location and Setting

In 1763, Benjamin Chew purchased eleven acres of land in a semi-rural town known as Germantown with plans to build a country estate. Situated six miles to the northwest of Philadelphia's city center, Germantown acquired its name in the seventeenth century with the arrival of settlers from Central Europe. The Great Road (now Germantown Avenue) was a diagonal route from Philadelphia to points northwest. Long and narrow parcels, intended to allow a maximum number of landowners access to the Great Road, characterized the distribution of land in the area. Most landowners were farmers or craft workers. By the mid-1700s, as Philadelphia grew into the largest and wealthiest American city many elite residents, such as Chew, began purchasing land in Germantown to retreat from urban life during the summer months.

Over the next fifty-five years, the Cliveden property was increased by both the Chew family and interim owner, Blair McClenachan. At maximum, in 1817, the property was approximately sixty acres, extending from the Great Road at the southwest to Division Street (now Chew Avenue) at the northeast and from a southeastern boundary at what is now Johnson Street (with a jogged lane to the current Duval Street), to a northwestern boundary at Upsal Street. These unified parcels were subdivided and sold at various times through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to accommodate the means of the Chew family and as the Germantown neighborhood developed around Cliveden. Today, the property is approximately 5.5 acres, bounded by Germantown Avenue, Cliveden Street, Morton Street, and Johnson Street. The current property line maintains the southwestern boundary of Benjamin Chew's original eleven acres on Germantown Avenue plus an additional parcel purchased in 1765 which extended the property frontage to what is now Cliveden Street.

Chew chose to site his house in the middle of the east-west axis of the original lot he had purchased from Edward Pennington in 1763. The house was built 400–500 feet back from the traffic and dust of the Great Road. Located near the crest of a ridge, the estate looked toward the valley of the Wissahickon Creek to the south, and north to Wingohocking Creek. At the time of Cliveden's construction, much of the countryside had been cleared for agricultural use, making it possible to see Philadelphia in the distance on a clear day.[2]

The main house was flanked on either side by two detached dependencies, although in 1776 a colonnade passage was constructed to attach the kitchen dependency (west side) to the main house. A carriage house, built to the northwest of the house, was also a part of Cliveden's setting on Chew's Germantown plot.

Cliveden's setting within Germantown precluded the creation of a landscape with clearly defined kitchen, commodity, and ornamental garden spaces. During its period of significance, however, the Chew property contained a mix of productive and formally arranged horticultural plots. Sharing some of the ordered features of Georgian architecture, late eighteenth-century landscape design included the precisely edged and bordered French and Italian style gardens as well as the more "natural" style exemplified by the English designer Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716–1783) and his grand projects at Stowe, Blenheim, and Harewood. The limitations entailed by Cliveden's narrow, rectangular lot constrained the grandeur of Chew's plans for ornamental outdoor spaces that might enhance the house's setting. There was, for example, no room for a grand entrance drive, secluded arbor, or deer park, but the inclusion of statuary in the grounds surrounding the house

[2] Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, "Appendix II: Cliveden's Landscape, 1763–1920, with Emphasis on the Earlier Gardens," (1992) in Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A. & Associates, "Cliveden Historic Structures Report," June 1994, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 32; Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A. & Associates, "Cliveden Historic Structures Report," June 1994, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 36. Hereafter cited as "HSR" paired with the volume number.

suggests that Chew adopted a formal approach in landscaping at least part of Cliveden, applying the same design principles to the exterior of his new house as he did to the interior.

While Cliveden's main role was as a summer retreat for the Chew family, the property, as mentioned above, also had elements of a working farm. A medal struck in 1780 to commemorate the Battle of Germantown depicts a carriage house and stable building located behind the main house, in addition to the recently built colonnade bridging the kitchen dependency and the west side of the house. There is also archeological evidence of other service structures, such as a chicken coop (from 1769), and the inclusion of milk benches in an eighteenth-century inventory imply the presence of a dairy.[3] Though the carriage house remains on the property today, many of the other allied agricultural structures were likely located further from the house and are no longer part of the Cliveden property.[4] There is also textual evidence of a gazebo, orange trees in planters, raspberry bushes, and a shuttered hot bed, which along with Chew's employment of a gardener (Robert Burnett) as one of his servants, suggest that Cliveden's gardens were both intensively managed and not exclusively ornamental.[5]

Though no definitive record of the plants grown at Cliveden has been found, Philadelphia was an important center for botanical research in the American colonies. In the late eighteenth century, elites possessed a thriving interest in adapting British horticultural advice to American contexts and the circulation of gardening plans, ideas, and varieties benefited from the increased availability of printed texts and the foundation of lending libraries.[6] Cliveden was built and landscaped in a social and scientific milieu characterized by serious consideration of plants and gardens. Though the relatively small size of the estate limited the scale and form of any landscape design, historical archeologist Anne Yentsch suggests that Chew's design for the garden and landscape at Cliveden was informed by cutting-edge horticultural ideas germinating in Philadelphia, even though a conservative approach shaped the landscape design of Chew's Delaware and Maryland plantations.[7] The late eighteenth century was a time of innovation and transformation in landscape design and the debate between the relative merits of a rigid and formal landscape with those of picturesque natural gardens seem to be

[3] The 1780 commemorative medal furnishes one of the earliest images of Cliveden. Though cast fifteen years after the construction of the house, its portrayal of how Cliveden sat in the grounds is one of the few sources available that describe the site's eighteenth-century context. The medal depicts a flattened area around the front and sides of the house with a straight drive leading from the Germantown Road to the southwest corner of the house. By 1766, Chew had installed a gate at the street, another leading into the garden, and had enclosed the property with a new post-and-rail fence. See HSR I, 37; Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," 34–38.

[4] HSR I, 47.

[5] Ibid., 37; Nancy E. Richards, "Cliveden: The Chew Mansion in Germantown" (Paper, National Historic Trust Conference, 1993), 13. This paper is available online at https://cliveden.org/discover-cliveden/research/.

[6] In the years before the Revolutionary War, Philadelphia, the second largest city in the English-speaking world, was a key player in an international network of plant research. John Bartram, a Quaker botanist, had an experimental and retail garden of 200–300 acres that provided Philadelphians with an array of plant specimens that was likely unparalleled anywhere else in the American colonies. Additional resources available to Chew were James Logan and his son William Logan who lived near Cliveden at Stenton (James Logan Home, NHL, 1965). The elder Logan enjoyed widespread renown for his botanical knowledge and William Logan had a plant catalogue that included hundreds of varieties of flowers, shrubs, and trees. In the early national period, lawyer William Hamilton, grandson of the man who had overseen Benjamin Chew's own legal training a half-century earlier, was particularly active in horticulture and gardening with his celebrated gardens and greenhouse/hothouse, innovating from existing English country styles at his nearby estate, The Woodlands (NHL, 1967). Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," 16; Robert Maccubbin and Peter Martin, *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 138, 144; Therese O'Malley et al., *Keywords in American Landscape Design* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 38–39; For more on William Hamilton and The Woodlands see James A. Jacobs, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), "Addendum to The Woodlands," HABS No. PA-1125 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2002); Aaron V. Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS), HALS No. PA-5 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2004); and James A. Jacobs, "William Hamilton and The Woodlands: A Construction of Refinement in Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130 (April 2006): 181–209.

[7] Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," 11.

borne out at Cliveden.[8] Chew lived in a social class that paid attention to both horticulture and the ornamental landscapes of upper-class homes. Cliveden's garden was not simply the setting for Chew's grand country house but was also likely another way for him to express his social ambitions and position as an elite Philadelphia gentleman.[9]

Today, twenty-first century Germantown is a relatively dense urban neighborhood within the city of Philadelphia, but a significant number of eighteenth-century buildings continue to define its built environment. Cliveden remains in its original location, although the parcel of land Chew purchased was added to and, more frequently, sold off during the Chew family's ownership of the site (1763–79 and 1797–1972) to the current 5.5-acre site. Even so, Cliveden's location and setting within the fabric of historic Germantown contribute to the site's ability to convey historical meaning as the primary extant location of the Battle of Germantown and where a lifestyle defined by slavery and servitude transpired in a rarified setting of high style Georgian architecture.

Main House (1 contributing building)

Exterior

The front of Cliveden faces south toward Germantown Avenue as it crosses through the orthogonal road grid of Philadelphia. The house is set quite far back from the road by Germantown standards. Designed in the Georgian high style, Cliveden has no named architect, but archival references, including original drawings,[10] point to Benjamin Chew and several of his contemporaries with hands in the design.[11] The house is influenced by the classical style of Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), in the Doric order and relies on the plates of British architect Abraham Swan (ca.1720–ca. 1765).[12] Characteristics of German vernacular building traditions, common in Germantown, appear to soften the formal Georgian style. These features indicate that local craftsmen and builders, such as William Peters, likely contributed much to the design, especially since architecture had yet to be professionalized.

The scale of the house, at 2,420 square feet per floor, is larger than other colonial Philadelphia country houses.[13] The house is composed of two full stories with a half-story garret. Five bays organize the symmetry and rhythm of the facade, with a projecting center bay. The walls are composed of Wissahickon schist, the local fieldstone. This was a less expensive option than brick and a choice that reflected the traditional building materials used in Germantown. The facade's stonework is laid in regular courses of ashlar blocks with tooled mortar joints. Stone quoins accentuate the east and west corners of the building. A horizontal string course of contrasting cut stone divides the first and second floors. Unlike many examples of Georgian country houses in Philadelphia, Cliveden has a gable roof, unusual for a Georgian house, again reflecting the Germantown context. The cedar shingle

[8] Matteo Vercelloni and Virgilio Vercelloni, *The Invention of the Western Garden: The History of An Idea* (Glasgow: Waverley Books, 2009), 111.

[9] Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," 26.

[10] There are nine original drawings showing an evolution of design of the house. The documents are located in the Chew Family Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[11] Notably another Penn attorney, William Peters and Penn land office clerk and surveyor, Richard Tea, HSR I, 24–29.

[12] Abraham Swan, A Collection of Designs in Architecture (London: London Sayer, 1757); Abraham Swan, The British Architect (London, printed by the author, 1745).

[13] The scale of Cliveden is more in keeping with that of a house at the center of a mid-Atlantic working plantation, like those belonging to the Chews in Maryland and the lower counties of Pennsylvania (now Delaware), and similar estates nearby; Stenton (1723–1730) and Hope Lodge (1750).

roof is pierced by two broad brick chimney stacks positioned at the roof ridgeline. The roof is further adorned with five massive urns raised on brick plinths.[14]

South Façade

The fenestration of the facade follows the five-bay design. At each of the flanking bays, cellar windows, positioned below the water table, are embellished with cut stone frames and splayed lintels, or jack arches, with keystones, of Wissahickon schist. The bays at the first and second floors are marked with twelve-over-twelve sash windows. A fifth window of this type is located over the front door at the center bay. Ornamental cut stone is also used to articulate the sills and splayed lintels with keystones for window openings on the first and second floors. The first-floor windows are fitted with wood-raised panel exterior shutters.

The center of the facade is emphasized by a projecting bay containing the front entrance door, reached by six marble steps. The double doors are contained within a pedimented Doric frontispiece with full entablature. A pair of louvered outer doors finishes the entrance. The pediment motif is repeated at the cornice line. Both the cornice and pediment are embellished with modillions. At the roof, there are two gabled dormer windows elaborately decorated with Doric details and scrolls, containing arched windows.[15] Two copper downspouts with wood leader heads are positioned on either side of the facade.

West Elevation

The west elevation was the secondary public face of the house in the eighteenth century, finished with an intermediate hierarchy of materials and techniques, to impress the genteel visitor. Like the south facade, the water table is constructed of ashlar block, though stone of smaller dimensions was used. Above the water table, rubble-stone constructed walls are clad in stucco, scored to mimic ashlar masonry. This conceit includes a stucco string course, and scored splayed lintels above each window and door opening. The fenestration on the west elevation indicates the organization of the rooms inside. Three cellar windows with stone-splayed lintels are at grade, one twelve-over-twelve sash each at the first- and second-floor rooms and two windows mark the larger rooms at the rear of each level. The first-floor windows are equipped with raised panel shutters. Between the front and rear rooms, a raised panel door, reached by a stone stoop, gives discrete access to the service stair. Another twelve-over-twelve sash is located mid-flight above to light the stair passage. At the garret level, two eight-over-eight sash windows are positioned inside the gable, which is decorated by a modillioned cornice and rake boards.

Colonnade

A major change to the west elevation, built 1776–77, was the addition of a colonnade or piazza, which connected the northwest corner of the main house to the east side door of the kitchen dependency. This was a typical service space in Philadelphia country houses. From the southwest front of the house, the structure appeared as a curved stucco wall with a pair of raised panel doors, flanked by two twelve-over-twelve sash windows. The colonnade has a stone water table that matches that of the west elevation. The stucco is scored to resemble ashlar block and the splayed lintel details over the door and window openings. A parapet of cut stone tops the wall. The colonnade was originally open to the back area between the house and the dependencies, though covered by a sloped roof. This structure provided shelter for servants and slaves between the kitchen and dining room and also screened their movements from the family and guests approaching the front of the house. By 1856, the east wall of the colonnade was enclosed with a wood frame wall.[16] In 1867–68, the space was

[14] The original urns were carved of limestone but the deteriorating features have since been replaced with concrete replicas.
[15] HSR I, 172.
[16] Ibid., 151.

integrated into the construction of an addition to the north elevation.[17] There is no matching passage that connects the northeast corner of the house to the washhouse dependency, perhaps because the work there did not require frequent traffic to the house.

North Elevation

As originally built, the north or rear elevation was unencumbered by additions. The exterior of the north elevation was constructed and finished with a third level of hierarchy, fitting its place as a non-public area seen only by family, servants, and slaves. The masonry was exposed rubble stone, pointed with concave joints and no decorative features around the doors or windows, though the water table did follow to this elevation. The fenestration repeated the five-bay pattern of the south elevation, with a service door to the first-floor east opening. Cellar access was through a bulkhead door under the east center bay. At the center bay, a rear main door was placed at the first floor and a twelve-by-twelve sash window was placed at mid-flight over the main stair landing. The first-floor windows were protected by raised panel shutters. Only a simple cornice, with no modillions, finished the elevation.

Additions to the North Elevation

The north (rear) elevation has two major additions that depart from the original design. The first was undertaken in 1867–68, by Anne Sophia Penn Chew, in order to make the house more comfortable for a family expanded by her nephew, Samuel Chew III, and Mary Johnson Brown Chew.[18] The north addition was kept out of the sightlines at the south front elevation, preserving the 1763 design of the house. This addition projects from the northwest side of the main block of the house, covering just over half of the original rear wall and topped by a low-pitched gable roof oriented perpendicular to the main block. One brick chimney, that served the upgraded heating system, rises from the roof. The addition was constructed of Wissahickon schist, laid in a rubble pattern with concave pointing to match the earlier building. It added two stories and two bays worth of depth to the house, covering approximately three bays on the west side of the north elevation. With this building campaign, the colonnade was also enclosed with masonry walls yet maintained the curved western wall.

The north addition had the effect of blocking the rear main door and the window over the main stair, changing the character of the interior spaces. However, the fenestration was roughly carried through to the new north elevation, preserving light and ventilation with a new rear at the first floor and six-over-six sash windows with one arched four-over-four window at the enclosed colonnade.[19] The first-floor windows have raised panel shutters similar to the style of those on the main part of the house. A bulkhead door was added below the west center bay for access to the cellar under the addition. At this time, a simple dormer containing a pair of four-over-four sash windows was added to the north elevation at the garret level.

A second addition on the north elevation is located inside the east corner of the main house and the north addition. Completed in 1921, this building project was designed by architect Louis H. Rush for Mary Johnson Brown Chew and her daughter, Bessie Chew. The addition, described as “high quality colonial revival work,” does not, however, mimic details found elsewhere at Cliveden.[20] At the first floor, a small stucco addition extends from the east wall of the north addition to accommodate a first-floor powder room, surrounded by an open porch. The enclosed second floor is supported by Tuscan columns, one column and a pilaster at the walls and a triplet of columns at the comer. A Doric entablature tops the column structure. The second story of the

[17] Ibid., 51 and 180.
[18] Ibid., 213–16.
[19] For detailed discussion of the differences in the types of windows and sashes used on the original house versus the addition, see HSR I, 217.
[20] HSR I, 265.

addition contains a large bathroom and provides the porch roof. At this time, the remaining portion of the original rubble stone wall north elevation was clad in stucco.[21]

East Elevation

Like the north elevation, the east elevation follows a third level of design hierarchy. At the east elevation, the masonry walls were laid in rubble stone, with no splayed lintels or string course as found on the south and west elevations. Though originally the whole wall was left exposed stone, by 1857 it was clad in scored stucco.[22] The gable end is articulated with a simplified version of the front molded cornice and rake boards. Below the cornice line, the windows are arranged into three vertical bays, with the center bay positioned off-center to the north. The sashes are twelve-over-twelve, following suit with the other elevations. There are two window openings containing eight-over-eight sash windows placed within the gable at the garret level.

Kitchen Dependency

Cliveden was originally designed with two detached, symmetrical dependencies positioned just behind and on either side of the main house; on the east, a washhouse, and the west, a kitchen. The dependencies were conceived as twin buildings on the exterior, with mirrored square plans, but both have endured interior changes and additions based on the needs of the estate over time. The design of the dependencies coordinates with the main house. Each building is two-and-a-half stories with a gable roof. They were built of rubble masonry in Wissahickon schist clad in stucco at their south facades. The kitchen dependency stucco has been repaired and replaced. During one of these campaigns, the stucco was scored, but this detail is likely an upgrade from the original.[23] The west, north, and east sides of this building were originally exposed stone, but the west has acquired a layer of stucco. The gable end, at the facade, is ornamented with a modillioned cornice and rake boards, repeating the classical pattern of the main house center bay. The facade and fenestration is arranged in a symmetrical three-bay plan. A main door is centered on each first-floor facade, flanked by six-over-six sash windows with raised panel shutters. Two cellar windows are at grade, and three six-over-six sash windows are on the second floor. At the garret level, an oval lunette window punctuates the gable pediment.

The kitchen dependency was enlarged during construction, immediately taking the dependencies from their designed symmetry. In 1765, the building was extended to the north by about one third. Apparently the need for a larger kitchen space arose after the planned square walls were built, as a seam in the masonry and woodwork can be seen at the extension. The two six-over-six windows on the first and second floors of the west elevation were joined by a pair of casement windows at the first-floor northwest corner. At this time, the chimney was moved to the rear of the extended building to accommodate the large cooking hearth. The addition also enclosed an existing well pump in a niche at the north wall, an uncommon setup for the utility, which had the effect of protecting not only the water supply, but the original wood and wrought-iron well pump. No windows were in the 1765 north wall, as the cooking hearth and bake oven were contained in the wall.

In the original configuration, a service door was located on the east side of the kitchen dependency, then the usual entrance for service traffic (slaves and servants) to the main house under the colonnade after 1776. When the Chews returned to Germantown in the Federal period, a one-story pantry space with a shed roof was added on the east side of the kitchen dependency at the end of the colonnade. A six-over-six window to the pantry is located on both the north and east sides of the addition. This added service building was also hidden from the front of the main house by the colonnade. These areas are now enclosed by the 1868 north addition and infill, which added one more window at the first-floor east elevation. Two six-over-six windows at the second floor

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 59–60.
[23] Ibid., 124.

were truncated by the pantry addition, so that small casement windows are now seen above the pantry roof at the original east elevation.

Interior

Typical of Georgian country houses, the main block of Cliveden has a double-pile plan with a center hall. At Cliveden, the usual floor plan is modified by design to increase the visual impact inside the entrance, so that the first-floor hall forms a "T" shape. A large entrance hall is positioned behind the three center bays, flanked by two small chambers at the outer bays. A Doric screen of columns separates this entrance space from a perpendicular stair hall. The two rooms that flank the rear stair hall have dimensions more typical of the double-pile plan. Cliveden's first floor features twelve-foot ceilings throughout, already making an impact as a guest would enter the front double doors. All of the floors at Cliveden were originally unfinished yellow pine, in board widths of 4 ¼″ to 7″.[24] The edges of the floorboards were beveled in 1959, which, along with stain and varnish changed the character of the original floors.[25]

Cliveden's interior spaces were designed with the classical influences appropriate to the high style late Georgian period at the end of the eighteenth century. The classical orders and the columnar form can be found with refined attention to symmetry and proportion in variation and repetition in the details of the millwork throughout. The high style treatments used in Cliveden's best rooms, the front entrance hall and parlor, are directly referenced to popular pattern books by Palladio and Abraham Swan. In general, decorative millwork details were built of stacked lumber with hand-planed molding profiles. The overall character of these details can be described as heavy and bold, with deep projections using ogee, ovolo, and fillets in variation. Baseboards are grounded on torus molding with trim in varied levels of detail and run around the rooms with breaks for doors. These are paired with chair rails, which become sills at window openings. Most doors and windows are cased with wide trim and backband molding. Interior doors are constructed in the traditional floating panel manner, with six raised panels between rails and stiles. All of the windows are recessed, having wood pedestals at either break in the dado and splayed jambs, usually paneled. Because Cliveden was constructed in the 1760s, some decorative elements reflect the fashionable taste of the hour. For example, though raised panels and plaster were both used to finish dados, flush boards in the dado were sometimes used, a modish alternative to traditional paneled walls in the late Georgian period. Walls above the chair rail and ceilings were finished in flat plaster on wood lath over masonry or wood framing members, providing contrast to the complex millwork. There are four variations of cornice in the rooms at Cliveden, made up of several smaller profiles stacked to create a wide finishing detail to a room.[26]

Like the exterior treatments, Cliveden's interiors display a hierarchy of detail and workmanship dating to the original design and construction of the house. The high level of detail and finish in the public rooms where he entertained guests indicated the Chew family's wealth and status to friends and visitors. In service spaces, where the architectural design would not have had a public audience, simpler and more utilitarian woodwork is used. Elite eighteenth-century visitors would have been aware of distinctions in woodwork details which demonstrated the family's refinement and knowledge of design trends and expressed the importance of each room.[27]

Cliveden's comprehensive Historic Structures Report (HSR) provides a useful outline of the architectural design hierarchy present on Cliveden's interior. As this document describes, "[a] vertical hierarchy common to colonial country houses has the best room on the first floor and increasingly lesser rooms on each floor

[24] Ibid., 92.
[25] Ibid., 116.
[26] For more details about the millwork at Cliveden, see: HSR I, 93–100 for more details about the millwork at Cliveden.
[27] For a detailed discussion of the variation and hierarchy of interior millwork at Cliveden, see HSR I, 93–98.

above…Cliveden also exhibits a 'stacking' hierarchy that can be observed in other area country house, whereby the best rooms are on one side of the house. At Cliveden, the east side of the house has the best rooms on all floors. Further, stacking seems to override floor level at Cliveden; rooms on the east side of the second floor are superior to those on the west side of the first floor."[28]

Front Entrance Hall

On the first floor, the front entrance hall is of the highest level of architectural design and craftsmanship. The entrance hall is immediately distinguished by the imposing Doric screen, composed of two freestanding and two partially engaged fluted Doric columns set supporting a full entablature over the opening to the rear stair hall. The dado in this room is paneled up to the height of the chair rail, which runs around the room at the height of the window sills. The elaborate woodwork continues at the windows with wide crossetted frames and raised panel jambs. The doors to the adjacent rooms are also set within crossetted frames, topped with entablature and broken pediments supported with corbels decorated by acanthus leaves. A complex cornice accentuated by dentils finishes the room.[29]

Offices

The two rooms that flank the entrance hall were both referred to as offices by the Chew family. The east room exhibits a slightly higher level of detail and was likely used to accept visitors. The dado is paneled to the chair rail and the window and door casings are crossetted. A fireplace, located in the northwest corner of the room, is also fully paneled. A wide cornice finishes the room. The west room most likely was used as a service and storage area since it was unheated. This room has simplified door and window surrounds, and the dado was originally left unpaneled, but the plaster finish was covered with flush boards in the Federal period.[30] However, a wide-wood cornice also terminates the walls. A twentieth-century intrusion of a built-in wet bar and bookcase covers the north wall of the room.

Service Stair

A small room immediately to the west after the screen of columns encloses the service stair. This room is finished at the lowest level of detail; the walls were plastered with no chair rail, paneling, or cornice. Only a simple backband molding surrounds the doors. The narrow winder stair originally provided service access to all levels of the house, cellar to garret, but the enclosed cellar flight, behind an interior door, has been abandoned.[31] At the first floor, an exterior door provides access to the west side of the house and the kitchen dependency. Since the door to the service stair from the rear hall could be closed, this allowed service traffic to be hidden from the movements of the family and public. The staircase itself is designed with little decorative detail, including simply turned balusters and square newel posts with ogee caps.

While altered, the presence of this feature at Cliveden allows stories of those bound as slaves and servants who inhabited Cliveden to be interpreted through the material space of the house. The tight, winding construction conveys an entirely different, but no less significant, sense of place and history than the rest of the house. More dramatically than anywhere else at Cliveden, this hidden staircase provides a window into the way social class, and social history, were inscribed through architecture. Dividing the house into varying degrees of public and private spaces allowed the Chews to organize and conceal the movement of service traffic through the house.

[28] HSR I, 92.
[29] See HSR I, 96, for a detailed description of the craftsmanship and design of the cornice work at Cliveden.
[30] HSR I, 95, 108.
[31] Ibid., 110.

Today, the historic integrity of the space allows visitors to experience the house from the perspective of the slaves and servants who worked there.

Rear Center Hall

Past the screen of columns in the rear center hall, a grand staircase leading to the second floor abuts the east wall. The rear hallway has an intermediate level of detail and craftsmanship. The hall and stair are dado paneled below a chair rail that runs around the hall and up the stairs to the second floor. Paint analysis revealed that this paneling was originally faux finished in a mahogany wood grain, a popular and expensive option that emphasized the high-style choices of Benjamin Chew. The faux finish was painted over in the Colonial Revival period. At the south side of the room the doors to adjacent rooms have crossetted frames: a door to the east enters the parlor; across the hall to the west are the door to the service stair and a door to a smaller parlor, or dining room. At the rear of this hall, the original rear exterior door now leads to a small passage in the north addition. Some adjustments were made to this passage and landing as the 1868 and 1921 additions were made. Just inside the north wall, under the stair, a door in the paneled wood partition closes off the cellar flight. These doors have simpler frames with no crossettes.

Parlor

The parlor is Cliveden's most fashionable and high-style room, with very finely detailed woodwork, inspired by the classical designs of Palladio and directly referenced to patterns by Swan. A chair rail runs around the room and the dado is made of flush boards. The window and door surrounds have crossettes at the top and base. A broken pediment, supported by trusses, tops its door. A crossetted architrave, enriched with egg and dart carving, and panels of Pennsylvania blue marble surround the fireplace opening. The chimney breast is not fully paneled, but on the front face, trusses support a mantel shelf, above which is a fully crossetted tabernacle frame overmantle. On the recessed walls flanking the chimney, classical aediculae with solid pediments appeared. These elements have since been removed. Finally, the wide molded cornice has a Wall of Troy detail in place of the traditional dentils, a very popular feature from 1760 on in the best rooms in Philadelphia houses.[32]

Second Parlor or Dining Room

Across the rear hall, there is another parlor, traditionally used by the Chew family for dining. This room is smaller due to the placement of the service stairway and has a lower level of hierarchy in detail than the east office, halls, and large parlor, indicating that it was used more by the family than for public entertaining. The room was fitted with relatively simple woodwork; chair rail and cornice enclosed an originally plastered dado. The window and door frames are without crossettes. A flat panel dado and the mantle over the fireplace were installed in the Federal period, perhaps as Chews returned to Cliveden. The chimney in this room is oversized to accommodate the large cooking hearth in the cellar room below. As such, the chimney wall is fully paneled, with closets filling in the space flanking the chimney breast. The closet to the east of the chimney originally contained shelving, some with scalloped shaped edges and plate grooves, suitable for display of eighteenth-century ceramics. This closet has been altered to accommodate ductwork for a modern environmental control system. An exterior door was placed at the west corner of the north wall. This was the direct entrance and exit to the colonnade passage to the kitchen dependency, allowing discrete access for enslaved workers and servants to serve in the dining room without passing through the main hallway. The door now opens to the service space enclosed by the 1868 infill. A former window on the north wall has likewise been altered to create a display cabinet with glazed doors above and paneled doors below the chair rail.

[32] Ibid., 97.

School Room

The first floor of the 1868 north addition was used for a school room. The distinction of mid-nineteenth century design is clear as the room is absent of paneling and chair rail. Window and door casings have profiles with slimmer lines, appropriate to their age. The coved cornice molding was pulled in plaster. An applied plaster medallion in a foliate design is centered on the ceiling where a gas fixture was installed. A small storage closet is included in the plan. This room does not have a fireplace, indicating that it was integrated in a new hot water heating system, an upgrade made at the same time as the north addition. An exterior door in the north wall leads to the courtyard between the dependencies at the rear of the house.

Main Stair

The wide-open newel staircase rises north to a mid-story landing at the north wall and then turns 180 degrees to rise to the second-floor hall.[33] Rather simple round newel posts with square bases and ogee caps define each landing of the stair. On the wall side, these are balanced by paneled pilasters punctuating the paneled wainscot. The stair railing and chair rail sharply ramp up toward these points. Supporting the stair railing are turned balusters with voluminous ball and vase shapes set on long square bases, three to each step. At the elevation of the stair, applied brackets with cyma curve and scroll shapes decorate the run of each step under molded nosing.

The original twelve-over-twelve sash window that lit the stair at the mid-story landing is visible from the base of the staircase, now converted into a hidden door to the north addition back stair. This window was trimmed with a crossetted frame, paneled jam, and a closed pediment, simpler in design than those found in the front hall. The door retains woodwork to imitate the former window sash, including muntins inside rails and stiles of two sashes. Though the opening has been closed, obscuring the natural light that must have filled the rear hall, a mirror has been installed behind muntins that reflects light down from the center window on the second floor. While the best attempt has been made to retain the design and feeling of this window, some integrity has been lost by a reduction in lighting and the view to the north.

Second-Floor Hall or Gallery

The main staircase leads to the second-floor hall, or gallery, which was probably more a living space for the family than a mere passage. The wide hall features an intermediate level of detail of Cliveden's interior design, with slightly less elaborate millwork than found on the east side of the first floor, but greater than that found on the west side. The window and door surrounds are simpler, with no architraves or crossettes. A south facing window overlooks the main entrance and brings in light to this space which has ceilings only slightly lower than the first floor. The entire ceiling, including that over the main stair, is finished with a wide cornice.

Second-Floor Chambers

There are four bedchambers leading off the gallery, two on each side of the main building. The rooms on the east side of the building have a higher level of detail than those on the west second floor and also those on the west first floor. The second-floor chamber windows are all fitted with solid paneled interior shutters that fold into the jamb casings the entire height of the windows. The windows and doors in the chambers are framed in trim with backband molding, but all are absent except the crossettes and architraves of those on the first floor. In the southeast chamber, the projecting chimney breast is paneled, but the recessed flanking walls are left unpaneled, as are the dados on all walls. According to the HSR, the wall on the west side of the chimney was

[33] For a contemporary pattern book reference to the open newel staircase pattern, see Owen Biddle, *Young Carpenter's Assistant*, plate 30.

likely altered sometime in the early nineteenth century to create a passage between the two east chambers.[34] Four modern closets were added in this room in 1959, although these were removed to recreate the room's original feeling in 1972.[35] A wide-stacked cornice finishes the room. The northeast chamber is fully paneled on its chimney wall, including a closet with shelves on the east side; the matching closet was altered by the adjoining passage to the south chamber. Baseboards, chair rails, and cornice installed on all other walls with dados are plaster. On the north wall, the original western window opening was converted to a door to accommodate the 1921 second-floor bathroom addition. The plan of the southwest chamber was minimized by the service stair and does not have a fireplace, indicating it was the least comfortable of the four, perhaps having a service function or housing service staff. The room does have baseboards, chair rail, and a cornice. Two closets were installed on the west wall in 1959, as was the door in the north wall, to allow access to a bathroom at the second-floor landing of the service stair, which was added at the same time. The northwest chamber mimics the design, and possibly the function, of the second parlor below. The south chimney wall is fully paneled, with flanking closets, the eastern of which has scalloped shelves for display, indicating that this room might have been used for entertaining. The other closet, now containing ductwork, originally had pegs and plain-front shelves for clothing and textile storage, indicating that the room was also used for a bedchamber. The other walls are fitted with baseboard, chair rail, and cornice. The windows in the north wall were obstructed by the north addition and converted into doors for access to the new part of the second floor and rear stair. Behind this room, a passage leads to the rear stair and second floor chamber of the north addition.

Garret

The only access to the third-floor garret is via the service stair. The space is divided into seven large rooms, which are similar enough to be treated as one unit. Exterior symmetry determined the location of the dormers in the front and windows on the sides. One of the only alterations to this space is the rear dormer, which dates to the time of the north addition. The rooms are primarily situated around an L-shaped hallway beginning at the staircase, with the shape of the rooms also determined by the substantial chimney masses that pass through to the roof.[36] The spaces here were used for storage and as living quarters for the people who lived and worked at Cliveden as slaves and servants. At times when more family members and children were living or staying at Cliveden, it is likely the garret also provided bed chambers for children. Because of these functions it has the lowest level of detailing with minimum millwork.

Cellar

The cellar of Cliveden can be accessed from the rear hall on the first floor and several bulkhead doors on the exterior, although an original access point, under the service stair, has been abandoned. The cellar of the main house is divided into five rooms, following the standard double-pile floor plan. Three additional rooms are located under the north addition. The cellar floors were originally earth, but some rooms have floors later laid in brick, likely to protect food storage. The rubble masonry cellar walls were plastered and whitewashed, later painted.[37] A cellar kitchen with a large cooking hearth, common in Philadelphia country houses, was located in the northwest chamber of the cellar. It is unclear why this room and function was worked into the original design of the house when the kitchen dependency was also planned, but references show that it was used during the building campaign for the north addition. Much of the cellar is now used for storage and to house the modern mechanical equipment (environmental control systems, security and fire monitoring systems) required in maintaining and preserving the building to suit contemporary needs.

[34] HSR I, 110.
[35] Ibid., 110–11.
[36] Ibid., 113.
[37] Ibid., 105–06

Colonnade and Kitchen Dependency

Back on the first floor, a passage to the west behind the rear hall and northwest chamber, leads to the former colonnade space. This area was enclosed by the 1868 addition to create a butler's pantry to improve the kitchen preparation space. The form of the space, with curved colonnade wall to the west was retained by the design of the north addition. Another interior renovation in 1959 installed a prefabricated modern kitchen and appliances, which remain in this space. The now-enclosed colonnade continues through another interior door to a room with the original east side entrance to the kitchen dependency and an 1868 exit to the rear courtyard area. This space has a mix of mid-nineteenth and twentieth-century details and finishes. Also accessed from this intermediate room is the 1798 pantry addition, which was attached to the east wall of the kitchen dependency and only entered from the colonnade passage. The interior of the pantry was altered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so that few original features are extant. However, a large stone threshold into the pantry, worn with two hundred-plus years of footsteps, is a tactile reminder of original feeling and use of the space.

The original plan of the kitchen dependency building was one room in depth and width on all floors, two stories, with a half-story garret and full cellar. As mentioned, the original 18′ x 18′ west dependency was extended north by 9′ in 1765, shortly after initial construction. Whether Benjamin Chew identified the need for a bigger kitchen space or was following a trend in colonial Philadelphia to remove cooking activities (and the smoke, odors, and danger of fire that came with them) to outbuildings, is unknown.[38] The extended single first-floor room would have provided an ample kitchen in the eighteenth century, with a cooking hearth, almost eight feet wide, bake oven, and access to the water pump at the northwest corner of the building. A winder stair led to the room on the second floor. This and the garret, accessed by an enclosed stair, were likely used as living quarters for the slaves and servants who labored in the kitchen below. The cellar was used for food storage, and later coal storage, indicated by archeological evidence and a former ladder access point under the winder stair. Since the building was always considered service space, no effort was made to retain the eighteenth-century configuration, millwork, or finishes on the interior. Partitions have been added on both the first and second floors that obscure the original feeling of the space as those who lived and worked there would have experienced it. However, architectural archeology has revealed evidence in the north wall of the original cooking fireplace, with elliptical arch and remnants of various infill campaigns as cooking technology advanced throughout the nineteenth century. [39] Through this investigation and further research, there is potential to reveal more about the eighteenth-century characteristics of this important service space.

Washhouse Dependency (1 contributing building)

The washhouse dependency, located on the east side of the main house, stands separate from the main house. It contributes symmetry to the south facade of the buildings and completes the sheltered area behind the house that was, for most of the history of the property, a service area. Like the kitchen dependency, the building has had many changes to accommodate the evolution of its function and the Chew family's use of the property. The original form of this building exactly matched that of the kitchen dependency. Together, the two structures provided a symmetrical aspect to the arrangement of Cliveden's buildings. The facade is organized in three bays, with a center door on the first floor and an oval lunette window in the gable pediment at the garret level. Like the kitchen dependency, the exterior woodwork follows the lead of the main house, with the gable of the facade articulated with a molded cornice and rake boards, including dentils. Six-over-six sash windows mark the bays. The surface of the facade is clad in unscored stucco, now replaced by a modern layer.[40] A small smokehouse lean-to addition was added to the north elevation of the washhouse dependency in 1798. This addition was formalized and expanded to the full width of the building and almost doubling the length of the

[38] Ibid., 127
[39] Ibid., 131.
[40] Ibid., 138.

building in 1814; a mortar joint is visible near the midpoint of the building on the east and west elevations.[41] The walls of the east elevation are exposed rubble masonry with one bay at the south side of the building, and one at the north, marked by sash windows on both floors. Additionally, a small casement window is located close to the north corner, likely added in 1868, when the smokehouse was converted for use as privies. The dentilated cornice continues the length of the east elevation, unifying the addition with the original building. The north elevation is also exposed rubble masonry with a small four-light window in the peak of the gable, but no windows at the second-floor level. A door and a four-light window are positioned on the first-floor east side of the north elevation, probably as the entrance for the east privy. On the west elevation, there are three bays, one at the south side and two at the north. A side door, mirroring that of the original side entrance to the kitchen dependency is on the first floor of the south side, with a six-over-six sash window on the second floor. A six-over-six sash window and a (now abandoned) door to the west privy mark the first-floor north side. Two sash windows mark the bays on the second-floor north side of the west elevation. Again, the dentilated cornice is continued the length of the west elevation, bringing a sense of uniformity to the original building and addition. A bulkhead door under the center bay provides access to the washhouse cellar. A chimney is located at the original north elevation wall, now at the center of the two spaces.

The interiors of the washhouse dependency—though much changed due to renovations—reveal some detail about how the service building was used. Unlike the kitchen dependency, interior millwork is apparent or evidenced throughout. This building likely functioned as the residence and office for the estate manager—in addition to providing laundry facilities—and so deemed finishes a degree higher.[42] At the time of original construction, the washhouse consisted of a single 18′ x 18′ room, heated by a fireplace on each floor. All floors, cellar to garret, were accessed by a winder stair at the northeast corner of the building.[43] In the first-floor south-room fireplace, the original crane and deep firebox point to the original intended use of the space as a washhouse.[44] Most of the interior millwork in this room dates from the Federal period, having more refined and less projecting profiles than those expected in the eighteenth-century Georgian style. In fact, almost the entire north wall of this room was rebuilt at the time of the 1814 addition, so it is likely any updates to the interior details and finishes were made at this time. The details of the first-floor north room are also consistent with Federal design and probably are original to the construction of the addition, though some have been altered. A fireplace, now blocked, has a wood mantle and closet at the chimney breast. The room at the rear of the addition, now housing a modern kitchen, has undergone many changes but documents suggest it was the location of the smoke house and later, the privies.[45] The stair was reworked with the addition to provide access to the north second-floor bed chamber, which is now partitioned to accommodate a modern bathroom. The second-floor south room retains a more eighteenth-century millwork, including mantle, chair rail, and doors.

Carriage House (noncontributing building)

The Cliveden carriage house and stable is located at the rear of the current property, now at the corner of Cliveden and Morton Streets. Built to shelter horses and other working animals that served the estate, the carriage house and stable dates to the period of significance, but it has been enlarged and significantly altered since Benjamin Chew had it built in 1766. As with the kitchen dependency and the washhouse, this process of evolution was typical for service buildings, especially in consideration of changes the family made in how they used the property. As originally constructed, it was a two-story rectangular structure, with a shingle gable roof

[41] Ibid., 139.
[42] Ibid., 140.
[43] Ibid. This mirrors the original interior configuration of the kitchen dependency, opposite.
[44] HSR I, 139, 141.
[45] Ibid., 142–43.

running east to west, and walls of Wissahickon schist laid in a rubble pattern, left exposed.[46] Still visible are original window and door openings and long thin ventilation slits in the masonry walls of the upper story hay loft. A significant addition to the west, which more than doubled the size of the building, was added when the Chews returned to the property in 1798. At this time a "cow stable" with a shed roof was also added to the north of the original structure.[47] By 1873, the north elevation had been filled-in with additional stalls and a feed room. Then, in 1881, Samuel Chew added a central brick chimney, two cupolas at the center of the east and west sides of the roof, and a narrow, long one-story frame "shop and cart house" on the northwest corner perpendicular to the carriage house. These alterations, however, preserved the view of the building from Germantown Avenue.[48] This iteration of the building survived until 1959, when Samuel Chew V remodeled the west portion of the building into offices for his business.[49]

In 1970, a large fire gutted the building. Various components of the space were gradually reconstructed up to 1976. The fire left no original or nineteenth-century doors, sash, shutters, or trim; however, a restoration of the entire building by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1976 returned the exterior to the appearance it had in 1881.[50] Today, the restored spaces serve as administrative offices (second floor east), an exhibit gallery, and a community meeting space for Cliveden and the surrounding neighborhood. While the building does not maintain enough integrity to be considered a contributing resource within the NHL boundary, because the carriage house remains in the same location and retains at least some sense of its appearance during the period of significance it suggests the extent of the system of service buildings and landscapes that existed on the property beyond the main house.

Legacy and Integrity

Today, Cliveden's setting and buildings continue to convey a historical sense of place characteristic of the late eighteenth-century environment in which it was originally situated, despite the changes to the house discussed above. In addition, what remains of the landscape (grounds, gardens) surrounding the house and carriage house likely date from the twentieth century, and the approach of the driveway was slightly altered from a straight path to include a curve toward the house and roundabout for ease of access, once automobiles became the primary means of transportation.[51] In 1932, the stone wall surrounding the property was raised, and an iron fence added to the top, further changing the relationship of Cliveden to Germantown Avenue and the surrounding neighborhood that developed around it.[52] There is also a small "pool shed" to the rear of the property, dating to the 1950s to accompany a pool that was added to the back yard, which has subsequently been filled in and removed.

Cliveden also retains much of its original arrangement of interior spaces. The original double pile, divided center hall form remains, giving the house much of the original feeling and association it had for Benjamin Chew in the eighteenth century. However, over the course of its life, the interior of the house has been changed to meet trends in functional, aesthetic, and technological advances in interior design. From alterations to the fireplaces to improve heating ability and efficiency and the addition of gas lighting in 1868, to changes in wallpaper and carpeting and the modernization of bathrooms and kitchens, Cliveden today is, in many ways, a

[46] Ibid., 279. This section of the HSR also details many of the smaller changes that occurred as the carriage house was altered over time from its original appearance (more stables, the west extension, for example).
[47] HSR I, 289. The exact date of construction is unknown, although an undated inventory ca. 1798, and an 1873 fire insurance survey describe the cow stable addition.
[48] HSR I, 290.
[49] Ibid., 277.
[50] Ibid., 278.
[51] Ibid., 310.
[52] Richards, "Cliveden," 113.

record of changing tastes and styles.[53] It is a collection of original and altered spaces. For example, much of the original hardware (door hinges, etc.) survives, but a 1959 kitchen occupies the former pantry space and colonnade.[54] Since being donated to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1972, Cliveden has been gradually restored and maintained so that it can exist into the future, while also conveying the feeling and association of the space as it existed during the period of significance. As preserved, the interior of the site gives visitors a sense of how Cliveden's eighteenth-century owners, enslaved persons, and servants used and moved about the space.

Throughout Cliveden's history, the property and buildings were altered, repaired, and updated in large and small ways. When parcels of land were bought or sold, smaller outbuildings were sometimes acquired or lost.[55] Because of the extensive and thorough nature of the extant family papers, most of these alterations, from the mundane to the expensive, are recorded and underpin a narrative of development and change in Cliveden's comprehensive Historic Structures Report (1994). Importantly, the main house, dependencies, and carriage house convey much the same feeling and association as they did during the period of significance. Even as there are areas in need of maintenance and preservation work, as a whole, Cliveden retains a high degree of historic integrity for anyone visiting the site.

Since 1972, Cliveden has been owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and operated as a historic site. Cliveden's past is primarily interpreted to the events and motifs of the period of significance. The drama attached to the Battle of Germantown, exemplified by a long-running annual reenactment, makes the Revolutionary era central to how the site is generally understood. The site also increasingly interprets wider histories of slavery, servitude, and the successive generations of Chews who lived there. A wealth of paper documentation about the Chews and Cliveden matches the physical integrity of the site and, along with the archeological record, makes much of this knowledge possible. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania currently houses the Chew Papers, a collection of over 200,000 documents. The Library Company of Philadelphia owns Benjamin Chew's personal library. As the site's Historic Structures Report notes, "For many colonial houses we have building documents, for a few we can determine with accuracy design precedents in pattern books and comparative examples, and for fewer still we have original design drawings. For Cliveden we have all of these."[56]

Although not nationally significant for archeology under NHL Criterion 6, archeological work at Cliveden has helped to elucidate how scholars, museum staff, and visitors currently understand the site's historical meaning. Archeological work at Cliveden began in 1976 by Lynne G. Lewis, who also completed subsequent investigations in 1978–79, 1991, and 1993. In 1991, Lewis enacted a survey of the entire property and described the general use patterns near the structures on the grounds. Use patterns are important for understanding the property as a whole, and both positive (presence of an object) and negative data (lack of objects) are useful in determining the ways in which people lived and worked at Cliveden.[57] In 1995, Anne Yentsch and Judson Kratzer prepared a report on the *Results of Preliminary Landscape Archeology at Cliveden, August 1993*. This document builds on the Lewis report, focuses on the dependency, and makes greater attempts to interpret the material remains in light of historical data.[58] The artifactual record as a whole contributes to understanding

[53] HSR I, 224–26. The exact date when electricity arrived at Cliveden is unknown, although evidence from the removal of fixtures from the hallway by 1915 suggest that it occurred around this time.

[54] HSR I, 103.

[55] Ibid., 171.

[56] Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A. & Associates, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, "Cliveden Historic Structures Report," Philadelphia, June 1994, i. These resources alone make Cliveden a unique, nationally significant example of Georgian architecture.

[57] Lynne G. Lewis, Scott K. Parker, and Laurie J. Paonessa, *Phase I Archeological Survey at Cliveden, Germantown, Pennsylvania* (National Trust Archeological Research Center, November 1991).

[58] Anne E. Yentsch and Judson M. Kratzer, *Results of Preliminary Landscape Archeology at Cliveden, August 1993* (Report prepared for Cliveden and the National Historic Trust, Germantown, Pennsylvania, March 1995).

everyday life and the dynamics between groups. The recovered artifacts point to the Chew's social and economic class and to the activities of people enslaved or hired by the Chews, as well as the foods, medicines, and domestic upkeep activities that comprised their days.

While these reports have not significantly altered the field of archeology, they clarified prior knowledge of earlier structures and of areas of activity as well as gave insight into the specific sorts of ceramics and hardware used at Cliveden during the house's two-hundred-year history. These aforementioned archeological reports are a useful foundation for more in-depth investigations, particularly from the field of historical archeology.[59] In combination with the archeological record, these sources evidence class and race in ways that bring a richer dimension to the history of Cliveden.

Based on the historical record found in the archeological report and Chew Papers, the Cliveden staff and their community partners developed a new interpretative plan, introduced with a 2012 exhibit that emphasizes dimensions of slavery and servitude at the house through the lives of laborers in Cliveden's past. "Cliveden Conversations," a series of public forums, engaged individuals from the surrounding Germantown community in the process of creating new narratives for the site. On-going events in this series invite the public to explore historical topics that can reveal the multiple meanings the house embodies as a community space and site of historical consciousness in the present.

Through exhibits, tours, and ongoing conversations, as well as the professional stewardship of the site itself, Cliveden engages with both celebratory and solemn histories. By making the unfamiliar familiar, Cliveden challenges visitor conceptions of the American past by embracing diverse narratives of often uncomfortable complexities and contradictions at the core of American history.

[59] Archeological publications are not indexed in a central database. For archeology of African Americans, their ancestors, and their descendants, the most comprehensive resource is the African Diaspora Archeology Network, which can be accessed at: http://www.diaspora.uiuc.edu/index.html. See also, James A. Delle, Stephen A. Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter, *Lines That Divide: Historical Archeologies of Race, Class, and Gender* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000).

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B X C X D X
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
NHL Criteria:	1 and 4
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design 6. popular and traditional culture IV. Shaping the Political Landscape 3. military institutions and activities
Areas of Significance:	Architecture, Military, Social History
Period(s) of Significance:	1763–1825
Significant Dates:	1777
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	William Peters
Historic Contexts:	IV. The American Revolution C. War in the North XVI. Architecture B. Georgian (1730–1780)

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Introduction

Cliveden is nationally significant under NHL Criteria 1 and 4. Cliveden meets NHL Criterion 1 as the principal location of the Battle of Germantown during the American Revolutionary War and as a site that illustrates the practice of slavery, servitude, class status, and domestic life in the Northern American colonies and United States during the late eighteenth century. The property also meets the requirements of NHL Criterion 4 because of its architectural significance. The form and plan of the buildings, along with their decorative details, both interior and exterior, give Cliveden significance as a prime example of high style Georgian architecture.

The integrity and authenticity of the extant property and buildings at Cliveden verify the site as an essential landmark to interpret and exemplify multiple, sometimes contradicting narratives in American history. As an active historic site, Cliveden helps visitors and stakeholders to understand the War for Independence and the struggle for freedom, as well as the lifestyle and tastes of the elite in the eighteenth century, distinguished from the way of life for slaves and servants. These important narratives can be explored through the experience of the design and setting of the property and buildings at Cliveden.

The main house and dependencies at Cliveden retain strong integrity to the Georgian architectural style in which Benjamin Chew chose to design his country seat in 1763. Recognized for its symmetry and substantial mass, as well as a reliance on Classical design, Georgian architecture was the definitive architectural style of the elite in colonial British America. At Cliveden, the main house epitomizes the Georgian country house, but also incorporates elements of design and construction that reflect the influence of Philadelphia regionalism in building materials and the traditional building practices of Germantown craftsmen. In addition, the kitchen and washhouse dependencies, along with the colonnade hyphen, notably follow the exterior design of high style Georgian architecture, while effectively masking the often unpleasant labors in service that provided for the elite lifestyle of the Chews.

Cliveden was originally designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961. This updated nomination provides a more developed argument for the site's national significance, particularly in light of recent scholarship on the importance of slavery and servitude as a part of elite domestic life in what became the northern United States. Ongoing scholarship seeks to connect the social history of slavery, servitude, elite lifestyles with the significance of design choices in architecture, for which Cliveden is an important example.

The period of significance for this property begins in 1763. During this year, Benjamin Chew (1722–1810), a prominent lawyer with plantation holdings in Delaware and Maryland who also served as Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, hired craftsmen to design and build a summer home in Germantown, then a small rural settlement located six miles outside of Philadelphia. As a member of the city's elite, Chew and his family used material objects, such as their new summer house, to convey their wealth and status. Archeological artifacts such as creamware, a type of ceramic tableware of the eighteenth century, demonstrate the family's purchasing power and participation in dining trends while at their summer home. Their financial power also allowed them to purchase and own slaves, who, along with paid servants, made their lifestyle possible. The setting, architecture, material culture, and "summering practices" of the Chews at Cliveden worked together to demonstrate the family's financial and social prestige and their genteel taste.

Benjamin Chew was not alone in shaping Cliveden's significance. His family and their domestic workers, including enslaved persons and indentured servants whose stories have often been muted, made the house function, and their daily activities gave life to Cliveden that extends beyond the confines of elite European-

American society.[60] The imbricated lives of the Chew family and their servants and slaves can nonetheless be read in the architecture, archeological remains, and material culture of Cliveden. The quality of the architecture, as well as the objects with which Chew filled his estate, and even the way he envisioned the relationship between the landscape and the house, make Cliveden an exemplary record of his time and social milieu. Cliveden's past reveals both the dimensions of slavery and servitude and the complex intermingling of labor and leisure at country estates in the northern regions of the American colonies.

Although the Chew family spent most of the year residing in a fashionable Philadelphia townhouse, it is their summer residence that survives as a nationally significant site for understanding this time and place in American history.[61] Since the Chews directly influenced everything from Cliveden's construction to its everyday use during the summer months, the site illustrates the ways that architectural, design, consumer, and lifestyle choices were organized around the continuous presence of servants and slaves at Cliveden. Labor was required to maintain the elaborate country estate, and the Chews increasingly relied on slave as well as servant labor before the Revolution. The management of this labor force required strict surveillance and oversight, as at larger southern plantations. Yet because Cliveden was a smaller-scale country estate, rather than a plantation where living quarters for slaves and servants were typically well-removed from the main house, Cliveden's design and program of use can help to illuminate the distinctive ways the institution of slavery was upheld across the American colonies. The site's design was intended to spatially segregate and mask the visibility of this labor as much as possible. The hierarchy of spaces, arranged along a vertical axis, with the public rooms on the ground floor and servants' quarters in the garret, defined class distinctions between the Chews, their guests, and the slave and servant laborers who served them. Within these segregated zones, the artifactual record documents a range of places and associated activities where enslaved and servant laborers spent their time, including work areas, kitchen and food preparation, gardening in flower pots, moving earth for construction, and depositing garbage. The house's architectural features both facilitated and screened the work of domestic servants and enslaved persons, even as they were under strict surveillance and in close proximity to the Chew family.

In addition to Cliveden's architecture and its role within the social history of slavery and servitude in the mid-Atlantic British colonies, the site's national significance in American history was further defined on October 4, 1777, when the Battle of Germantown brought the American Revolutionary War, literally, to the front steps of the house. On that day, British soldiers occupied Cliveden and thwarted General George Washington's efforts to advance on Philadelphia. Although the battle was a defeat for the Americans, the courage of American soldiers during this fight played a role in garnering the support of the French to the American cause. The only clear archeological evidence of the battle is a single gunflint and musket balls found around the house. Historical archeologist John Cotter hypothesizes that the lack of artifactual evidence means that the battle primarily took place in front of the mansion across the street.[62] Today, Cliveden is the only site where the story of the Battle of Germantown can be told.

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[60] In this way Cliveden not only represents Chew's class identity, but also the ways, as architectural historian Dianne Harris writes, "in which the social construction of race and the physical construction of space are mutually constitutive." See Dianne Harris, "Seeing the Invisible: Reexamining Race and Vernacular Architecture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2 (2006/2007): 96–105, quote from 98.

[61] Beginning in 1771, the family occupied an elaborate townhouse on South Third Street in Philadelphia, at which they would entertain many of the Revolutionary period's key political figures. Like many of the city's other colonial residences, however, the townhouse left the family's hands and was torn down in the 1830s to accommodate Philadelphia's evolving urban landscape. Nancy E. Richards, "City Home of Benjamin Chew, Sr., and His Family: A Case Study of the Textures of Life" (Paper, National Historic Trust Conference, 1996), 4–7. This paper is available online at https://cliveden.org/discover-cliveden/research/.

[62] John L. Cotter, *The Buried Past: An Archeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 350–51.

The period after the Battle of Germantown also continued to illustrate Cliveden's significance in relation to slavery and servitude in the northern United States by powerfully conveying the elasticity of gradual emancipation in post-Revolution states like Pennsylvania. After an eighteen-year absence from the site, Benjamin Chew repurchased his Germantown retreat in 1797. During that interim, Pennsylvania had passed a gradual emancipation law (1780). Nonetheless, Cliveden remained a site of slavery and servitude as Chew, like other elites, found loopholes in this law that allowed them to continue owning slaves for several decades.[63] When Benjamin Chew died in 1810, his descendants inherited his properties, including Cliveden, and the people he enslaved, two of whom were residing in Pennsylvania and listed as the property of Benjamin Chew Jr., as late as the 1820 census.[64]

For the purposes of this nomination, Cliveden's period of significance ends in 1825. In that year, the Battle of Germantown attached to Cliveden's significance when the Chews hosted a celebratory reception for the Revolutionary War's lauded Marquis de Lafayette. Across the northern United States, enthusiasm for the struggle for independence and its heroes, exemplified in the French general's warmly-received grand tour of 1824–25, blocked the Revolution's more ambivalent legacies from public recognition, particularly the continued struggles for freedom represented by gradual emancipation and obstacles to black citizenship.[65] At Cliveden, Lafayette's visit championed the American freedom symbolized by the bullet holes and shell fragments still visible in Cliveden's walls, while masking the contradictions of the site's persistent history of slavery and servitude.

Even as the battle remains central to the way many visitors to the house understand the importance of the house in American history, new stories are being told about the people who lived and worked at Cliveden through revamped tours and interpretation over the last ten years. Therefore, while the siege of the house was identified as the primary reason for national historic significance in the 1961 National Historic Landmark designation, this singular focus on the battle minimized Cliveden's notable place in the history of American architecture, and overlooked the house as a site of overlapping histories of its inhabitants, slave and free, rich and poor.[66] In this updated nomination, the Battle of Germantown is one part of an interlocking story about architecture, northern slavery, and the Revolution in American history. While not eligible under Criterion 6 at this time, archeological work at Cliveden provides insight into the material legacy of slavery as well as provides information about the daily life of the Chews and that of their servants.[67]

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[63] Like other elites who had plantation holdings south of Pennsylvania, the Chews rotated their slaves in and out of Philadelphia every six months in order to circumvent the law's residency requirements.

[64] Richards, "Cliveden," 29.

[65] Joanne Pope Melish, Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Margot Minardi, Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5–12; John Wood Sweet, Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 225–67.

[66] "Chew House, Cliveden," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961, rev. 1974).

[67] For archeology at Cliveden, see: Lynne G. Lewis, Scott K. Parker, and Laurie J. Paonessa, *Phase I Archeological Survey at Cliveden, Germantown, Pennsylvania* (National Trust Archeological Research Center, November 1991); Anne E. Yentsch and Judson M. Kratzer, *Results of Preliminary Landscape Archeology at Cliveden, August 1993* (Report prepared for Cliveden and the National Historic Trust, Germantown, Pennsylvania, March 1995). Historical archeology serves as a type of feedback loop between history and material culture, linking the two through excavation and analysis of material artifacts, and comparing this data with similar geographical and temporal sites. Historical knowledge is thereby supplemented with new insights into a given people's past relationship with an object, such as preferred eating utensils or ways of building a cooking fire. While these might seem banal data points at a glance, in actuality artifacts can overturn recurrent and problematic historical assumptions and give a more nuanced picture of the lived existence of the underclasses (non-elites) in American history. This method allows scholars to develop models of domestic routines (for example) and parse out cultural and historical meanings imbued in objects by their participants. To fight the power of

The Chew family owned and occupied Cliveden until they donated the property to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1972. The continuous period of Chew ownership and long history as a house museum have left the property relatively intact, the site offers with exceptional integrity a clear representation of how eighteenth-century architectural, social, and cultural ideas framed the lives of social elites, enslaved African Americans, and domestic servants in the northern United States in the age of revolution and gradual emancipation.

Cliveden and the Battle of Germantown

Cliveden's centrality to the 1777 Battle of Germantown long has been recognized, including in its existing National Historic Landmark documentation. The battle represents only a brief moment in the property's complex history, but its legacy continues to foster strong associations between Cliveden and the American struggle for independence.

British forces under the command of Sir William Howe captured the revolutionary capital of Philadelphia on September 26, 1777. With colonial troops gathered to the north of the city, Howe moved three-fourths of his twelve thousand soldiers to Germantown to impede an American effort to retake the city. American Generals John Sullivan and Nathanael Greene marched on Germantown from the north on the night of October 3, while two militia units also trekked southward on either side of the generals' troops. Sullivan arrived at Germantown ahead of Greene and, though visibility was limited, engaged British troops positioned north of the town proper early on October 4. Routed by the colonials, British troops retreated into Germantown where Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Musgrave commanded six companies of British infantry (around 120 men) to move to a large stone house at the outskirts of the town and barricade themselves inside. Cliveden's sturdy stone walls provided a makeshift fortress for Musgrave's British troops.

Positioned inside Cliveden, the outnumbered British forces made an impressive stand against the larger sieging column of American troops. Sullivan attacked the estate but was pushed back; after assessing the situation, General George Washington and Brigadier General Henry Knox ordered an artillery attack. The heavy masonry of the house stood strong against the assault, and the colonial troops, now low on ammunition, withdrew. Greene, having lost his way in the surrounding terrain, arrived late and his men, confused by the fog and sounds of skirmish before them, fired on friendly troops. Greene and Sullivan, along with the supporting militias, were forced to retreat. Among the American troops 438 were captured, 552 wounded, and 152 casualties; among the British troops there were 448 wounded and 71 casualties.[68]

The colonial troops lost the battle but they succeeded in showing their resilience despite the fog and miscommunication. This fortitude, combined with the American victory at Saratoga the same month, helped the

assumptions, research on the underclasses—and if slaves, their region of origin—must accompany historical archeology. Cliveden has already made strides in this direction, beginning with their introduction of a new interpretive plan, "Emancipating Cliveden," and continuing today in the Cliveden Conversation series and new exhibit in 2012. With a staff already knowledgeable about African American historical experience, historical archeological work on domestic life at Cliveden would produce a richer picture of people who are often left silent in the historical record. Therefore, in the process of updating Cliveden's National Historic Landmark designation, both Cliveden and the National Park Service recognize that future historical archeological work at the site might enrich the interpretive plan and unravel the ways slaves and servants played a role in making Cliveden a nationally significant property. See Christy S. Matthews, "Where Do We Go from Here? Researching and Interpreting the African–American Experience," *Historical Archeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 107–113; 109.

[68] Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution, Vol. 1* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952); Thomas J. McGuire, *The Philadelphia Campaign, Vol. II: Germantown and the Roads to Valley Forge* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2006).

Continental Army to secure French aid. France, along with its allies Spain and the Dutch Republic, entered the war on the American side in early 1778, which weakened Britain's previous military advantage.[69]

For many contemporary visitors, Cliveden serves as a monument to this resilience. Today, it stands as the best-preserved artifact of the battle of Germantown. While the military engagement extended to other sites down Germantown Pike, those spaces have been urbanized and no longer carry strong associations with the battle.

Cliveden's Origins and the Social Landscape of Colonial Philadelphia

Cliveden's setting, design, and use grew out of the social, economic, and political transformations taking place in colonial Philadelphia, and more broadly in British North America, in the mid-eighteenth century. Founded by William Penn in 1682 to be the epicenter of his "holy experiment," Philadelphia was the largest commercial center in British North America by 1750.[70] As the century progressed, a bustling merchant class weathered the ups and downs of imperial wars with increasing success as they capitalized on the transatlantic trade. A substantial body of bound laborers—indentured servants from Europe and slaves from Africa—a constant stream of German and Scots-Irish immigrants, and the benefits of a rich agricultural hinterland also contributed to Philadelphia's growing prosperity.[71]

At the same time, pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia was not without conflict. The backcountry violence and political upheaval that accompanied the French and Indian War (1754–63) in Pennsylvania shattered the colony's earlier reputation as a haven from hostile relations between Native peoples and European settlers. In the meantime, Philadelphia's long-standing Quaker political establishment faced increasing challenges from Anglican merchants and crown officials as well as an emergent middle class. In jockeying for power, these groups sought the allegiance of the region's German and Scots-Irish immigrants.[72]

In this atmosphere, dynastic marriages, targeted business alliances, the consumption of luxury goods, and the visible display of taste through material culture proved powerful tools for marking elite status and power. As early as the 1720s, wealthy families in Philadelphia began adopting elements of the British model of aristocracy to consolidate their authority and distinguish themselves from those who would challenge their political, economic, or social privilege.[73] As in England, dynastic marriages united prominent Philadelphians with powerful political and economic families in the colony and throughout the Mid-Atlantic and Upper Chesapeake regions. These regional connections continued throughout the eighteenth century as wealthy Philadelphians began to acquire agricultural properties in both Pennsylvania and neighboring Delaware and Maryland.

Enslaved Africans and African Americans as well as servants, who may have been white or black, proved critical to Philadelphia's emergence as a center for elite commerce, politics, and culture. For example, in 1767, shortly after Chew built Cliveden, it is estimated that 8.8 percent of Philadelphia's population were enslaved.[74] These laborers played roles not only in the operation of plantations, summer retreats, and town houses, but also

[69] "Chew House, Cliveden," NHL Nomination.

[70] Philadelphia's population grew from a mere 2,200 inhabitants in 1700 to 19,000 in 1760, and to 30,000 by the eve of the Revolution in 1775. Gary B. Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 45. On Pennsylvania's founding, see Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (NY: Penguin Books, 2001), 264–72.

[71] Nash, First City, 45–78; Sharon V. Salinger, "To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[72] Nash, First City, 25–34; Peter Silver, Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).

[73] Sarah Fatherly, Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth–Century Philadelphia (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 13–15.

[74] Gary Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 2, 3rd ser. (April 1973), 237.

as human symbols of wealth for many non-Quaker elites of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Therefore, it was not unusual that Benjamin Chew owned slaves and used indentured servants. Despite the fact that he came from a Quaker background, his economic fortunes and lifestyle depended on their unpaid labor.

Although people of varied socioeconomic backgrounds participated in the "consumer revolution" along the Atlantic Seaboard, colonial elites actively employed a host of objects, customs, and manners imported from Great Britain to mark their membership in the British gentry and to signify their superiority to other colonists.[75] For British American elites, *how* one used consumer and luxury goods mattered as much as what was purchased. Tea tables, for example, did not just sit as elegant decorations in parlors. Instead, they provided the proper setting for wealthy colonials to display their sophistication, sociability, and ability to prioritize leisure time over labor.[76] Additional research within the archeological collection of Cliveden may shed light on the ways that the Chews demonstrated their social and business acumen by acquiring appropriate tea wares, flatware, and gaming pieces for entertaining. For example, dining sets became increasingly complex over the eighteenth century as dining trends encouraged additional courses, sauces and condiments, and the use of cutlery. Enslaved persons and white servants learned the social rituals of elites like the Chews in order to prepare the table, serve diners, and wash and care for the table settings.[77] Although elites looked to London in crafting their taste and consuming luxury goods, local circumstances in the colonies meant that wealthy British Americans adapted and adopted the gentry lifestyle.[78]

Building summer estates and the process of "summering" animated one such set of communal practices for wealthy Philadelphians. Country estates themselves were a marker of wealth, but the annual "summer season," during which prominent Philadelphians hosted visitors, toured other country houses, and engaged in outdoor leisure activities, provided a means for families to put their status on view.[79] There were also more immediate and practical reasons to leave the central city during the height of the summer heat. The yellow fever epidemic that struck Philadelphia in 1762, and would be repeated at different times during the eighteenth century, most catastrophically in 1793, was an added impetus to embrace the lifestyle of summering. Following this public health menace, those with social and economic means sought out more bucolic environments, typically purchasing land in rural landscapes outside the city, along the Schuylkill River near settlements such as Germantown.

By mid-century, an increasing number of wealthy Philadelphians had acquired land in the country to escape summer heat and disease, as well as to mirror the seasonal town-and-country cycles of the English gentry.[80] The rural farming and artisan community of Germantown and the surrounding area, seven miles from central Philadelphia, offered an ideal environment for such use, with ample land available for purchase. James Logan,

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[75] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, VA: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994); T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Bernard L. Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World" in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 37–59.

[76] Herman, "Tabletop Conversations," 52–55; David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 99–140.

[77] Barbara G. Carson and Kym G. Rice, Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington, 1990, 40–48, 61, 129.

[78] Kevin M. Sweeney, "High–Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite" in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994), 1–58.

[79] Fatherly, Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies, 92–93.

[80] Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," in HSR IV, 30.

William Penn's secretary and representative in the colony, built Stenton, one of Philadelphia's first country houses, in 1723. Joseph Mark commissioned Grumblethorpe in 1747, and the merchant Peter Kock established a third country farm on Wissahickon Creek near Chestnut Hill. These houses stretched out from Philadelphia along the Germantown Pike and from mid-century onward, estate agents increasingly promoted Germantown as an ideal situation for summer residences, emphasizing the aesthetic values, like established flower gardens and views.[81] A 1752 map of south-eastern Pennsylvania included over one-hundred country houses within ten miles of the city center and though many of the larger houses clustered along the Schuylkill River, Cliveden's location on the Great Road was far from isolated.[82] Whether situated on the river or along a road, Philadelphia country houses were distinguished from the rural estates of the Hudson or the plantation South, by virtue of their proximity and accessibility to town.[83] In the mid-eighteenth century, country houses like Cliveden constituted a new setting in which Philadelphia's elite lived and entertained, relying on the labor of slaves and servants to do so.

Benjamin Chew

Long before he began building Cliveden in 1763, Benjamin Chew already numbered among Philadelphia's social and legal elite. Born in 1722 to a prominent colonial family with connections to the Penn family and significant property holdings in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, Chew studied law in Philadelphia and at London's Middle Temple.[84] He was admitted to both the Pennsylvania and Delaware provincial bars in 1746, but he moved his primary residence to Philadelphia in 1754.[85] A year later, the Penns appointed Chew attorney general of the Pennsylvania colony. Additionally, he advised the Penns on land-based legal matters. Until the Revolution, he continued to serve the colony and the city of Philadelphia in a variety of posts, culminating with his appointment in 1774 as chief justice of Pennsylvania.[86]

Like other men of his status, Benjamin Chew used marriage to advance his political and financial fortunes. His first marriage to Mary Galloway, the daughter of a prominent Maryland landowner, solidified his connection to wealthy planters in the Chesapeake. After Mary died during childbirth in 1755, Chew married Elizabeth Oswald, the niece of one of Pennsylvania's most successful shipping merchants, Joseph Turner.

Marriage also brought Benjamin Chew a wealth of offspring. Altogether, he fathered fourteen children, twelve of whom survived past infancy. Chew's marriage to Mary Galloway produced four surviving children, all girls. Elizabeth Oswald, Chew's second wife, gave birth to seven daughters and two sons. One of the boys, Joseph, died before his first birthday, leaving Benjamin Chew Jr., as the only male heir. Therefore, during the period of significance Cliveden was home to several children ranging in age from birth to thirty-one. Anna Marie, Chew's second child, remained the only unmarried adult daughter during this time period and most likely shared the sizable task of household management with her stepmother.

[81] HSR I, 8, fn. 63. Philadelphia's origins as a planned "greene Country Towne," with purposeful attention paid to how the built environment related to its surroundings, contextualized the development of both landscape gardens along the Schuylkill as well as houses, like Stenton and Cliveden, that were located on the heights above the river.

[82] By the Revolution, Philadelphia was surrounded by as many as 150 private country estates within twelve miles of the city. Carl Bridenbaugh and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 215–20.

[83] Maccubbin and Martin, *British and American Gardens*, 140.

[84] Richards, "Cliveden," 8–9.

[85] Richards, "City Home of Benjamin Chew"; John A. Munroe, "The Philadelawareans: A Study in the Relations between Philadelphia and Delaware in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Philadelawareans and Other Essays Relating to Delaware* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004: 29–51).

[86] Richards, "Cliveden," 9.

A considerable number of slaves, servants, and hired laborers also contributed to the population of the Chew household. The size and composition of this domestic staff provided another sign of the family's elite status in Philadelphia. In the years leading up to the Revolution, the Chews relied upon approximately sixteen full-time workers, including both hired servants and enslaved persons. The workers ranged in status from the gardener, Robert Burnett, and children's nurse, Mrs. Furman, to maids and enslaved people identified in extant records only by their first names.[87] Household responsibilities, privileges, and wages followed this hierarchy of skills and status. According to historians Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, "It was common for Philadelphia slaves to work a variety of occupations and could be expected to fill a number of roles during a course of a day, year, and lifetime."[88] Although the Chews used some paid and enslaved workers for very specific tasks, other laborers were probably called upon to adapt to a variety of jobs depending on the time of year and whether the Chews were residing in town or country.

Chew's land and slave holdings also extended beyond Philadelphia to the greater Chesapeake. Throughout his life, Chew relied on a network of residences and property holdings to create and maintain his wealth. For example, he continued to benefit financially from the family's plantation holdings in Maryland and Delaware long after his move to Pennsylvania. Income generated by these slave-based plantation enterprises supported the luxury the Chews enjoyed in urban Philadelphia. The family's townhouse, located on South Third Street in one of the most exclusive parts of the city, facilitated the elaborate entertaining necessary to cultivate political prestige in colonial British America.[89] Yet with health and sanitary conditions in the city less than ideal, even in the most affluent areas, those with the financial means also sought refuge in the countryside outside the city. In line with his peers, Chew added to his portfolio of land holdings by purchasing a plot in Germantown to build a country estate of his own.

"Pleasantly Situated for a Country Seat": Cliveden's Setting

In 1754, an advertisement in a Philadelphia newspaper extolled the virtues of the land that would eventually become Chew's estate, and praised the area for its suitability as either a small farm or country retreat. The notice referred to a four-acre orchard, exceedingly good soil, and "a beautiful prospect from said lot to the Jerseys, and down the River Delaware, its situation being the highest in Germantown."[90] The following year Edward Pennington, a Philadelphia merchant, sugar-refiner, and real-estate speculator, acquired the land for £134. Pennington retained ownership until 1763 when Chew purchased the eleven-acre property, now advertised as being "pleasantly situated for a Country Seat," for £650.[91] The significant increase in sale price reflected the growing appeal of Germantown property among buyers willing to pay large sums for country lots.

At the time of Chew's purchase Germantown was still largely rural. Situated six miles to the northwest of Philadelphia's center, the area acquired its name in the late seventeenth century with the arrival of German settlers. Long and narrow parcels, designed to allow a maximum number of landowners access to the

[87] Although up to a quarter of Philadelphia's white population at mid-century once had been or was currently employed as an indentured servant, most households relied on the labor of between one and six servants or slaves. Even among elites, a staff as large and specialized as the Chew's was rare. Karie Diethorn, *Domestic Servants in Philadelphia, 1780–1830* (Philadelphia: Friends of Independence National Historical Park, 1986), 10; 18–20; 128–29; Richards, "City Home of Benjamin Chew," 31–41.

[88] Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 20–21.

[89] Richards, "City Home of Benjamin Chew," 3–4.

[90] HSR I, 3, citing the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 August 1754.

[91] HSR I, 4; Edward Pennington advertisement in Pennsylvania Gazette (April 7, 1763) and quoted in Richards, "Cliveden," 10, and HSR I, 4.

Germantown Pike, characterized the distribution of land, and most residents of Germantown pursued a mixed occupation of farming and craftwork.[92]

Chew likely chose the area both because of its proximity to Philadelphia, only a two-hour ride from the city center, as well as its close proximity to the country house of his good friend and colleague, William Allen. In 1750, Allen, then the chief justice of Pennsylvania, purchased property situated just to the north of the site Chew would later acquire.[93] In 1763, Chew, along with his wife and children, spent the summer at the Allen house while his friend was on a trip to England. The stay was a pleasant one for the Chew family and the following year Allen wrote to Chew expressing his pleasure that the Germantown summer had improved his health. Furthermore, Allen was thankful for the prospect that Chew was "'likely to build and be [his] neighbour.'"[94] While proximity to his longtime colleague influenced Chew's decision of where to build, the memory of Philadelphia's recent yellow fever epidemic and the desire to protect the health of his growing family likely contributed to his urgency in acquiring a country estate.[95]

Chew chose to site his house in the middle of the east-west axis of the original lot he had purchased from Pennington. The house was situated between 400 and 500 feet back from the traffic and dust of the Great Road. Located close to the crest of a ridge, the house looks toward Wissahickon Creek to the south, and north to Wingohocking Creek. Because much of the countryside was cleared for agricultural use at the time of Cliveden's construction, on a clear day even Philadelphia was visible in the distance.[96]

Following the construction of Cliveden, Chew extended his Germantown property with the purchase of two more lots.[97] In 1765, he spent £200 on a four-acre parcel to the north of his property on which he built a carriage house and stable.[98] This addition brought the estate to the present line of Cliveden Street and ran north-eastward to a line between the present Morton and Magnolia Streets. Eleven years later, Chew spent £150 for a 3.75 acre addition to the north and east, to the present line of Musgrave Street. Chew either purchased the second lot to increase his agricultural operations at Cliveden or, given the tense political climate of Philadelphia in that year, it is possible that he acquired the property with the intention of converting the summer home into a full-time residence where he could avoid the politics of the city.[99]

A Georgian Masterpiece: Cliveden's Design and Construction

In 1763, shortly after purchasing the land, Benjamin Chew began the process of designing and building Cliveden during a time of what architectural historian Marian C. Donnelly has labeled an increasing "coherence in American architecture on the Atlantic seaboard." [100] Chew and the craftsmen he hired worked within the Georgian architectural tradition that had existed in the American colonies since the early eighteenth century and became progressively more sophisticated as the century progressed. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, this style of architecture characterized many of the new buildings commissioned by wealthy individuals in the colonies. As a political, rather than a stylistic term describing specific features, "Georgian" is

[92] HSR I, 1
[93] HSR I, 8.
[94] From Allen to Chew dated January 1764. David Kimball, "William Allen—Benjamin Chew Correspondence, 1763–1764," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 90, no. 2 (April 1966): 202–26; 221.
[95] Hugh Howard, *Houses of the Founding Fathers* (New York: Artisan, 2007),120.
[96] Yentsch, "Cliveden's Landscape," 32; HSR I, 36.
[97] The narrow 179–foot frontage onto Germantown Avenue is one possible reason why the two dependencies were not built in strict geometric conformity with Palladian standards of the day. See figures 75 and 76 in HSR I, 36.
[98] HSR I, 6.
[99] Total lot size equated to 58 acres by 1818. HSR I, 6.
[100] Marian C. Donnelly, *Architecture in Colonial America* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2003), 115.

used to describe a broad range of American and English architectural development during the reign of the first three Hanoverian monarchs (1714–1820).[101]

As seen with Cliveden's facade, architecture of this period is rooted in classical design principles, generally defined by rigid symmetry, fine proportions, and details derived from Greco-Roman traditions to create a formal and dignified atmosphere. Details such as surface ornament, a projecting pavilion containing the pedimented main doorway, an elaborate, dentilated cornice, a "double pile" plan (four rooms, arranged two rooms deep on either side of a central circulation space), as well as a hierarchy of interior ornamentation are among the defining features of Georgian architecture. These highly formal approaches to architecture were influenced to a great extent by the design principles of Andrea Palladio (1508–80), disseminated through a variety of treatises. For any given building, the architect/builder used these features in varying degrees and combinations according to the tastes and preferences of the owner.[102] With general design elements as a starting point rather than a roadmap, the "function" of Georgian architecture was to put wealth on display while also concealing service spaces.[103]

The builders Chew hired for Cliveden were likely influenced by a variety of sources, including the prevalent Wissahickon schist stonework that characterized Germantown's vernacular architecture during this period.[104] Therefore, while the overarching plan of Cliveden takes its cues from ideas of the Georgian period, many of the decorative elements and craft techniques used defy strict categorization and instead represent local inflections of more popular designs.[105] In British North America, this type of aesthetic amalgamation typically occurred in two ways. As architectural historian Fiske Kimball describes, immigration of European craftsmen to places like Pennsylvania facilitated the transfer of European design principles and ideas to the American colonies. However, it was above all through pattern books that workmen, laymen, and elites gained access to the forms and concepts that they would adapt, and sometimes directly trace, to suit their needs and develop their own styles.[106] These dynamics were a key part of the design and construction of Cliveden. In this way, Cliveden is a distinct, nationally significant example of the process used to plan and build elite country houses in the eighteenth century. The quality of the resulting work makes the site stand today as a nationally significant example of Georgian architecture.

Cliveden's architectural significance can also be understood from the design context of other houses built across the American colonies during this period, which were precedents to Chew's Germantown house. For example, in the American colonies, Georgian architecture became particularly well recognized as the style of plantation

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[101] Ibid., 115.

[102] Architectural historian Leland M. Roth provides a useful description of the general characteristics of Georgian colonial architecture. He writes that "The Georgian house is cubical and restrained, divided into horizontal ranges by the use of low hip roofs, balustrades, prominent cornices, stringcourses between each floor, and a water table where the building rests on the foundation. It is disposed so as to have careful proportional relationships among elements; it is ornamented with selected devices derived from classical antiquity and from classical English Baroque sources; and it is clearly articulated in its parts so that edges, windows, and the center entrances are all elaborated. A small but important detail was the use of double-hung sash windows with rectangular panes of glass, replacing the smaller, hinged casement windows with small diamond-shaped panes." Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture* (Boulder: Westview Press Boulder, 2001), 73.

[103] Rachel Carley, *The Visual Dictionary of American Domestic Architecture* (New York: Holt and Company, 1994), 76.

[104] While brick remained popular in the city, the abundance of locally available (and therefore less expensive) Wissahickon schist became popular, transformed through ashlar masonry work. See Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortland Van Dyke Hubbard, *American Georgian Architecture* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), 37.

[105] For a more thorough discussion of Germantown's built environment as a precursor to Cliveden's design and construction, see HSR I, 9–12.

[106] Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 55–56.

slavery.[107] One of the earliest and most notable examples of the Georgian architectural tradition in the American colonies that compares to Cliveden in its distinct representation of the style is William Byrd III's house at Westover. Located at one of the earliest plantations in Virginia, first occupied in 1619, the house was built by Byrd after he inherited the property from his father, William Byrd I in 1744. The house's classical features are comparable to Cliveden, but its scale and function as the center of a major plantation set it apart from the Philadelphia house. At Westover, the two-story central block is constructed of brick laid up in a Flemish bond and arranged in seven vertical bays. It has a dramatic, steeply pitched hipped roof, which was a common roof type for Georgian houses. The main block is arranged in a slightly modified double-pile plan, with the center passage off-center, creating two massive public rooms on one side of the passage. The interiors are highly embellished with ornate plaster ceilings and fully paneled public rooms.[108]

Westover was the centerpiece of a working plantation, and the organization of the site and use of architecture more directly embody the hierarchies of plantation society in bricks and mortar than Cliveden, with the master's house at the front and slave quarters at, in the words of historian John Vlach, the "back of the big house."[109] As architectural historian Dell Upton explains, these designs offered planters "the image of an orderly society that focused on himself and linked him to his peers." Through the careful placement of black living areas in relation to the main house, "slave quarters were parts of two intersecting landscapes. They fit into a racialized landscape with the main house and slave quarters at opposite extremes of status. From the master's point of view, slave quarters were part of a working landscape that dictated to some degree their siting and location."[110] Architecture gave a social and racial hierarchy material form.

As a country estate in the northern colonies, however, the social context informing the relationship between race and space found at Cliveden is somewhat different to the grand plantation houses of the Chesapeake. While Cliveden's Georgian design was reminiscent of large southern plantation houses, it ultimately had more in common with an urban organization of labor and space, since Chew's slaves and servants occupied the same house as their master, living in the garret, and also likely on the second floor of the kitchen dependency.[111] Unlike Westover and other plantations in the Chesapeake and further south, there were no cabins or completely separate quarters for Chew's slaves or servants, likely because it was not a permanent residence and occupied a comparatively small amount of land. Archeologists, however, have identified work spaces and pathways that directed enslaved persons' movements between the house, dependences, yard and gardens, and barns. Cliveden thus represents a consolidation of Georgian ideas about the ordered relationship between race and space in the eighteenth century to suit the local context of Chew's country-estate outside Philadelphia. This makes Cliveden

[107] As a comparative property, Drayton Hall in South Carolina has a more distinctive façade, derived from Andrea Palladio's second book of architecture. "Drayton Hall," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976), 2. With a two-story projecting pedimented portico entrance and a double-hipped roof, the sophistication and grandness of Drayton Hall's architecture—given its early design and construction dates—make it a notable example of the Georgian-era style that came to define the iconic plantation mansions of the Southern colonies. Both inside and outside, materials, plaster work, and millwork of the highest quality were used. "Drayton Hall," NHL Nomination Form, 2. While again strikingly different than Cliveden in its scale, the Ionic and Doric column scheme, cornice work along the eaves, and flat-arch brickwork around the windows suggest the popular design elements that Chew and his builders would use at his house in Germantown to endow it with a similar sense of sophistication. On Georgian architecture as characteristic of plantation slavery in America, particularly in Southern colonies, see John Michael Vlach, *The Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

[108] "Westover," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975).

[109] As architectural historian John Vlach describes in his work *The Back of the Big House*, "Acts of appropriation leave few physical marks, and therefore they must be consciously recalled in order to be factored into our interpretation of surviving slave buildings and spaces. Consequently, southern plantations can only be described accurately and analyzed fully if we remember the territorial prerogatives claimed and exercised repeatedly by slaves." Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 109.

[110] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Places* 2, no. 2 (1984): 59–72; 63.

[111] HSR I, 131.

one of the few surviving places in the region to so clearly document the relationship between slavery, servitude, and architecture.

Roughly a decade before William Byrd III began to build his new Georgian house at Westover, Isaac Royall, a colonial businessman, was in the process of transforming his 1692 colonial house in Medford, Massachusetts, into one having a Georgian aesthetic sensibility. The remodeled Royall house was executed in wood rather than brick or stone, although one elevation was sheathed in wood rendered to look like stone blocks. This may have been because wood was less expensive than alternative materials, or because a carpenter was more readily available than a mason.[112] Nonetheless, as with Cliveden, it represents the adaptability of certain Georgian-era design characteristics to local circumstances and preferences of their owners, as well as their construction by local carpenter-builders. In line with other Georgian houses, the corners of the Royall house were emphasized with quoins and colossal scale pilasters, and many of the windows are topped by pediments.

The architecture of Isaac Royall's house is comparable to Cliveden, but so, too, is the fact that Royall was a slave owner outside of the plantation South. On the property, there is a detached structure hidden when looking at the house from the front, which was built as living quarters for his twenty-seven slaves.[113] Distinct from Cliveden, Royall's enslaved persons and servants mainly lived in this building and did not inhabit the house or property in the same way as Benjamin Chew's. However, it is important to note that a desire to simultaneously conceal and accommodate slave and servant labor, are an important marker of design of the buildings and landscapes of the Georgian period in colonial America.

Isaac Royall's remodeling of the house, started in 1733, suggests the extent to which the Georgian period in American architecture was characterized by a consolidation of design principles that represented the material status and social position of wealthy individuals in colonial society. It was not fashionable to have a principal dwelling that was out of style, particularly if your social and economic status, or aspirations, allowed you to be involved in political and economic affairs of the colonies. By choosing to design and build houses in accordance with these principles, individuals such as Royall and Chew not only reflected their prominent positions in colonial society through architecture, but actively created their identities through the built environment.

Mount Airy, a plantation house in Virginia built in 1758, is also a compelling comparative to Cliveden in two ways. First, in terms of exterior construction, the house is built with a combination of sandstone and limestone, rather than brick, projecting a sense of monumentality through materials, as seen in Cliveden's stone facade.[114] The main block is also flanked by two dependencies connected to the main house by covered passage, although at Mount Airy these are set forward of the house, creating a court at its front. Set on top of a hill, this ensemble of buildings dominates the surrounding landscape and makes it one of the earliest realizations of the full Palladian villa in the colonies.[115] Similar to Cliveden, Mount Airy's facade and plan were adapted to local circumstances from a pattern book, in this case James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1726).[116]

The earliest known designs for Cliveden are represented in the architectural drawings for the house, dating to the 1760s. The floor plan, as built, was primarily the work of William Peters, while the elevation drawings appear to be the work of a surveyor who worked in Peters' office, Richard Tea.[117] Peters, a member of Chew's social class, fellow attorney, and Penn official with skills in architectural drawing, based his drawings on

[112] "Isaac Royall House," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior: National Park Service, 1977).

[113] "Ibid.

[114] "Mount Airy," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1974), 2; Eberlein and Hubbard, *American Georgian Architecture*, 34.

[115] "Mount Airy," NHL Nomination, 2.

[116] Ibid.

[117] HSR I, 24.

designs found in Abraham Swan's *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757).[118] Another influential publication was Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Brittanicus* (1725), which introduced elements of an inverted "T" shape plan and screen of columns in the entry hall.[119] The increased availability of printed design sources during the eighteenth century allowed American architecture to achieve inter-colonial coherence.[120] Furthermore, these works provided gentlemen like Chew and Peters the resources to become competent amateur builders, designers, and patrons. Given the almost total lack of trained architects in the colonies, "gentleman architects" like Chew and Peters were common figures in elite American house planning throughout the eighteenth century.[121] The inclusion of high-style architectural principles was intended to reflect the wealth and sophistication of the Chew family.[122]

Building a physical space to meet the expectations of Chew's plans required the labor of many skilled craftspeople. In October 1763, he contracted with John Hesser, a Germantown mason, to begin building Cliveden.[123] In the spring of 1764, with most of the excavation work complete, Chew paid Jacob Knor, another local artisan, for lumber and carpentry work, which continued into the summer as the first story was completed. Christopher Hargasheimer, a Germantown blacksmith, also delivered hardware for various stages of the project, and Caspar Guyer supplied ornamental carved stone for Cliveden.[124] By the winter of 1765, Chew had settled his masonry contract with Hesser, indicating the exterior of the house was complete. Between 1765 and 1766, attention turned to finishing interior construction and carpentry details.[125] By 1766, the carriage house and interior work were nearly complete, as records suggest that servants, if not the Chew family, were living at Cliveden. It is likely that the Chews moved in during the summer of this year as well, even as some minor construction details were still underway.[126] With the installation of Cliveden's iconic urns on the roof in the fall of 1767, the original plan for Cliveden was complete. It included the main house, carriage house, and two dependencies for domestic tasks like cooking and laundry.

While major additions and alterations to the house took place in the years following 1825, during the remaining years in the period of significance, only relatively minor changes occurred. In 1770, Cliveden's wooden front steps were replaced with stone, and some interior painting was done.[127] The largest transformation to take place between 1767 and 1825 was the construction of a colonnade connecting the house with the kitchen dependency, which was built shortly after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.[128] The addition may have been part of a move to convert Cliveden into a year-round residence, but the colonnade also functioned to screen

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[118] Ibid.; Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies, 60.

[119] As Nancy Halverson Schless argues, "the derivation of Cliveden from Campbell's books (which Chew, the owner-builder, and his associates knew from their close affiliation with the Library Company of Philadelphia) is seen in the ground plan, the major feature of which is an inverted 'T' shape formed by the broad entrance with the narrower stair hall on the axis behind, separated by a screen of columns." "The Monumental Entrance and Stair Hall: Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Benjamin Chew's Cliveden," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 4 (December 1975): 307; and Marian C. Donnelly, *Architecture in Colonial America*, University of Oregon Press, Eugene, 2003, 120.

[120] Donnelly, Architecture in Colonial America, 115.

[121] Roth, American Architecture, 97–98.

[122] Nancy Halverson Schless, "The Monumental Entrance and Stair Hall: Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Benjamin Chew's Cliveden," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 4 (December 1975): 307; Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 48, 110. On notions of social hierarchy and community in colonial architecture, see Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29–31.

[123] HSR I, 48. For details on payments, when stone and lumber were purchased, and more specific information on excavation and construction, see the HSR I, 48–102 and The Chew Papers.

[124] HSR I, 48–49.

[125] Ibid., 50.

[126] Ibid., 51.

[127] Ibid., 52.

[128] A rear addition, completed in 1868, maintained Cliveden's Georgian character and did not alter the façade of the house when viewed from the Germantown Pike.

laborers' movements between the dependency and the main house and to shelter them as well as whatever they may have been carrying from the elements.[129]

Once finished, Cliveden had a significant visual presence on the landscape of Germantown. Its slightly elevated location, its position set back from the road, as well as its massive scale, set it apart from the rest of Germantown's residential architecture.[130] These features made it not unlike the Georgian plantation houses. As architectural historian Dell Upton describes: "the great planter intended that this landscape would be hierarchical, leading to himself at the center. His house was raised above the other buildings and was often set off from the surrounding countryside by a series of barriers or boundaries[.]"[131] Chew likely thought of himself similarly, at the center of his house and within the landscapes of country estates in Germantown. In this way, Cliveden had more in common with other elaborate country houses in the Delaware Valley and plantation houses of the Maryland Tidewater than the surrounding buildings.[132] At 2,420 square feet per floor, it was and remains, the largest of all of colonial Philadelphia's country houses.[133] With a scale unrivalled by any nearby building, Cliveden conveyed a sense of grandeur, representing Chew's social position of wealth and political importance in Philadelphian colonial society.

Cliveden's exterior can be categorized into three levels of finish, largely defined by the ornateness of its masonry work. Visitors would likely first view the south front, the most highly detailed side of the house.[134] The front facade is two stories plus a garret and arranged in five bays. Its walls are composed of crisp, ashlar cut Wissahickon schist, a prevalent local stone. This elaborate presentation, combined with the imposing rooftop urns imported from England, was designed to arrest a visitor's attention.[135] Cliveden's Historic Structures Report notes that the very best blocks were used for the part of the facade between the front door and the driveway, an area most closely seen by guests entering the house.[136] The carved woodwork on the facade, such as the frontispiece, complemented the finely dressed stone. The cornice and shutters on other sides of the house are also subtly different, having less detail and a lower degree of craftsmanship.[137]

The west side of the house is the intermediate level of the hierarchy. Here, the main exterior material is rubble stonework, covered in stucco and scored with lines to mimic the ashlar courses of the facade. The rear and east sides, which may not have even been stuccoed originally, were at the bottom of the hierarchy.[138] While cost may have contributed to the use of finished ashlar stone on the facade and rubble stone covered in stucco on the other exterior walls (rather than brick as at nearby Stenton), the prevalence of stone for domestic construction in Germanton and elsewhere in the region likely had more influence on Chew's use of it for Cliveden. It is also possible that Cliveden emerged as "an amalgam of cosmopolitan and local ideas" because Chew "did not want to depart too much from the local context…or he left many details of construction to his craftsmen who naturally built in the manner to which they were accustomed."[139] As architectural historian Mark Reinberger argues, the work of Cliveden's carpenter, Jacob Knor, "suggests that acculturation in Pennsylvania architecture flowed both ways, eventually growing into a new synthesis. Especially in the mid-Atlantic region, the line

[129] HSR I, 52.
[130] Ibid., 36.
[131] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 64.
[132] HSR I, 11.
[133] Ibid., 11.
[134] Ibid., 57.
[135] Although rooftop urns were common in England, no other extant Georgian house in Philadelphia retains them. Donnelly, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 147.
[136] HSR I, 58.
[137] Ibid., 60.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., 56.

between Anglo and German work is often difficult to discern."[140] The gable, rather than the typical Georgian hipped roof, also suggests the influence of everyday Germantown architecture.[141] Furthermore, while a house on this scale could hardly avoid being ostentatious, Chew "may have intended to soften the possible affront to the community by employing local artisans, materials, [and] features…giving it something of the austerity that characterizes Pennsylvania-Germantown vernacular buildings."[142]

In close proximity to Cliveden, Mount Pleasant (1761), now located in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, displays a similar exterior treatment to that of the Chews' country estate. While it has the more typical hipped roof articulated by a railed platform at its top and quoins at the corners, the five-bay facade and ashlar masonry along the exposed foundation is remarkably similar to that of Cliveden. The dormers of Mount Pleasant are also quite similar, with a variation of the flanking scroll embellishment found at Cliveden. Furthermore, the main surface of the exterior is rubble masonry coated with a layer of stucco and scored to mimic ashlar masonry, as found on the non-facade walls at Cliveden. Both houses are similar regional variations on the more widespread Georgian era style. As such, they represent important, historically significant works of architecture from this period not found elsewhere in the American colonies. As architectural historian Marian C. Donnelly notes, a special richness in Georgian era architecture prevailed in Philadelphia, partly due to the use of stone rather than wood or brick, as represented by Cliveden's distinctive design.[143]

The union of these design features and craft methods at Cliveden embodies the distinguishing characteristics of a distinctly American interpretation of Georgian period architecture, influenced by its local context, that make it an exceptional and nationally significant architectural example. Moreover, in the context of the Georgian movement in the American colonies, Cliveden continues to be viewed by architectural historians as "one of the finest examples of high-style Georgian architecture in the colonies."[144] For this reason, Cliveden is an exceptional place through which to study this architectural type. Likewise, the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, Maryland, built after Cliveden in 1773–74, is among the last great Georgian houses built in colonial America. Notably, the five-part house was constructed as an opulent townhouse rather than a country estate. Its design can be attributed, importantly and with reasonable certainty, to William Buckland and represents the high point of his architectural career. The scale of the facade, while done in brick rather than stone, is similar to that of Cliveden, particularly the pediment above the main entrance with Doric columns. The dependencies have polygonal fronts in a more direct influence of Palladio's works as represented in eighteenth-century treatises.[145]

Georgian-era design elements were widespread among individuals of social and economic prominence throughout the eighteenth century. While each has a distinctive style and sense of grandeur, typically achieved through varying scales, rooflines, and materials, they all mix universal elements of symmetry, classical design principles, and elaborate, often seemingly exaggerated detailing to achieve a common architectural language

[140] Mark Reinberger, "Jacob Knor: Cultural Interchange in Eighteenth-Century Germantown, Pennsylvania," *ARRIS: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (January 2005): 25.

[141] HSR I, 32; Reinberger, "Jacob Knor: Cultural Interchange in Eighteenth-Century Germantown, Pennsylvania," 19. Compared to Georgian architecture elsewhere across the American colonies, these features "made Cliveden stylistically simpler than its peer country houses and perhaps explain why Benjamin Chew could refer to the 'plainness' of Cliveden…Chew's word 'plainness…probably reflects his Quaker heritage, although he converted to Anglicanism." Reinberger, "Jacob Knor," 19.

[142] Reinberger, "Jacob Knor," 20. Additionally, Reinberger notes that because Chew "regarded Cliveden as a refuge from his political life in Philadelphia…he may have wished to avoid antagonizing his new neighbors by respecting the architectural mores of Germantown." Quoted in Ibid., 20.

[143] Donnelly, Architecture in Colonial America, 144.

[144] Reinberger, "Jacob Knor," 19.

[145] "Hammond-Harwood House (Annapolis, Maryland)," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1974), 3; Donnelly, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 144; Hammond-Harwood House, "The Palladian Connection," https://hammondharwoodhouse.org/?id=33; Susan Dowell, "The Hammond Harwood House: An Architectural Masterpiece in Annapolis," *Southern Accents* 9 (March 1986): 86.

that defines them as part of a Georgian-era design movement in the American colonies. In addition to the architectural vocabulary, the scale and spatial organization of Georgian houses offer clear evidence of social relationships and help to reveal how individuals of social and economic prominence negotiated and lived the contradictions inherent to their position in colonial and Revolutionary America.

A House and Home: Cliveden's Interior

Like most elite homes, Cliveden's interior served the dual purpose of showcase and utility. As with the exterior features, the use, meaning, and importance of different spaces inside the house were conveyed through design details, particularly millwork.[146] According to historian Mark Reinberger, upon entering Cliveden, the Chews, as well as their guests, experienced the way "profiles of panel moldings, door, window and fireplace architraves, cornices, chair rails and baseboards conveyed…the function of a room and its relative status and, by extension, that of its occupants."[147] While the main rooms functioned as spaces for entertaining visitors, others were reserved for family leisure or designated for servants to carry out day-to-day tasks. Cliveden's interior layout clearly reveals how eighteenth-century architectural and social hierarchies worked in tandem.

The plans for Cliveden followed a modified double-pile layout. Rather than an open central hallway, the entrance hall was screened from the rear hallway by a colonnade of four Doric columns. Typical of Philadelphia country houses, the division of halls into front and back by the screen of columns created a grand entrance space, even though the best room (most highly ornamented and largest) at Cliveden was behind the screen. The level of detail only dropped slightly as one moved from the front to the back hall. In this way, the purpose of the screen, according to the authors of the site's historic structures report, was likely "an excuse for substantial decoration that proclaimed the wealth of the owner" rather than a crucial structural element.[148]

The primary hierarchy at Cliveden was structured vertically, with the best rooms on the first floor and less important rooms on the top floor.[149] In this scheme, slaves and servants resided in what would today be considered the attic space, which was virtually unfinished, with the exception of some hardware.[150] As noted in the historic structures report, the east side has the most ornate rooms of the house on all floors, and "seems to override [the significance of] floor level at Cliveden; rooms on the east side of the second floor are superior to those on the west side of the first floor."[151] The front hall, where visitors would enter, along with the parlor on the rear east side, are the most elaborate spaces in the house, acting as the "ceremonial axis" of Cliveden.[152] The dependencies, detached from the house and designed for servant and slave use, were quite plain, and not directly a part of the spatial hierarchy of the main house in the same way as the other rooms.

Architectural historian Dell Upton describes this type of architecture as an "articulated and processional" experience. Yet as Upton argues, not everyone experienced, or was expected to experience, the place in the same way. While the Chews and members of their social class moved through the house according to a set of

[146] HSR I, 92.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., 31.
[149] Ibid., 92.
[150] Although this is similar to the sparse and inadequate nature of the separate slave quarters at similarly designed Georgian plantations, the close proximity of the slave and servant quarters to the Chew family likely meant they had less flexibility and privacy compared to the separation between spaces found on plantations. As Upton and other historians have argued, "Their [slaves] separation from white control allowed slaves to form communities that were held together by their mastery of the slave landscape of woods, fields, and waterways….slaves formed neighborhoods, black landscapes that…existed outside the official, articulated processional landscape of the great planter…" (Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 70–71). While slaves still had their own spaces within Cliveden, their location in the house, where they could be heard, even if not always seen, might have prohibited, to a certain degree, the formation of the same types of social bonds often found at Southern plantations.
[151] HSR I, 92.
[152] Ibid.

hierarchies defined architecturally, a slave's or servant's experience of the space was much different. For example, at Mount Airy, an architectural predecessor to Cliveden, Upton describes how, "the slave's route began in the street of outbuildings that lay outside the kitchen door, west of the house. It moved through the kitchen and, originally, from there through a small pedimented doorway on the west end of the house directly into the dining room."[153] Since Cliveden was not a plantation, but a semi-urban country estate, these spatial and social experiences of the house's architecture were compressed into a single building.

For example, Cliveden is intentionally designed to conceal the movement of laborers through the house. The house was the first in Germantown for which the initial planning and construction included a separate, enclosed hall and stairwell for servant use.[154] This feature meant that slaves and servants could travel between the dependencies and main house as well as between floors without disrupting the Chew family or their guests. A relatively inconspicuous door in the dining room also enabled slaves and servants to move directly from the kitchen dependency to the dining room without crossing other parts of the house (for example, moving past the entrance to the parlor). These design elements removed daily labor from the site's most elaborate spaces and limited servants' access to these rooms to moments in which they were providing service or cleaning.[155] As architectural historian Leland Roth describes, a system of spatially segregating labor and leisure "reflects the increasingly greater formality in social structure, and the degree of separation and insulation that was desired between the owners and their managers and servants."[156]

Even though the physical features of the house visibly demarcated spaces for public and private use as well as for leisure and labor, the reality proved far more permeable. A house of Cliveden's size and a family of the Chew's status required the regular movement and presence of servants and enslaved workers throughout the domestic spaces. Similarly, family members found reason to trespass into spaces designated for labor.[157] In essence, as Philadelphia historian Karie Diethorn has remarked, domestic laborers were at once to be available everywhere and visible nowhere.[158] Like on Southern plantations, the Georgian architecture and layout at Cliveden spatially represented the relationships between master, slave, and servant, albeit in different ways. Even as the symmetry of Cliveden's architecture suggested uniformity and order, it was a place experienced unequally, "neither uniform," according to Dell Upton, "nor entirely dominated by the gentry."[159] At Cliveden, as in other Georgian houses, the architecture was designed to be experienced differently by the slave and servant laborers who occupied the house along with the Chews.

A Summer at Cliveden

In accordance with the general pattern of Philadelphia high society, the Chews left for Germantown in June or July and returned to their city home in September or October.[160] For approximately a dozen household servants and slaves, this move began earlier and concluded later: in addition to cleaning and airing the house, stocking its cellar and kitchen with provisions, and preparing the grounds and stables, servants and slaves were responsible

[153] Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 66.

[154] Harry M. and Margaret B. Tinkcom and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey of the German Township* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 103.

[155] As Karie Diethorn asserts, this spatial separation of labor and leisure spaces "combined the social characterization of servants as inferiors with the menial, perpetual nature of their work." Diethorn, *Domestic Servants in Philadelphia, 1780–1830*, 87–88.

[156] Roth, *American Architecture*, 73. See also Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17 (Summer-Fall 1982): 95–119, and Upton, "White and Black Landscapes."

[157] Diethorn, Domestic Servants in Philadelphia, 1780–1830, 65–67; 88.

[158] Ibid., 91.

[159] Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 71.

[160] Richards, "Cliveden," 14.

for transporting most of the family's furnishings to Cliveden for the season.[161] Some tasks, such as preparing the parlor's gilt mirrors for the bumpy wagon ride to Germantown, involved precision and care, while others, such as lacing the ropes of the family's bedsteads to support the mattresses, demanded considerable time and strenuous effort.

For the most part, elite Philadelphians coordinated their removals to the country so that the social circle they kept in town would not be overly disrupted during their summer retreat. Although the pace, quality, and intensity of social engagements lessened considerably when elites exchanged the bustle of the city for the pastoralism of their rural estates, business in colonial Philadelphia remained a year-round event.[162] The demands of Benjamin Chew's legal work did not diminish with the onset of the summer's heat, so he traveled back and forth from Germantown while his large family, headed in his absence by his wife Elizabeth, remained at Cliveden.[163] In other words, the primary occupants of the grand houses dotting the Philadelphia countryside were frequently elite women, children, slaves, and servants.[164]

Although men such as Benjamin Chew designed and oversaw the construction of their rural estates, it became the task of their wives and female relatives to select particular décor for the interior, sustain the "summer season," and perpetuate the elite status that the sites were built to convey.[165] Women who summered outside Philadelphia created spaces within their country homes that facilitated a variety of female-centered activities. Women often spent their summer days reading, writing, visiting local mineral springs, and touring summer estates of friends and family.[166]

However, even leisure came embedded with social obligations for elite men and women. A vital part of the summer season consisted of touring other country estates and hosting visitors in kind. These reciprocal visits enabled elite families to evaluate the gentility of their friends and colleagues based on an owner's choice of décor, architecture, and landscaping. According to historian Sarah Fatherly, "In the eyes of these visitors, well-proportioned rooms, well-chosen paintings, and fashionable stucco decoration all reflected favorably upon the owner's sense of art and aesthetics."[167] When decorating their summer homes women paid careful attention to fabric choices, china patterns, and other interior decorations as a means of consciously reflecting their social standing in the region. The archeological assemblage at Cliveden, for instance, includes both publicly facing ceramics such as fine Chinese porcelain, as well as American-made wares to show support for homeland production.

The spaces contained within country homes required some flexibility to accommodate a plethora of seasonal activities and visitors. Beyond impressing guests and controlling the movement of people through the house, the interior spaces of country homes like Cliveden attempted to harmoniously evoke the bright sunshine and

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[161] Records indicate that the Chew family purchased very few additional furnishings for their country estate. Richards, "Cliveden," 13–14. Records indicate that the number of domestic servants and slaves increased to sixteen by 1778. Richards, "Cliveden," 13–14).

[162] Fatherly, Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies, 94.

[163] Richards, "Cliveden," 14; Historian Sarah Fatherly notes that, "however much men appreciated the amenities of their country estates, it was typically their wives and daughters who provided the family with a continuous presence in Philadelphia's hinterland." Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies*, 148.

[164] For two notable accounts of summering by Philadelphia women, see Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991) and Susan E. Klepp and Karin Wulf, eds., *The Diary of Hannah Callender Sansom: Sense and Sensibility in the Age of the American Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

[165] Fatherly, Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies, 117–19.

[166] Indeed, reading and writing became such a focused summer activity that young women often viewed "summering" as synonymous with education. Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies,* 112. On the long-term associations elite women created between these spaces and their intellectual activities, see Susan M. Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[167] Sarah Fatherly, Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies, 164.

picturesque scenery of the surrounding landscape. On other occasions, indoor entertainments like taking tea or card playing, along with attendant pieces of furniture carried by servants, moved outdoors.[168]

In the midst of these activities, the labor of servants and enslaved people kept the material signs of the Chew family's prestige visible and ready for use. They prepared and served meals for a household of roughly two-dozen people, cleaned chambers and chamber pots alike, laundered and mended bed linens and clothing, and maintained the home's pastoral landscape.[169] In addition to these routine tasks to keep the household running, domestic laborers bore extra responsibilities of controlling the flow of people throughout the house and preparing more elaborate meals when the Chews were entertaining guests. In all of these tasks, whether they were routine responsibilities or special services, domestic laborers ideally completed their work as invisibly as possible. As one household manual from the period suggested, "learn to walk softly, and not disturb the Family."[170]

By and large, the same individuals who served the Chews at their townhouse in central Philadelphia also managed the day-to-day care of the family and site at Cliveden.[171] The move from town to country also came with a shift in labor requirements. While women, whether slaves or servants, continued to engage in domestic chores, their seasonal stay at Cliveden might also have required additional outdoor work like milking cows or harvesting fruits and vegetables. Male slaves and servants, on the other hand, may have been called upon to assist locally hired laborers in tanning, coopering, and farming.[172] In addition, the family occasionally employed day laborers to assist with specialized tasks like dressmaking or particularly laborious work like laundry. During the family's summers at Cliveden, these workers were hired from the local labor pool in Germantown.[173]

The seasonal move to rural society disrupted the social lives of servants more pointedly than it did their employers and owners. Although domestic laborers, whether servants or slaves, enjoyed little time for leisure or personal pleasure, cities afforded a broader social circle and more diverse, accessible opportunities for entertainment than did smaller, less developed villages like Germantown. Additionally, servants and servants who migrated to Cliveden during the summer season may have also had to endure prolonged separations from their wives, husbands, children, and other family members who resided with other families in Philadelphia. Together with the fact that an estate like Cliveden was about a mile removed from Germantown's center, these limited social opportunities meant that the Chew servants and slaves would have interacted with few people other than their fellow laborers, their employers, and the local purveyors from whom they acquired household supplies for the summer.[174]

Social hierarchy was embedded in the design, layout, and daily life of Cliveden. While the house offered the Chews respite, leisure, and sociability, it demanded constant upkeep and afforded few comforts to the servants and enslaved persons who made it function.

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[168] Elizabeth Donaghy Garrett*, At Home: The American Family, 1750–1870* (Philadelphia: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 30–31.

[169] Diethorn, *Domestic Servants in Philadelphia*, 48–62; Salinger, *Labor and Indentured Servants*, 100–01. On the intersections of material spaces, domestic tasks, and family life, see Garrett, *At Home*.

[170] 1754 Household manual, quoted in Diethorn, *Domestic Servants in Philadelphia,* 54.

[171] A minimal number of servants remained at the family's townhouse for the summer to maintain the site and to cater to Benjamin Chew's needs when he came into the city for business. For example, his personal manservant Will, a slave that Chew purchased from the Caribbean for 75 pounds in 1772, moved back and forth from Germantown with Chew during the summer. Richards, "Cliveden," 14; Richards, "City Home of Benjamin Chew," 41.

[172] Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 37.

[173] HSR I, 48.

[174] Richards, "Cliveden," 16. On the social life of slaves and servants in colonial Philadelphia, see Salinger, *Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800,* 102–05, and Clare Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender & Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

A House and Symbol: Struggles for Independence at Cliveden, 1777–1825

With the coming of the American Revolution, Cliveden shifted from a country retreat into a liability for Benjamin Chew. Although he had signed Pennsylvania's nonimportation agreement in 1768, Chew remained a crown official and thus suspect to patriot leaders. In the weeks before the British army occupied Philadelphia in September 1777, colonial authorities placed Chew and other officials with ambiguous loyalties under house arrest in rural New Jersey.[175] In his father's absence, Benjamin Jr. oversaw the family's properties, including Cliveden. With the British army approaching Philadelphia, however, the site's status as a rural refuge became increasingly tenuous. Indeed, Elizabeth Chew negotiated with Continental Army officials to procure "a Protection for the House and Place."[176]

Just a few weeks later, however, the Battle of Germantown would overrun both "House and Place" at Cliveden. Over the course of the day-long military engagement, the estate sustained considerable damage. Benjamin Chew returned to the site in 1778 to begin repairs. However, due to his precarious financial situation and the continuing uncertainties of the Revolution, he sold Cliveden to local merchant and privateer outfitter Blair McClenachan in 1779.[177] During this time, McClenachan hosted President George Washington at the house, an event that contributed to the site's gradual emergence as a symbol of American fortitude in its struggle for independence. On better financial footing, Benjamin Chew repurchased the estate in April 1797, this time with his son Benjamin Jr.'s own young family joining him at the "healthily situated" country seat.[178]

In the midst of this transition and despite the gradual emancipation law passed in Pennsylvania seventeen years earlier, Cliveden remained a site of servitude: three enslaved African Americans, along with at least four free black workers, contributed to the household staff of sixteen servants that maintained the estate in the first year of the Chew's renewed ownership.[179] Therefore, as much as Cliveden symbolizes the struggle for American independence, the estate also represents the continued struggles for freedom among African Americans, since neither the Revolution nor gradual emancipation granted the full rights of citizenship to enslaved people. The continuity of artifact deposition at Cliveden in work areas suggests that enslaved persons continued to conduct the everyday, normal activities necessary to support Cliveden even as broader transitions were at work in the nation.

Pennsylvania's 1780 emancipation statute declared that all children born to enslaved parents after the law's enactment would be legally free after twenty-eight years, that all those currently enslaved had to be registered with local officials, and that any enslaved person not registered would be free after six months' residence in the state.[180] Designed in this way, Pennsylvania's gradual emancipation law, like other measures passed in northern states after the Revolution, protected the property rights of slave holders while providing few provisions for free blacks. Emancipation, according to historian John Wood Sweet, "evaded the question of equality" and "tended to obscure the ways in which the colonial legacy of white supremacy continued to undergird social relations and senses of self throughout the new Republic."[181]

Like other elite Philadelphians with plantation holdings in the upper Chesapeake, for decades the Chews strategically circulated their slaves in and out of Pennsylvania to evade the registration process.[182] Until at least

[175] Richards, "Cliveden," 17.
[176] Benjamin Chew Jr. to Benjamin Chew, 15 September 1777, quoted in Richards, "Cliveden," 18–19.
[177] Richards, "Cliveden," 22.
[178] Benjamin Chew Jr., quoted in Richards, "Cliveden," 24.
[179] Richards, "Cliveden," 26–29.
[180] "Pennsylvania—An Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery, 1780," The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/pennst01.asp.
[181] Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 249–50; 267.
[182] Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 146–48.

1820, when the census listed two enslaved African Americans in possession of Benjamin Chew Jr., the Chew family would remain slaveholders in Pennsylvania.[183] Indeed, Benjamin Chew Jr. not only continued his father's legacy as a slaveholder, but also preserved the practice of circulating slaves in order to avoid the gradual emancipation law.

This practice is exemplified by the story of Charity Castle, an enslaved laborer of Benjamin Chew's Jr.'s sister, Harriet Carroll. In 1814, after experiencing years of marital discord, Harriet moved out of the Maryland estate she shared with her husband Charles Carroll Jr. and temporarily relocated to Philadelphia. To assist her in daily tasks, Harriet brought along Charity as her personal slave. After six months in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Jr. arranged for Charity to return to Maryland in order to avoid the registration process. The night before her scheduled departure, however, Charity experienced a severe accident. According to letters documenting the incident, she fell over a pile of wood while gathering kindling for Harriet's bedroom fireplace, and was later found lying unconscious with blood caking the side of her mouth. Doctors advised the Chews that removing Charity to Maryland could prove fatal and that she must remain in Philadelphia during her recovery. Charity's status as an enslaved or freed person was uncertain.

Her debilitated state resulted in a series of heated correspondence between Chew and other prominent Philadelphia lawyers. While some advised that Charity was indeed a free woman, others argued that language contained within the law allowed for this type of exception and that she remained enslaved. The Chew family and their lawyers were not the only people debating her freedom, however. In one revealing set of letters, Chew wrote to inform Carroll that Charity's husband had arrived to claim her, believing she was now emancipated. Carroll replied that he was willing to sell Charity to her own husband for $350. This exchange allows for a brief glimpse into Charity's personal life. Not only does it reveal that she had a family, but also that she and her husband were both aware of the gradual emancipation law and her possible status as a free woman. While extant sources do not document the ultimate fate of Charity Castle, her story demonstrates very clearly that the Chew family deliberately worked to skirt the gradual emancipation law in order to remain active slaveholders within Pennsylvania.[184]

Even as slavery persisted in northern landscapes, including at Cliveden, white Americans living there actively distanced themselves from the "peculiar institution" and presented slavery as a uniquely southern phenomenon.[185] Instead of confronting abolition's ambiguous legacies in their own towns and cities, northerners, in the words of historian Joanne Pope Melish, "disowned" their history of slavery and racial prejudice.[186] Moreover, laws and civic celebrations retroactively linked emancipation to the larger spirit of the Revolution, masking the opposition with which abolition measures were met as well as the continued exclusion of free blacks from the nation's body politic.[187]

At Cliveden, these processes can be seen at work in the symbolic significance increasingly assigned to the Battle of Germantown in the decades following the Revolutionary War. Washington's visit to the house in 1787, as well as a mention in a French visitor's published *Travels in America*, helped to transform the site, originally one of American military defeat, into a celebrated relic of the struggle for independence.[188] As the Marquis de Chastellux recorded in his travel narrative, "I visited and passed a very agreeable day at this

[183] Richards, "Cliveden," 29.

[184] The correspondence between Chew and his lawyers regarding Charity Castle are reprinted in Philip R. Seitz, "Tales from the Chew Family Papers: The Charity Castle Story," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 132, no. 1 (January 2008): 65–86.

[185] Sweet, Bodies Politic, 266.

[186] Melish, Disowning Slavery; Minardi, Making Slavery History.

[187] Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 265–67.

[188] Richards, "Cliveden," 22–23.

celebrate Stone-house, […] and saw many marks of canon and musquet [*sic*] shot in the walls, doors, and shutters, besides two or three mutilated statues which stood in front of it."[189]

In grandeur and scope, the Marquis de Lafayette's visit to the estate in 1825 far overshadowed those of earlier distinguished guests. Since the previous year, the aging French general had been touring the United States in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the American Revolution. In small towns and large cities alike, parades of veterans and civic celebrations honored Lafayette, the Revolutionary generation, and the spirit of American democracy. In Philadelphia, some of the earliest work to preserve the space now known as Independence Hall took place in preparation for Lafayette's arrival in the city.[190]

Pomp and circumstance followed Lafayette to Germantown, where the Chews hosted an elaborate breakfast for him on July 20, 1825. A young neighbor of the Chews breathlessly recounted the event in a letter to her mother:

> I wish you had been here—the house both up and down stairs was crowded with men, women and soldiers—and around the house. Mrs. and two of the Miss. Morris's and myself were the only invited ladies that sat down to Breakfast—about 16 sat down at first, and when they had finished others took their place, and so on till I believe nearly all the soldiers had breakfast—those that did not come in had something in the kitchen. […] I was introduced to Lafayette twice and shook hands with him three times. […]it was quite delightful to see anything so animated in G[ermantown]. There was so much noise that I could not hear a word the General said, every person seemed so anxious to see him *eat*, that a centenal [*sic*] had to keep guard at the door with a drawn sword—it was very fine indeed. When he departed the shouts of the multitude and the roaring of the cannon was almost deafening.[191]

In an annotation in his account book for that year, Benjamin Chew Jr. estimated that some three thousand people had attended the event.[192]

Lafayette's secretary, Auguste Levasseur, whose notes on the general's trip would be published in Philadelphia in 1829, more explicitly linked the house and historic battle: "We went to visit the field of the battle of Germantown and the Mansion of Mr. Chew, on the walls of which may yet be discovered traces of the cannon and musket balls, proving the prominence of its situation in the battle that raged around it."[193] Recounting the commemorative event nearly one hundred years later in 1911, a local historian similarly noted how Cliveden's pock-marked walls remained "living relics of one of the best-remembered engagements of the Revolution."[194]

By providing the backdrop for an elaborate reception for a war hero, the Chews altered the symbolic meaning of Cliveden from a site of impenetrable British defenses and American military defeat to one that celebrated the perseverance and heroism of American independence. Such public celebrations also effectively hid from public memory the family's history as recalcitrant slaveholders, mirroring the way Cliveden's architectural design concealed the physical presence of enslaved African Americans and servants. The Battle of Germantown altered the house and site physically, but also tangibly and permanently linked Cliveden and the Chews with the struggle for American independence. If the site's design, construction, and initial use placed it in company with other mid-century rural estates, its transformation into a battlefield and commemorative space gave the house characteristics that would distinguish it in the long run. For this reason, Cliveden remains a nationally

[189] Quoted in Richards, "Cliveden," 22.

[190] Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 67–72.

[191] Ann Johnson letter, quoted in Charles Francis Jenkins, *Lafayette's Visit to Germantown, July 20, 1825* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), 26–28.

[192] Richards, "Cliveden," 32.

[193] Auguste Levasseur, quoted in Richards, "Cliveden," 31.

[194] Jenkins, Lafayette's Visit to Germantown, 26.

significant site for understanding this period in American architecture, as well as the complexities and contradictions that define struggles for freedom and justice for all people in the United States.

Conclusion

The story of Cliveden is one of ambiguities and contradictions. The house served as a pastoral retreat and architectural marvel, a place of leisure and escape for Benjamin Chew and his family. At the same time, Cliveden was built and maintained by slave, servant, and free laborers whose experience greatly contrasted to the Chew family's outward displays of wealth. The way that architectural features define these contradictions at the site impresses upon visitors the simultaneity of privilege and oppression that prevailed under one roof and as part of a shared history. Cliveden represents broad patterns of American social and architectural history precisely because of these contradictions. The site's national significance continues to be derived from its importance in the Revolutionary War and the way its architecture embodies the distinguishing characteristics of Georgian-era design. Yet these walls and events also framed conflicting stories of leisure and labor, rich and poor, free and enslaved, which give Cliveden an added layer of national significance.

For these reasons, Cliveden ably meets NHL Criteria 1 and 4. The site encapsulates broad national patterns of American social and cultural history, particularly the often overlooked facets of northern servitude, slavery and gradual emancipation, which are also represented in the design of its Georgian-era architecture. Cliveden's 1961 National Historic Landmark designation recognized elements of its type-distinguishing architecture, while focusing on the site's association with the Battle of Germantown. In addition to these nationally significant features of Cliveden's past, new research and archival materials demonstrate the site's significance is greater than the battle or architecture alone. In light of the antebellum process of "disowning" slavery in the northern United States and erasing its memory from the landscape, the traces of unequal social relations between Pennsylvania elites and enslaved African Americans that remain embedded in the walls of Cliveden provide a critical opportunity to recover and remember the contours of northern slavery and gradual emancipation.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
__ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
X Designated a National Historic Landmark. NR# 66000677; January 20, 1961
X Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No. PA-1184
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
X Local Government: City of Philadelphia Historical Commission
__ University
X Other (Specify Repository): National Trust for Historic Preservation, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Cliveden

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: Approximately 5 ½ acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	18	484510	4432800

Verbal Boundary Description: The property is bounded by the quadrilateral formed by the intersections of two sets of parallel streets, Germantown Avenue on the southwest and Morton Street on the northeast, and East Johnson Street on the southeast and East Cliveden Street on the northwest. Beginning at the southernmost extent of the property at the intersection of East Johnson Street and Germantown Avenue, proceed northwest 380 feet along Germantown Avenue to East Cliveden Street, then northeast 590 feet along East Cliveden Street to Morton Street, then southeast 335 feet along Morton Street to East Johnson Street, then southwest 790 feet along East Johnson Street to beginning point.

Boundary Justification: The boundary includes the buildings and much of the acreage that have historically been known as Cliveden. Although some of the original acreage has been developed for other purposes, the 5 ½ acres that now comprise the site maintain high historic integrity since the buildings remain in their original locations.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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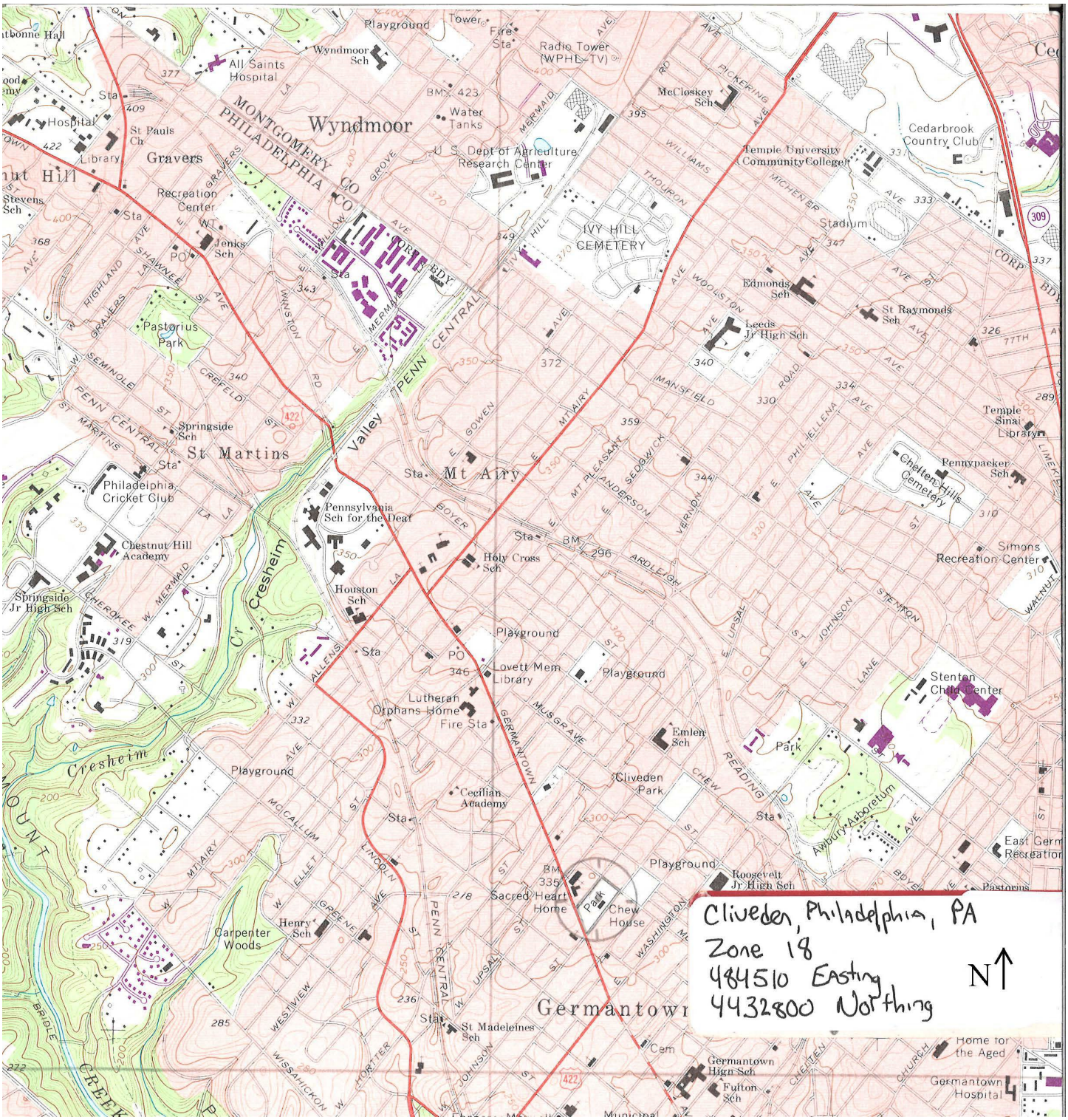
Telephone: (215) 848-1777

Date: April 1, 2014

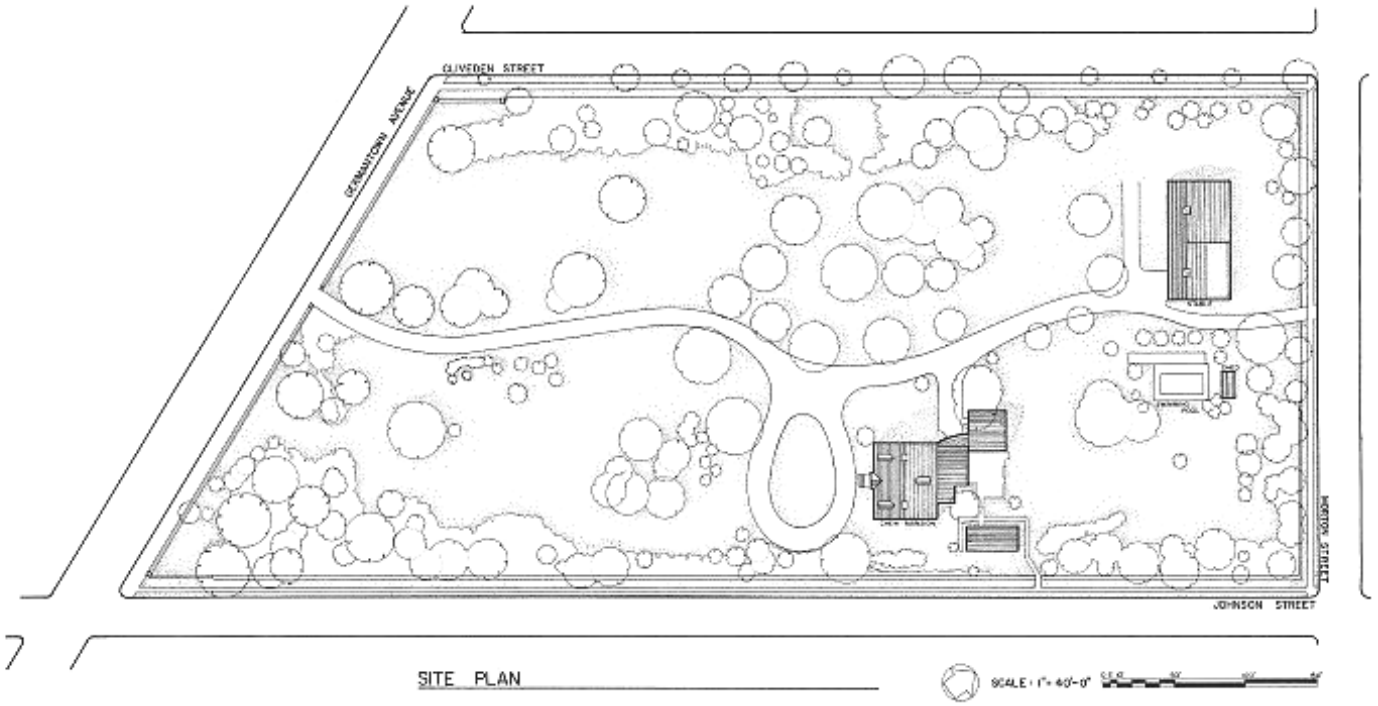
Edited by: James A. Jacobs, Historian
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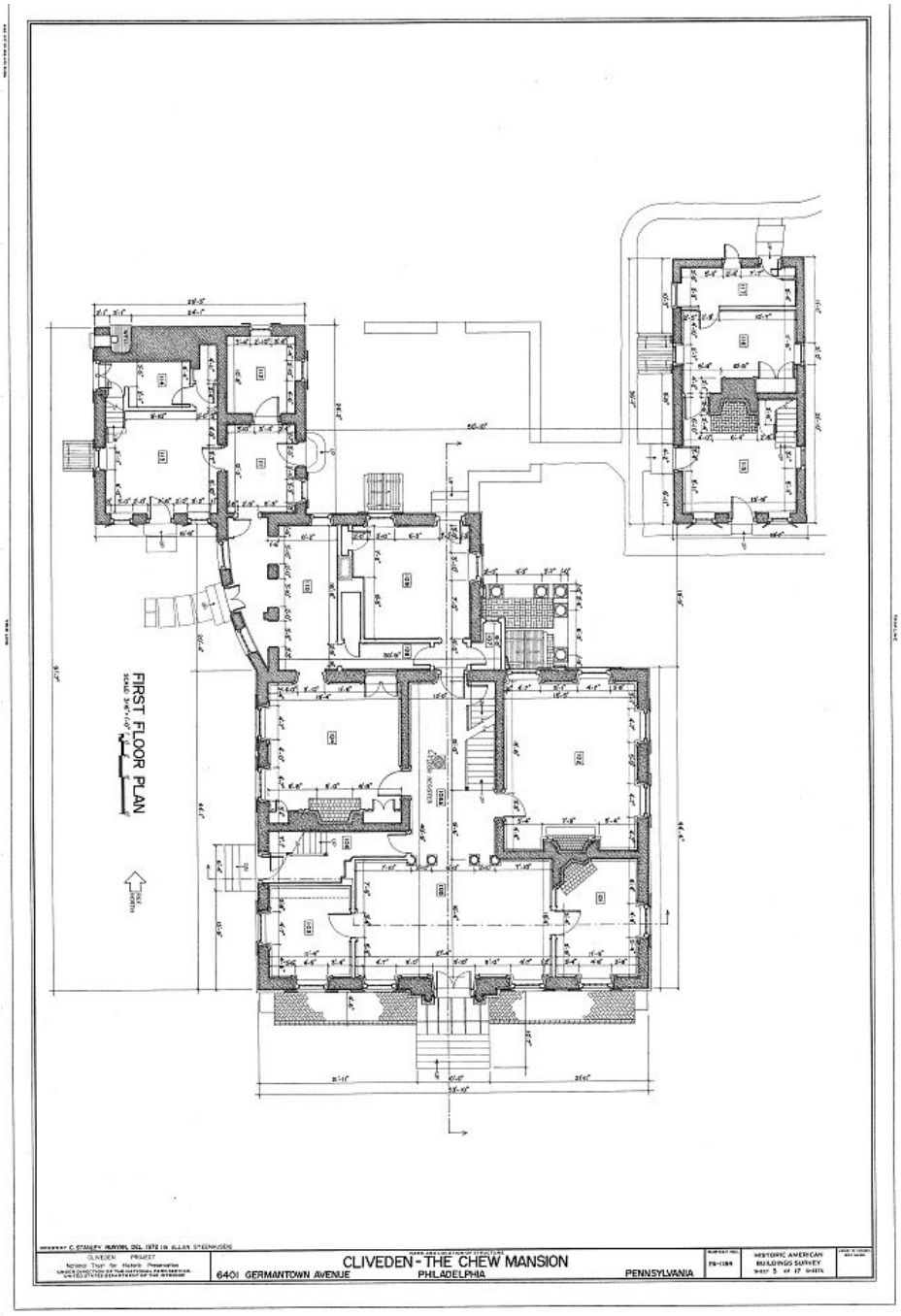
DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
January 20, 1961
UPDATED DOCUMENTATION APPROVED
February 27, 2015


Cliveden, Philadelphia, PA
Zone 18
484510 Easting
4432800 Northing
N
Wyndmoor
Gravers
St Martins
Mt Airy
Germantown
Cliveden Park
Chew House
Sacred Heart Home
Cecilian Academy
Lutheran Orphans Home
Pastorius Park
Carpenter Woods
Cresheim
Valley
Penn Central
Ivy Hill Cemetery
Lovett Mem Library
Houston Sch
Holy Cross Sch
Pennsylvania Sch for the Deaf
Springside Sch
Springside Jr High Sch
Chestnut Hill Academy
Philadelphia Cricket Club
All Saints Hospital
Wyndmoor Sch
Radio Tower (WPHL-TV)
U S Dept of Agriculture Research Center
Temple University Community College
Cedarbrook Country Club
Stadium
Edmonds Sch
St Raymonds Sch
Leeds Jr High Sch
Temple Sinai
Cheltenham Hills Cemetery
Pennypacker Sch
Simons Recreation Center
Stenton Civic Center
Emlen Sch
Roosevelt Jr High Sch
Awbury Arboretum
Germantown High Sch
Fulton Sch
Germantown Hospital
Home for the Aged
St Madeleines Sch
Henry Sch
Jenks Sch
Stevens Sch
St Pauls Ch
Recreation Center
McCloskey Sch
Water Tanks
Playground
Park
Cem
Municipal

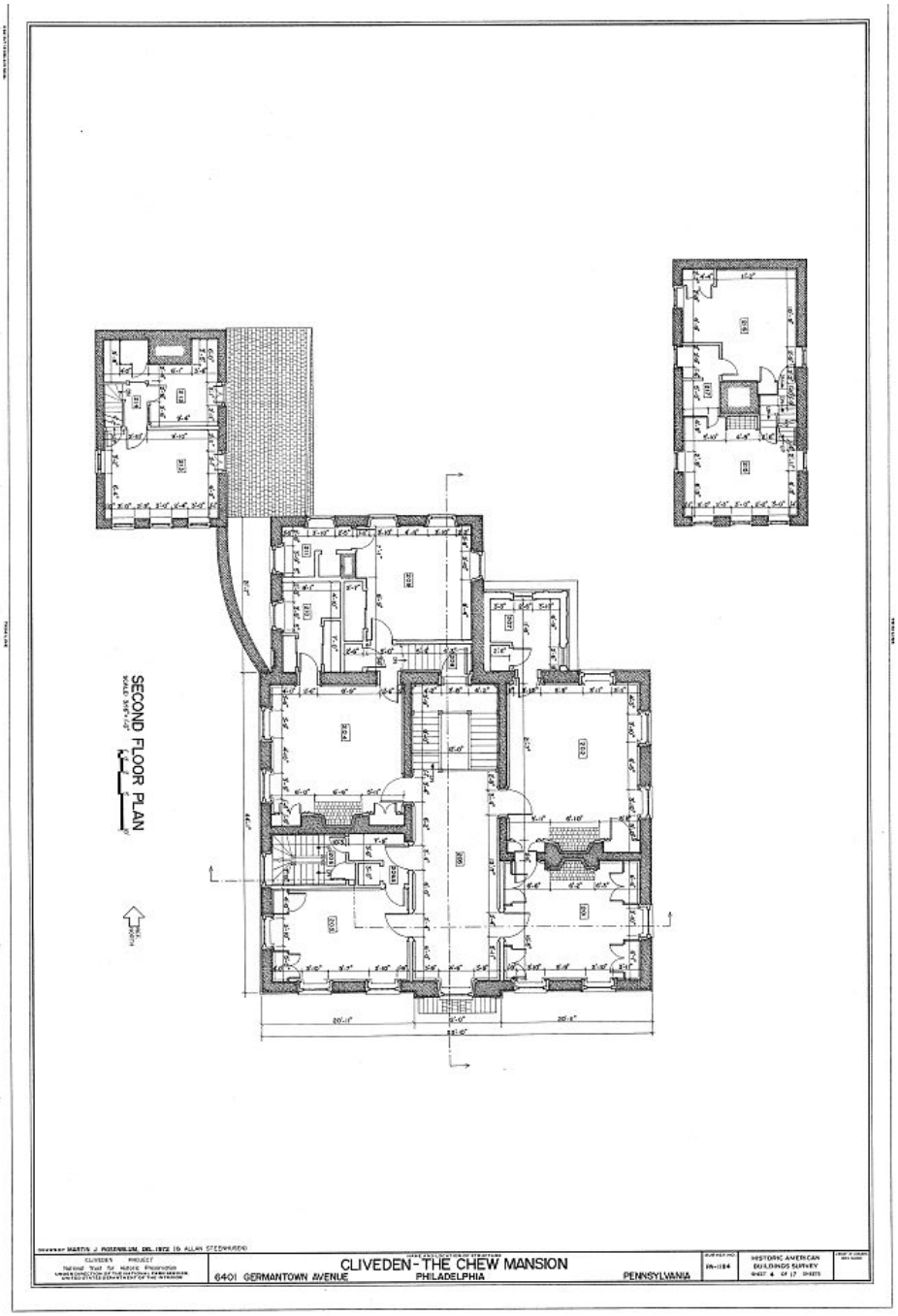
USGS Map



NHL boundary and site plan. Detail of Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) drawing, Jack W. Schafer, delineator, 1974



First-floor plan. HABS, C. Stanley Runyan, delineator with Allan Steenhusen, 1972



Second-floor plan. HABS, Martin J. Rosenblum, delineator with Allan Steenhusen, 1972



Façade (south elevation), looking northeast. Joseph Cialdella and Kate Silbert, 2012



Perspective view, façade and west elevation, looking east (above). West elevation of main house and façade (south elevation) of the original kitchen dependency, which was later connected to the house (below). Joseph Cialdella and Kate Silbert, 2012





Rear (north) elevations of house and kitchen dependency/wing (above). Detail view, well in the southwest corner of the kitchen (below). Joseph Cialdella and Kate Silbert, 2012





Front entrance hall, looking east into the east office. Cortlandt V. D. Hubbard, HABS, 1967



East office doorway embellished with a crossetted frame surmounted by an entablature and broken pediment. Jack E. Boucher, HABS, 1972



Front entrance hall looking north into the rear center hall containing the main stair (above). Rear center hall with main stair. Note the jib door slightly ajar on the landing. This was originally a window in the rear wall but turned into a door with mirrors in place of transparent panes when the house was expanded in the nineteenth century (below). Jack E. Boucher, HABS, 1972





Detail view, jib door on stair landing (above). Door into service passage and stair from rear center hall (below).
Joseph Cialdella and Kate Silbert, 2012





Interior view, parlor, looking southwest (above).
Interior view, dining room, looking southeast (below). Cortlandt V. D. Hubbard, HABS, 1967





Northwest chamber, looking south. Jack E. Boucher, HABS, 1972



Service space on the third floor. Joseph Cialdella and Kate Silbert, 2012



Wash house dependency facade (south elevation), looking northeast (above) Perspective view, north and west elevations, wash house dependency, looking south (below)

