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From Philadelphia Country House to City Recreation Center: Uncovering the Architectural History of the Building Known Successively as Blockley Retreat, Kirkbride Mansion, and Lee Cultural Center Through Building Archaeology

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Abstract

In this thesis, I analyze the Federal style country house, initiated in 1794, that stands today near the corner of 44th Street and Haverford Avenue in West Philadelphia. As it aged, the owners and occupants slowly transformed the country house from a private “country seat” to a public recreation center in the midst of a dense urban neighborhood. I examine the house and its additions, known collectively today as the Lee Cultural Center, through both documentary and material evidence. This building-archaeological approach studies building materials, finishes, and construction technology in order to date and interpret the construction, alteration, use, and significance of remaining fabric. My study focuses on three important stratigraphic layers within the house. These correspond to the McConnell-Busti Country House period (1794-1824), the Kirkbride Family Residence period (1840-1883), and the Lee Cultural Center period (1957-present).

This thesis argues that the distinct layers uncovered during building archaeology reveal a nationally significant story of a building in continuum. Never loudly advertised, the preservation and reuse strategies employed by the building’s stewards over the last 60 years offers a valuable counter-example to the more explicitly curatorial approaches taken to such buildings in Philadelphia and beyond. In the twenty-first century, this country house turned cultural center stands not only as a monument to its early occupants but also proof that a major change in use to suit new social needs does not need to equal the wholesale destruction of historic fabric.

Keywords

Mill Creek, Federal style, Hospital for the Insane, adaptive reuse, Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson

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UNCOVERING THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE BUILDING KNOWN
SUCCESSIVELY AS BLOCKLEY RETREAT, KIRKBRIDE MANSION, AND LEE CULTURAL
CENTER THROUGH BUILDING ARCHAEOLOGY.

Joseph C. Mester

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cloud – Cloud, Dana S. "The Blockley Retreat Farm: An Analysis of and Recommendations for its Revitalization." Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1998.

HSP – Historical Society of Pennsylvania; 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107

Lloyd, 1 – Lloyd, Mark Frazier. "Chapter One: A Gentleman's Farm, 1771 to 1835." On "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia," West Philadelphia Community History Center, University of Pennsylvania Archives, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch1sect1.html.

Lloyd, 2 – _____. "Chapter Two: The Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, 1835 to 1919." On "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia," West Philadelphia Community History Center, UPA, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch2sect1.html.

Lloyd, 3 – _____. "Chapter Three: Subdivision and Re-Use, 1919 to 1959." On "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia." West Philadelphia Community History Center, UPA, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch3sect1.html.

Lloyd, 4 – _____. "Chapter Four: The City Builds a New Community, 1959 to 1983." On "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia." West Philadelphia Community History Center, UPA, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch4sect1.html.

PCA – Philadelphia City Archives; 3101 Market Street, Suite 150, Philadelphia, PA 19104

Hosp. Arch. – Pennsylvania Hospital Archives; 800 Spruce Street, 3 Pine East, Philadelphia, PA 19107

PHC – Philadelphia Historical Commission; City Hall, Room 576, Philadelphia, PA 19107

PPR – Philadelphia Department of Parks and Recreation; 1515 Arch Street, 10th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102

UPA – University of Pennsylvania Archives; 3401 Market Street, Suite 210, Philadelphia, PA 19104

CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION

On March 19, 1799, Philadelphia's *Porcupine's Gazette* announced that a substantial "brick dwelling house" would soon be offered at a sheriff's sale. Located on Mill Creek Farm in Blockley Township, the house measured "[53] feet front by 37 feet deep; two stories of 12 feet high each, four rooms on a floor, fire places in each room, and four convenient chambers in the garret, a hall 10 feet wide, a remarkably dry and commodious cellar, divided into sundry apartments, pantry, kitchen 20 feet square &c. with bake ovens and other conveniences... The situation high and remarkably healthy."¹ This Federal style country house stands today near the corner of 44th Street and Haverford Avenue in West Philadelphia. Initiated in 1794 by the Philadelphia banker Matthew McConnell (1748-1816), the building has been in use for over two centuries. As it aged, owners and occupants slowly transformed it from a private "country seat" to a public recreation center in the midst of a twentieth-century urban neighborhood.

In this thesis, I analyze McConnell's country house and its additions, known collectively today as the John A. Lee Cultural Center, through both documentary and material evidence. Through literature review, chapter 2 outlines the study's methodology: a building-archaeological approach that analyzes building materials, finishes, and construction technology in order to date and interpret the construction, alteration, use of a structure, and the significance of remaining fabric. Building

¹ Sheriff's sale advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *Porcupine's Gazette*, March 19, 1799. See also, Lloyd, 1.



Figure 1.1. A perspective of the John A. Lee Cultural Center from the northwest. Photograph by Grace Meloy, 2015.

archaeology enables a more nuanced reading of physical changes over time than available through documentary sources alone. I have used this methodology to complement extensive historical research, some of which I compiled from existing secondary sources and some of which is original. The tools employed to identify different episodes of adaptation include analysis of framing and masonry morphology, molding profiles, nail types, stratigraphy of finishes, and mortar and other materials. Synthesis and analysis of field data collected from the Lee Cultural Center allows me to develop an interpretation of the building's physical evolution, ongoing use, and to suggest some best practices for future management.

Although the investigative techniques employed are similar to those used in preparing historic structure reports, this thesis is not a historic structure report. It will

not provide a formal condition assessment, structural evaluation, or recommended maintenance regimen. It must also be noted that my scope of work does not include an exhaustive architectural finishes study. However, I do hope that this study will inform continued research and the development of a historic structure report and will lead to a conservation and management plan that can be implemented by Philadelphia's Department of Parks and Recreation.

My study focuses on three important stratigraphic layers within the house. These correspond to the McConnell-Busti Country House period (1794-1824), the Kirkbride Family Residence period (1840-1883), and the Lee Cultural Center period (1957-present). The years and events between these key episodes will also be noted below, but only in passing.

The analysis presented in Chapter 3 will provide historical context for analyzing the setting, design, and construction of McConnell's house at Mill Creek Farm. McConnell and/or his master builder made conscious decisions about the proper form and function of what historians have termed the "small classical house."² Chapter 3 also includes a brief examination of the structure's first national significant occupant, Paul Busti (1749-1824), and his habitation of the property which he renamed "Blockley Retreat Farm." The inferences I make regarding the construction and finishing of the McConnell-Busti Country House in the chapter are based on McConnell and Busti-era

² Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1-8.

watercolors and ephemera, a synthesis of secondary sources, and my architectural analysis

In 1836, the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital purchased Blockley Retreat and built the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane on the surrounding acreage. Chapter 4 delves into the house's conversion into a residence for the hospital's head physician, Dr. Thomas Kirkbride (1809-1883). The Kirkbride family moved into the house in 1840 and remained there until Kirkbride's death in 1883. During his forty-year residency at 44th and Haverford Avenue, the house became known as the "Kirkbride Mansion" and served an important programmatic function within the complex of buildings and landscape that made up the hospital site.

The transition from private residence to public institution was completed by the City of Philadelphia with acquisition of the house for use as a community center. By mid-twentieth century, the previously rural site lay at the heart of an urban neighborhood with few amenities for residents. Accordingly, the City's Department of Recreation incorporated the house into a recreation complex known as the John A. Lee Cultural Center. Chapter 5 explores modifications made to the house as part of this transformation. At this time, leading local architects Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson worked with Philadelphia's Department of Recreation and Historical Commission to develop a preservation-minded reuse scheme that retained a striking amount of early architectural fabric while accommodating a radically new function.

The concluding chapter argues that the distinct layers uncovered during building archaeology reveal a nationally significant story. Never loudly advertised, the preservation and reuse strategies employed by the building's stewards over the last 60 years offer a valuable counter-example to the more explicitly curatorial approaches taken to such buildings in Philadelphia and beyond. By analyzing the Lee Cultural Center's physical, functional, and documentary histories, I hope to aid in the interpretation and conservation of this largely unheralded cultural resource. In the twenty-first century, this country house turned "cultural center" stands not only as a monument to its early occupants but also proof that a major change in use to suit new social needs does not need to equal the wholesale destruction of historic fabric.

CHAPTER 2 | THE EVOLUTION AND PRACTICE OF BUILDING ARCHAEOLOGY

Before embarking on a building-specific history of the Lee Cultural Center and its earlier lives as a country house and hospital overseer's residence, it is important to understand the method of building archaeology—also known as above-ground, structural, or architectural archaeology—and the multiple techniques on which this investigation is based.³ Through a review of literature, my hope is to briefly discuss the history, my rationale of employing the technique, and outline the set of practices and theories that gave rise to it.

Building archaeology is the implementation of an in-depth, methodological study of historic building materials, finishes, and construction technology in order to date and interpret the construction, alteration, and use of a structure. This multi-faceted approach to studying buildings as an "artifact" finds its origins in material culture studies. The examination of a building and its parts for cultural meaning is an anthropological pursuit that applies the archaeological practices of seriation to building materials and stratigraphy to assemblies and finishes.⁴ It also aids more traditional

³ John L. Cotter, "Above Ground Archaeology," *American Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Aug., 1974): 266-280; Thomas Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), 184-203; Sharon R. Steadman, "Recent Research in the Archaeology of Architecture: Beyond the Foundations," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 4, no. 1 (March 1996): 63; Edward Chappell, "Fieldwork," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, ed. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 32; Ian McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, vol. of *Practical Building Conservation*, eds. Bill Martin and Chris Wood (London: English Heritage, 2013), 40-42, 159-160.

⁴ Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), xiv, 51; James Deetz, *Invitation to Archaeology* (Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1967), 3, 23-24, 26-27; Xurxo M. Ayán Vila, Rebecca Blanco Rotea, and Patricia Mañana Borrazás, *Archaeotecture: Archaeology of Architecture*, BAR International Ser. 1175 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), 7.

architectural history by examining a building's fabric in relation to stylistic analysis and regionally specific typologies. A building archaeologist must be a cross-disciplinarian trained in architectural history, building technology, recording, materials analysis, heritage planning, historical research, and the theories of historical archaeology. Arguably, a formally trained historic preservationist (architectural conservator) is best suited for this type of investigation because he or she receives some training in all of the disciplines.⁵

The rationale for building archaeology-based investigation is straightforward. The building archaeologist attempts to fill gaps and correct misinformation in the documentary record. Although archival research reveals deeds, fire insurance maps/surveys, permits, personal diaries, and photograph albums, these records rarely explain in detail how a given structure was built or modified. Those gaps in our understanding should be acknowledged before developing a preservation plan because even where construction documents are available, the "constructional details were usually left to the craftsman to resolve and, even where working drawings exist, the building fabric may tell a different story."⁶ Since the very act that saves the physical fabric also reinterprets and remakes it, artifactual evidence of earlier construction,

⁵ James Marston Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982; repr., Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 349-359; Frank G. Matero, conversation with author, spring 2016.

⁶ McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, 159.

alteration, and use must be interpreted before carrying out work in the name of historic preservation.⁷

The interdisciplinary practices discussed above have origins in Victorian England where professionals and academics interested in the evolution of English medieval architecture pursued a hybrid approach in archival, stylistic, and archaeological inquiries. Alexandra Buchanan has astutely argued that the progenitor of the modern tradition of architectural history using structural archaeology in the western world was Robert Willis (1800-1875).⁸ Born in England, Willis studied at Cambridge and recorded the medieval churches of Europe. He was considered a titan in the study of architectural history in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Credited with being the first to employ the stratigraphic reading of building alteration in conjunction with documentary research, Willis was able to identify structural change by noting alterations including changes in masonry coursing and color, evidence of altered rooflines, and variations in molding profiles. He knew that it was important to understand how the space of a building was used and changed uses.⁹ To that point, Willis wrote, “No man can understand the construction of a machine unless he knows the purposes carried out

⁷ Kate Clark, “Introduction: Architectural Paint Research in a Wider Context,” in *Layers of Understanding: Setting Standards in Architectural Paint Research* (UK: Donhead/English Heritage, 2002), 4-6; McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, 159-160.

⁸ Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) is noted as the first to apply scientific research to the built environment, but Willis introduced the “modern” approach—i.e. building archaeology. McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, 14; Alexandrina Buchanan, *Robert Willis and the Foundation of Architectural History*, vol. 8 of *The History of the University of Cambridge: Texts and Studies*, ed. P.N.R. Zutshi (Woodridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), 215, 361.

⁹ Buchanan, *Robert Willis and the Foundation of Architectural History*, 6, 179, 183, 215; Warwick Rodwell, review of *Robert Willis and the Foundation of Architectural History*, by Alexandrina Buchanan, *Archaeological Journal* 171, no. 1 (2014): 428; McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, 14.

by it. No one can understand the reasons for the peculiar erection of these old churches [or buildings] unless he enters to a certain degree into the state of the ritual [or use] at the time they were built [and altered]."¹⁰ Willis's archaeological methodology redefined architectural history as a developing professional pursuit. This was a clear break from the traditional antiquarian look at the history of architecture as strictly a work of art or through stylistic fashion.¹¹ Willis discussed the idea that a systematic classification of style often led investigators to assume that additions and alterations by subsequent generations were contemporary to initial construction. He argued that alternate methods were necessary to date structures and their changes.

An American counterpart to Willis was Henry Chapman Mercer (1856-1930).¹² Mercer, born in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, trained as a lawyer before his successful, yet brief, career as a prehistoric archaeologist in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Stymied by inconclusive research and soured professional relationships, Mercer abandoned his efforts to find Paleolithic man in the Americas.¹³ He then shifted

¹⁰ Buchanan, *Robert Willis and the Foundation of Architectural History*, 205

¹¹ Buchanan, 357-361; G.A. Bremner, review of *Robert Willis and the Foundation of Architectural History*, by Alexandrina Buchanan, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 3 (2014): 424-426; McCaig, ed. *Conservation Basics*, 10-12.

¹² Mercer was by no means the only individual working to record early American structures. Carter and Cromley note that Norman Isham, Albert Brown, and J. Frederick Kelly were busily recording New England architecture. Their work led to the founding of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, known today as Historic New England, in 1906. See Carter and Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture*, 3-4.

¹³ Amber Auld Combs, "Henry Chapman Mercer and the Furniture of Fonthill" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1998), 6-9; Marcia Wertime, "Henry Chapman Mercer: Nineteenth-Century Renaissance Man," *Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (1978): 45; O.T. Mason, review of *Researches Upon the Antiquity of Man in the Delaware Valley and the Eastern United States*, by Henry C. Mercer, *American Anthropologist* 10, no. 10 (1897): 348-351.

his attention to “archaeology done from the other end of the chronological continuum” by studying the material culture of British North America.¹⁴ By analyzing his massive tool collection and visiting an estimated 120 historic structures across Pennsylvania’s Delaware Valley, Mercer established form-based chronologies for nails, door hardware, molding profiles, screws, and turned profiles that facilitated the reading of structures as material culture with datable patterns.¹⁵ Much like Willis in Europe, Mercer’s observations aided in the identification of specific time periods of construction and adaptation based upon physical evidence, not style alone. Arguably, Mercer was not using his techniques in stratigraphic analysis for the purpose of fully understanding the sequence of architectural changes in a given building. Rather, his approach focused on developing a better anthropological understanding of construction, occupation, and use.

The processes employed by Willis and Mercer are the bedrock upon which building archaeological studies are set. Although some of their theories have been disproved, their methodology has been used, improved, and expanded upon by

¹⁴ Steven Conn, “Henry Chapman Mercer and the Search for American History,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Bibliography* 116, no. 3 (1992): 331.

¹⁵ Henry C. Mercer, “The Dating of Old Houses,” in *A Collection of Papers Read Before the Bucks County Historical Society*, vol. 5 (Meadville, PA: Tribune Publishing, 1926), 536-549. George McNulty refuted Mercer’s sample size in his article entitled, “Henry C. Mercer and Dating by Mouldings,” *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 10, no. 4 (1978): 16-17. See also, Henry C. Mercer, *Tools of the Nation Maker: A Descriptive Catalogue of Objects in the Museum of the Historical Society of Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Doylestown, PA: Historical Society of Bucks County, 1897); Henry C. Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters’ Tools: Illustrated and Explained Together with Implements of the Lumberman, Joiner and Cabinet Maker, in Use in the Eighteenth Century* (Doylestown, PA: Bucks County Historical Society, 1929).

numerous individuals.¹⁶ George McNulty evaluated Mercer's findings on using molding profiles to date Colonial and early-Republic structures and determined that his attempt to provide a datum for buildings across the United States was a stretch. However, he noted that Mercer did provide some basic relative dates on moldings, especially applicable for the Delaware Valley.¹⁷ In light of early overreaching claims, later researchers, like Andrea M. Gilmore in her study of molding planes in New England, defined their research on moldings as specific to a region.¹⁸ Understanding these regional nuances is significant to creating an accurate date range of specific profiles when using a relative dating methodology.

Although current understanding of nail production has vastly improved, Mercer's nail seriation remains a commonly used research tool. The first significant expansion upon Mercer's work was a study of nail chronology presented by Lee H. Nelson in the early 1960s. Nelson confirmed Mercer's initial observations regarding wrought nails and the development of cut nails between 1790 and 1830. Both men noted the subtle differences between the burrs, or "smears" as Mercer referenced them, on the edges of cut nails as an attribute to dating a cut nail. Nelson also expanded the chronology to

¹⁶ George F. McNulty, "Henry C. Mercer and Dating by Mouldings," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 10, no. 4 (1978): 16-17; Eileen Roberts, "Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research: The Late Middle Ages," *Architectural History* 20 (1977): 5.

¹⁷ McNulty, 15-16.

¹⁸ Andrea M. Gilmore, "Dating Architectural Moulding Profiles: A Study of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Moulding Plane Profiles in New England," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 10, no. 2, NPS Issue (1978): 90-117; James L. Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001): 136-141.

incorporate late-nineteenth century wire nail technology, a nail type developed and perfected during Mercer's lifetime.¹⁹

Nelson's nail chronology remains a standard reference work for preservationists trying to date construction and alterations through fasteners. However, it too has shortcomings. The availability of certain nail types at specific time periods varied among regions. These regional variations should be noted when using this fastener seriation. Two scholars, Maureen Phillips and Tom Wells, both expanded the chronology along these lines by conducting focused studies in New England and Louisiana, respectively.²⁰

Before the refinement of Mercer's work in the last half of the twentieth century, the development of building archaeology continued with the infusion of professionally trained architects, like Fiske Kimball (1888-1955), in the early-twentieth century. This generation of professionals differed greatly from Willis and Mercer's generation of liberally educated cross-disciplinarians, whose training facilitated their empirical study of buildings and structures. Kimball's contributions to the history of American architecture relied on the experienced eyes and published works of his antiquarian predecessors, in conjunction with his academic and professional training. His studies led to the publication of numerous volumes. For the purpose of this review, I will focus on

¹⁹ Lee H. Nelson, "Nail Chronology as an Aid to Dating Old Buildings," *AASLH Technical Leaflet 48*, in *History News* 23, no. 11 (November, 1968): 203-214; Mercer, "The Dating of Old Houses," 536-541.

²⁰ Maureen K. Phillips, "'Mechanic Geniuses and Duckies,' a Revision of New England's Cut Nail Chronology before 1820," *APT Bulletin* 25, no. 3/4 (1993): 4-16; Tom Wells, "Nail Chronology: The Use of Technologically Derived Features," *Historical Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (1998): 78-99.

his definitive work, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, published in 1922. Kimball's perceptive use of archival records and field notations to convey the architectural change of structures over time is significant.

Where Mercer crafted material and building-construction chronologies for the Delaware Valley, *Domestic Architecture* provided a basic explanation of the materials and details seen across the original thirteen colonies. One example is windows; Kimball codified the precedent for size of glass panes in windows and their configuration—casement verses sash windows and/or pane arrangements—as being relevant to estimating the age of a structure built in British North America or the early years of the American republic.²¹ This seriation is just one of many developed by architectural historians to determine an analogous construction date. The building archaeologist uses this same tool to reveal the relative date of a change in use, alteration, or addition ideally, in conjunction with one other datable in-situ artifact or feature.

The professional rigor of documenting historic structures leapt forward significantly during the interwar period with the establishment of the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) in 1933 by Charles E. Peterson (1906-2004).²² Peterson, an architect working for the National Park Service (NPS), wrote a memorandum to his NPS

²¹ Lauren Weiss Bricker, "The Writings of Fiske Kimball: A Synthesis of Architectural History and Practice," *Studies in the History of Art* 35 (1990): 222-223; Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 104-106; Edward Chappell, "Fieldwork," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, 29.

²² Catherine C. Lavoie, "Laying the Groundwork," in *American Places: The Historic American Building Survey at Seventy-five Years* (Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, 2008), 1-11; Chappell, "Fieldwork," 29-30.

superiors that proposed assembling talented architects and draftsmen to document the architectural heritage of the United States.²³ He reasoned that, “The ravages of fire and the natural elements together with the demolition and alterations caused by real estate ‘improvements’ form an inexorable tide of destruction destined to wipe out the great majority of the buildings which knew the beginning and first flourish[ing] of the nation.”²⁴ This sentiment conveyed by Peterson and shared by other professionals contributed to the rise of a national professional preservation movement in the United States, which culminated in the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966.²⁵ Peterson’s pursuits in the interwar period were not limited to the drafting of as-is-architectural drawing sheets and large-format photography of early American buildings recorded by HABS.²⁶ He also conceived the document the preservation field now refers to as the historic structure report (HSR) in the 1920s and 30s.²⁷ The HSR was, and remains, the result of documentary research, examination of construction, and building materials analyses focused on identifying the “additions, deletions, and mutilations” of the structure through time—i.e. building archaeology—, recording the

²³ John A. Burns, ed., *Recording Historic Structures*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), viii-ix, 2; Charles E. Peterson, “The Historic American Building Survey Continued,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16, no. 3, Romanesque Issue (October 1957): 29-31.

²⁴ Burns, ed., *Recording Historic Structures*, 3.

²⁵ Chappell, “Fieldwork,” 30; Max Page and Randall Mason, eds., *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 12.

²⁶ *Specifications for the Measurement and Recording of Historic American Buildings and Structural Remains*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, November 1, 1935).

²⁷ Tomas H. Spiers, Jr., “Historic Structure Reports: An Introduction and Overview,” *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 14, no. 4, Historic Structure Reports (1982): 3-4; Deborah Slaton, “The Preparation and Use of Historic Structure Reports,” *Preservation Briefs* 43 (April 2005): 1.

conditions of existing fabric, and recommendations for preservation into a codified document.²⁸

It should be noted that the progress made in building archaeology throughout the first half of the twentieth century was significantly influenced by the efforts of the team John D. Rockefeller, Jr. assembled in Williamsburg to restore the former Virginia capital to its eighteenth century esthetic and representative function.²⁹ The Boston architecture firm, Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, was hired to reconstruct “everything from privies to the Governor’s Place.”³⁰ The firm’s staff scoured the Chesapeake region for evidence of British North American construction and finishes to interpret and implement in their restoration work. The treatises written by Fiske Kimball and Thomas Tileston Waterman, the first staff architect of HABS, only bolstered the authenticity of those restorations. Innumerable hours of fieldwork conducted for the restoration of Williamsburg established context for the evolution of Tidewater structures which resulted in an understanding of changes in architecture based on use, not strictly upon stylistic fashion.³¹ Building upon this firm foundation of research, the “Williamsburg School of Building Archaeology” continues to reveal new discoveries in the Chesapeake

²⁸ Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 83 [quotation]; Randall J. Biallas, “Evolution of Historic Structure Reports and Historic Structure Preservation Guides of the U.S. National Park Service,” *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 14, no. 4, Historic Structure Reports (1982): 7-17.

²⁹ Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury, eds., *The Chesapeake House* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 1; Fitch, *Historic Preservation*, 89, 95-104.

³⁰ Chappell, “Fieldwork,” 29.

³¹ Chappell, “Fieldwork,” 29, 408 (notes); Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*; Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945); Burns, ed., *Recording Historic Structures*, viii.

region of Virginia and Maryland and leads to the correction of earlier misinterpretations at Colonial Williamsburg.

By the mid-twentieth century, the fields of architectural history and historic preservation had matured and historical archaeology became more scientific. The late 1960s witnessed a flurry of monographs that defined the field of historical archaeology. In 1967, James Deetz outlined the elementary principles and practices of the historical archaeologist in *Invitation to Archaeology*.³² The little-known 1968 booklet entitled, *Handbook for Historical Archaeology, Part I*, privately published by John L. Cotter, served as a field guide to the artifact typologies of a historical archaeology site.³³ Ivor Noël Hume published his influential *Historical Archaeology* in 1969. Hume's work not only argues the importance of archaeology to confirm the findings of archival research, but reminds the practitioner that, "it is [the archaeologist's] responsibility to extract every last ounce of information from [the ground]" via artifacts, features, and stratigraphy as archaeological fieldwork is a destructive act that cannot be reversed.³⁴

The idea of above-ground archaeology was first articulated to a broad readership in a 1974 article by Cotter entitled, "Above Ground Archaeology." Cotter

³² Deetz, *Invitation to Archaeology*. James Deetz published a second treatise, entitled *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*, in 1977.

³³ John L. Cotter, *Handbook for Historical Archaeology, Part I* (Wyncote, PA: 1968); Daniel G. Roberts, "John L. Cotter, 1911-1999," *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 4 (1999): 9; Robert L. Schuyler, "The Second Largest City in the English-Speaking World: John L. Cotter and the Historical Archaeology of Philadelphia, 1960-1999," in *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology*, ed. Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 156.

³⁴ Ivor Noël Hume, *Historical Archaeology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 20-21; Stanley South, ed. *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology: Breaking New Ground* (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), 10.

proposed that the novice historian attempting to maintain family photographs and stories use a simple scientific methodology. He felt that the historical archaeologist's convention of interpreting exhumed artifacts was applicable to the everyday, moveable objects within the home. Using this approach would enable non-historians to write personalized familial histories.³⁵ Although Cotter may have publicly coined the phrase, the terminology of above-ground archaeology was already in use among anthropologists to differentiate between excavated artifacts and collected objects, as explained in the dissertation of the renowned folklorist Henry Glassie.³⁶

Beginning in the mid-1960s, Henry Glassie spent a career conveying the importance of understanding the "interplay [of] material culture, architectural patterning, and changes through time."³⁷ He developed a variety of ethnographic tools that led to a stronger understanding of why and how decisions were made in the construction, occupation, and adaptation of buildings across specific geographic regions.³⁸

³⁵ Cotter, "Above Ground Archaeology," 269-274.

³⁶ Henry Haywood Glassie, III, "Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 31.

³⁷ Glassie, "Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States"; Sharon R. Steadman, "Recent Research in the Archaeology of Architecture: Beyond the Foundations," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 4, no. 1 (March 1996): 65.

³⁸ Steadman, "Recent Research in the Archaeology of Architecture," 65; Chappell, "Fieldwork," 30; Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," in *Common Places: Reading in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 394-425; Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," *Geographical Review* 56, no. 1 (January 1966): 40-66.

The maturation of above-ground archaeology applied to buildings is best summarized up by Thomas J. Schlereth's session presentation at the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in 1975. Schlereth referred to the technique of "reading" a building as an approach to above-ground archaeology, which he defined as "cross-disciplinary interpretations of historic houses" through the lens of cultural anthropology, historical archaeology, and cultural geography.³⁹

The influential work of Mercer, Kimball, Peterson, and Glassie, among others, gave rise to the authoritative efforts of a new generation of architectural historians bound together by the newly formed Vernacular Architectural Forum and other institutions. Their ranks included Edward Chappell, Bernard Herman, Camille Wells, Gabrielle Lanier, Carl Lounsbury, Dell Upton, and Elizabeth Collins Cromley. It is their industry that guides much of the fieldwork of building archaeologists within the historic preservation profession today.⁴⁰

With the application of the anthropology, archaeology, geography, and folklore to the practice of architectural history, the stage was set for the use the laboratory toolset in building archaeology. The developing architectural conservation field of the 1970s was significantly advanced by organizations such as The Association for

³⁹ Thomas J. Schlereth, "Above-ground Archaeology, House Museums, and Undergraduates," in "Proceedings of Thematic Sessions of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 4 (1975): 292-293.

⁴⁰ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Carter and Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture*.

Preservation Technology.⁴¹ It encouraged the movement of the historic preservation field out of a strict art historical tradition to a more material-centric focus similar to art conservation. Today, mortar and finish analyses have become standard indicators of building provenance and change.⁴² Finish stratigraphies are especially useful analytical tools in developing relative and absolute chronologies, which in conjunction with other dateable patterns provide invaluable data for understanding and interpreting the change of a building.

This chapter has highlighted the origins and methodological evolution of building archaeology. It revealed the genesis of the practice of generating seriation, stratigraphy, and typology through fieldwork and laboratory analyses. The data resulting from these techniques facilitate our ability to identify changes, organize chronologies, and interpret human agency—the actions of architects, builders, and occupants in shaping the life of any structure or site. The ensuing chapters interpret the findings of the building archaeological examinations conducted at the McConnell-Busti Country House, now Lee Cultural Center. The first thirty years of this remarkable story will be explored in the next chapter.

⁴¹ Diana S. Waite and Laura Shore, "Three Decades of Interdisciplinary Preservation Technology: APT Celebrates Its Thirtieth Anniversary," *APT Bulletin* 29, no. 3/4, Thirtieth-Anniversary Issue (1998), H1-H24.

⁴² Carole L. Perrault, "Techniques Employed at the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center for the Sampling and Analysis of Historic Architectural Paints and Finishes," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 10, no. 2, NPS Issue (1978): 6-46; Andrea M. Gilmore, "Analyzing Paint Samples: Investigation and Interpretation," in *Paint in America: The Colors of Historic Buildings*, Roger Moss, ed. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1994), 173-185; Susan Louise Buck, "The Aiken-Rhett House: A Comparative Architectural Paint Study" (PhD dissertation, University of Delaware, 2003).

CHAPTER 3 | McCONNELL-BUSTI COUNTRY HOUSE PERIOD (1794-1824)

Once upon a time there was a Little House way out in the country. ... The Little House was very happy as she sat on the hill and watched the countryside around her. ... Day followed day, each one a little different from the one before... but the Little House stayed just the same.

–Virginia Lee Burton, *The Little House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942)

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the background, design, and construction of the McConnell-Busti Country House in Blockley township. I will elucidate conscious decisions made by a gentleman and/or master builder in the design and construction of a country house, as well as its function. The illustrations I make regarding the erection and finishing of the house are based on McConnell and Busti-era watercolors and ephemera, my synthesis of secondary sources, and building archaeology.

The first section of this chapter highlights the evolution and development of McConnell's Mill Creek Farm and its transition into Busti's Blockley Retreat Farm. This includes brief biographies of these two prominent Philadelphians. The second delves into the assembly and ornament of the McConnell-Busti Country House façade. The final portion examines the interior assemblage of design ideals and materials to understand how this country house functioned in the late-eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century.

CONTEXT FOR THE McCONNELL-BUSTI COUNTRY HOUSE

Thomas Harrison, a Philadelphia tailor, had consolidated an undeveloped ninety-acre tract in Blockley Township of Philadelphia County by 1772. Blockley, a rural township west of the Schuylkill River, was a patchwork of fields and orchards that sustained the modest family farm or the milieu of the “neat” country seat.⁴³ Harrison erected a farm complex composed of a two-story stone house, a stone barn, and a two-story springhouse. The complex was located on the eastern slope of the Mill Creek Valley along the side south of the Upper Ferry Road to Haverford Meeting, known today as Haverford Avenue. The dwelling, outbuildings, and yard were surrounded by seventy acres of arable land, woodlots, a meadow for grazing cattle, a fenced garden, and a “young orchard of about five hundred trees of choice fruit.”⁴⁴

Harrison expanded his farm to 112 acres with the purchase of a contiguous tract in January 1779, only seven months after the withdrawal of the British occupation forces under Henry Clinton during the American Revolution.⁴⁵ Harrison’s “PLANTATION in the

⁴³ Richard and Elizabeth Mason to Thomas Harrison, deed, October 31, 1771, Deed Book D 24, 235-238, PCA; Joseph and Ann George to Thomas Harrison, deed, February 10, 1772, Deed Book D 24, 233-235, PCA; David and Abigail Rose to Thomas Harrison, deed, April 14, 1772, Deed Book D 24, 230-233, PCA; Lloyd, 1; Richard J. Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Building Survey*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 193; West Philadelphia Community History Center, “West Philadelphia: The Basic History,” UPA, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/history/history1.html#3> (accessed February 6, 2016); Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, *The Philadelphia Country House: Architecture and Landscape in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 29.

⁴⁴ The remnants of Harrison’s farm complex are likely beneath the District Health Center 4 building at 4400 Haverford Avenue. Advertisement, *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Evening Post*, February 27, 1776; Lloyd, 1; Jim Duffin, “Mapping West Philadelphia: Landowners in October 1777,” UPA, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/map.php> (accessed February 6, 2016).

⁴⁵ Edward and Margaret Shippen to Thomas Harrison, deed, January 30, 1779, Deed Book D 28, 242-245, PCA; Edward L. Ayers, et al., *American Passages: A History of the United States*, vol. I (Harcourt College

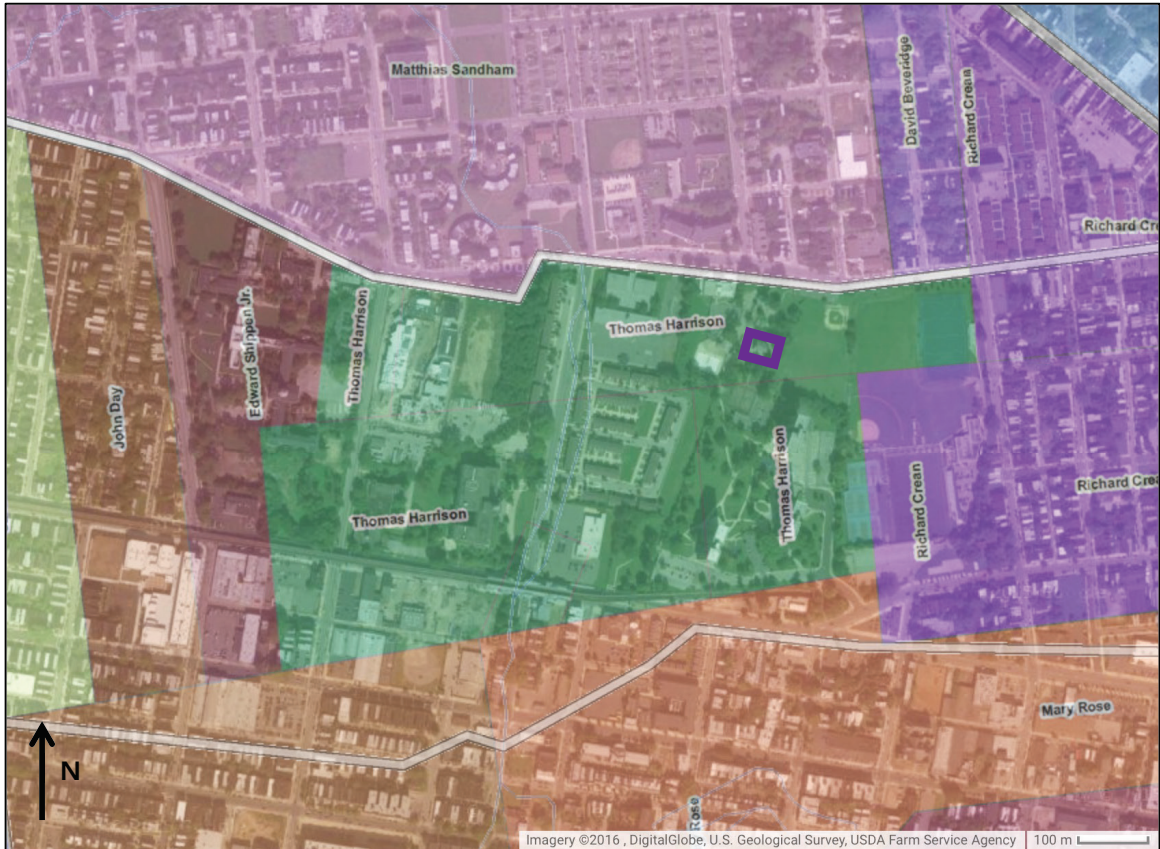


Figure 3.1. A detail of the West Philadelphia Landowners in October 1777 Map prepared by Jim Duffin, 2015. Thomas Harrison purchased the tracts highlighted in green by 1772. In 1779, Harrison acquired the Edward Shippen, Jr. adjoining tract, colored mauve. The location of the McConnell-Busti Country House is framed in purple. Map from <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/map.php>.

township of Blockley” seemed to have changed very little in the years during and following the war, except for the placement of West Chester Road, now Market Street, through the southwestern corner of the Harrison tract which created a ten-acre wedge south of the new road in 1790.⁴⁶

Matthew McConnell’s acquisition of the tract on February 11, 1794 changed the status quo. He maintained the agricultural productivity of the Harrison farming complex

Publishers, 2000), 175-177; Willard O. Mishoff, “Business in Philadelphia during British Occupation, 1777-1778,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 61, no. 2 (April 1937): 165-181.

⁴⁶ Advertisement, *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Evening Post*, February 27, 1776; Lloyd, 1; Duffin, “Mapping West Philadelphia: Landowners in October 1777.”

and renamed the tract "Mill Creek Farm." McConnell was not interested in a career change from finance to agriculture; instead he aimed to consolidate his status as a gentleman by constructing a country house outside of metropolitan Philadelphia.⁴⁷

Born in Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1748, McConnell had served in the Continental Army as an officer who rose from the rank of corporal to captain. During his service, McConnell had his leg broken during the Brandywine engagement on September 11, 1777. His wound led to a transfer from combat service to a military-support role in Philadelphia. Following the Revolution, McConnell remained in Philadelphia and worked as a merchant and stock broker. On January 9, 1794, he was elected to the directorship of the Bank of the United States.⁴⁸ This appointment in conjunction with his land acquisition and ensuing country seat solidified McConnell's status as a gentleman among the bourgeois of post-Revolution Philadelphia.

The practice of erecting country seats was common amongst the bourgeois of Philadelphia during the Colonial period and carried into the early decades of the fledgling nation.⁴⁹ Current research has not revealed a designer or builder of the house.⁵⁰ However, the builder was clearly familiar with Georgian domestic design

⁴⁷ John Barker, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Paul Busti, deed, June 26, 1806, Deed Book EF 28, 629-632, PCA; Cloud, 5-7; Floyd 1; Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780*, 50-52.

⁴⁸ W.A. Newman Dorland, "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry (continued)," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 46, no. 4 (1922): 362-363; Cloud, 14-15; Lloyd 1 (footnote no. 13).

⁴⁹ Reinberger and McLean, *The Philadelphia Country House: Architecture and Landscape in Colonial America*, 39.

⁵⁰ Some secondary sources cite Paul Busti as the builder of the house, like Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, vol. II (Harrisburg, PA: The National Historical Association, 1931), 358-359. The primary documents state otherwise. Cloud, 5.

conventions that called for double-pile, central-hall plan and was prepared to fit out this scheme with fashionable/up-to-date Federal style details. This new Federal style was influenced by the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century English architectural form known as Adamesque, in response to the influential architectural practice of England's Adam brothers from 1760-1780.⁵¹ This blending of old and new was exactly what architectural historian Fiske Kimball alluded to when he wrote, "The characteristics of the [Georgian] style long survived the Revolution. It took time for the novel ideas of the following [Federal] era to be widely diffused and adopted."⁵² Based upon this analysis, McConnell's country house is best characterized as an example of Federal architecture.

The builders of McConnell's house completed their work by 1798.⁵³ Dana Cloud suggested in her 1998 master's thesis that McConnell's house was completed by January 15, 1796 when a mortgage was taken out on the house and property from the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania.⁵⁴ This proposed timeline for the completion a house of this stature seems unattainable. In order to have completed

⁵¹ Reinberger and McLean, 39-46; George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 38-42; Beatrice B. Garvan, *Federal Philadelphia, 1785-1825: The Athens of the Western World* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987), 46; Mark R. Wenger, "Town House & Country House," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, ed. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 132-134; Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles*, Revised ed. (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 23; Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), 55-58, 361; Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 153-161.

⁵² Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, 141.

⁵³ Lloyd 1.

⁵⁴ Cloud, 6-7.

construction by January 1796, McConnell would have needed to hire a master builder and acquire building materials immediately after purchasing the property, allowing construction to begin during the 1794 building season. The Philadelphia building season started in April, after the threat of frost had subsided. Masons would have ideally finished laying brick by late summer or early fall to give the carpenters enough time to frame and shingle the roof before the onset of winter, while also allowing adequate time for their lime-based pointing mortar to cure before the first frost.⁵⁵ Between quarrying stone for the foundation, manufacturing brick, and allowing a seasoning period for framing timbers, it is unlikely that the master builder would have been able to start construction in 1794. It is more likely that McConnell and his builder organized their design and procured materials for the 1795 building season and that the mortgage taken out by McConnell in January 1796 was used to finish the interior of the small classical house in late 1796 or early 1797.

Unfortunately for McConnell, the country house he built did not remain in his ownership for very long. In 1798, creditors called on the \$30,696.46 debt owed by McConnell—this is not to be confused with mortgage held by the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania. These lenders took McConnell to court and won a ruling in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The high court's ruling in December 1798 ordered the sale of Mill Creek Farm.⁵⁶ Following the loss of his country house, McConnell went back

⁵⁵ Reinberger and McLean, 107-112.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Penrose, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Thomas McEuen, deed, March 28, 1799, Deed Book D 79, 389-390, PCA; Lloyd 1; Cloud, 16.

across the Schuylkill and continued to work in finance. His professional success resulted in his appointment to the first presidency of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange in 1800. McConnell died wealthy in Philadelphia on November 11, 1816.⁵⁷

The sale of McConnell's house was held on March 27, 1799 by Jonathan Penrose, Sheriff of Philadelphia County. During the weeks preceding the sale, advertisements were printed in Philadelphia newspapers (Refer to Appendix B for a transcription of the advertisement).⁵⁸ Thomas McEuen, one of McConnell's creditors, purchased the property. McEuen quickly flipped the property on July 2, 1799 to William Parkinson.⁵⁹ Parkinson's ownership of Mill Creek Farm was also short as he died in late 1803.⁶⁰ In the year following Parkinson's death, Mrs. Rivardi, a Philadelphia seminary operator, moved her school from the city to "mill creek farm (formerly Mr. McConnell's residence)" for the summer of 1805.⁶¹ Mrs. Rivardi leased the residence until November 1805 when she moved back into the city to continue seminary activities at "Mr. McCall's

⁵⁷ Dorland, "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry (continued)," 363.

⁵⁸ This advertisement was printed in the March 14, 23, 25, and 28, 1799 editions of *Porcupine's Gazette*. A nearly verbatim advertisement also ran in Philadelphia's *General Aurora Advertiser* on March 22, 23, 27, and 28, 1799. See also, Lloyd 1.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Penrose, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Thomas McEuen, deed, March 28, 1799, Deed Book D 79, 389-390, PCA; Thomas and Hannah McEuen to William Parkinson, deed, July 2, 1799, Deed Book D 79, 391-393, PCA; Lloyd 1.

⁶⁰ Advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *United States' Gazette*, May 14, 1804. This advertisement was taken out on January 2, 1804 as indicated in the bottom left corner, which suggests that Parkinson died in late 1803 (Refer to Appendix B for a transcription of the advertisement). Printed copies were identified in the February 25, May 3, 14, and 22, 1804 editions of the *United States' Gazette*.

⁶¹ The scope of this research did not reveal the identity of Mrs. Rivardi. Advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 28, 1805.

late MANSION HOUSE, including the annexed new building, erected by J. Barry, in south Second and Union streets."⁶²

The continued deferment of the 1796 mortgage owed to the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania by the Parkinson estate induced the legal proceeding that took the property on March 8, 1806, which resulted in another Philadelphia sheriff advertisement and sale.⁶³ The 1806 sheriff sale of Mill Creek Farm was hosted by Sheriff John Barker at the Merchants' Coffee House on May 20th. The sale resulted in the purchase of the farm by Paolo Busti.⁶⁴

Born in Milan, Italy on October 17, 1749, Busti had received his education in his birthplace before moving to Amsterdam to work in his uncle's counting house. After leaving the employment of his uncle, Busti developed considerable financial acumen. His success brought reputation, wealth, and a wife. His marriage to Elizabeth May likely obliged his assignment to assist the General Director of the Holland Land Company in 1797, as May's brother was one of bank directors that organized the Holland Land Company in 1796. The promise of this appointment likely brought about the young family's immigration to Philadelphia in the mid-1790s.⁶⁵

⁶² Deed research revealed no transaction between Parkinson's estate and Mrs. Rivardi. Advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *Aurora General Advertiser*, November 23, 1805.

⁶³ Lloyd 1.

⁶⁴ Lloyd 1; John Barker, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Paul Busti, deed, June 26, 1806, Deed Book EF 28, 629-632, PCA.

⁶⁵ Cloud, 17; Lloyd 1 (footnote no. 34); Richard N. Juliani, *Building Little Italy: Philadelphia's Italians Before Mass Migration* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 35; "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7, no. 1 (1883): 107-108; Charles E. Brooks, *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution: The Holland Land Purchase* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 4.



Figure 3.2. Paul Busti. Miniature by Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin, Philadelphia, c. 1800. Reprinted on page 6 of *Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont: Journals of John Lincklaen, Agent of the Holland Land Company* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons/Knickerbocker Press, 1897).

The Holland Land Company was established as a consortium of Dutch banking houses to purchase and manage rural lands in western New York and Pennsylvania. The company purchased some of these lands from Robert Morris, the renowned financier of the American Revolution, in the 1790s. The company opened its United States office in Philadelphia, where the General Director, Theophile Cazenove, managed the settlement and development of the tracts associated with the Holland Land Purchase.⁶⁶

Following the Busti family's move to the United States, Busti anglicized his name to Paul, probably to ease business transactions. With Cazenove's departure for Europe in 1799, Busti took over management of the company's interests as General Agent and

⁶⁶ Brooks, *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution*, 13-14.

held the post until his death in 1824. From the Philadelphia office, Busti orchestrated the pattern of settlement implemented by the company's surveyors and resident-agents located in company-owned territories. The most notable settlement was Buffalo, New York founded by the company's surveyor Joseph Elliot at Busti's direction.⁶⁷

The Busti family lived at Spruce and Fifth Streets in the late-1790s before moving to "12th Street below High" in the early-1800s.⁶⁸ The Busti's Twelfth Street house shared a party wall with the rented, three-story, two-bay brick row house of the, then, scandalized financier of the American Revolution Robert Morris, while also sharing the neighborhood with the Philadelphia newspaper mogul John Dunlap.⁶⁹ Because, Busti's financial success and business connections put him in contact with Philadelphia's elite, a modest row house on the fringe of the city was not enough for Busti's aspirations.⁷⁰ Much like McConnell, Busti had ambitions to solidify his status within the

⁶⁷ Juliani, *Building Little Italy*, 36; Brooks, *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution*, 21; Orasmus Turner, *Pioneer History of the Holland Land Purchase of Western New York* (Buffalo, NY: Jewett, Thomas & Company/Geo. H. Derby, 1850): 426-428.

⁶⁸ Busti is listed in the Philadelphia Directories as living at Spruce and Fifth in 1798 and not listed again until 1801 at South Twelfth Street. Cornelius William Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1798* (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1798), 31; James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1804* (Philadelphia: 1804), 42. See also, Cloud 17, 22-23.

⁶⁹ Ryan K. Smith, *Robert Morris's Folly: The Architectural and Financial Failures of an American Founder* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 207; Juliani, *Building Little Italy*, 35; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1884), 2:926.

⁷⁰ On aside, the Robert Morris degrees of separation between McConnell and Busti is interesting. Morris sold the land to the Holland Land Company with whom Busti later worked and then they resided next to each other. McConnell was noted as a friend of Morris and an auditor of Morris's estate during his financial issue. Outside of owning the same house, they both shared relationships with Robert Morris.



Figure 3.3. North elevation of the McConnell-Busti Country House. Watercolor by an unknown artist, c. 1800. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Philadelphia elite through acquiring a country house.⁷¹ Arguably, this is why he sought after Mill Creek Farm in the spring of 1806.

Interestingly, Busti conducted an investigation into the condition of the property before the sheriff's sale on May 20, 1806. Busti had an insurance appraiser with the Mutual Assurance Company conduct a survey of the house in early March (Refer to Appendix B for a transcription of the insurance survey). Busti was clearly interested in the property before the litigation concluded on March 8th with the order to sell the farm. The survey valued the house at \$8,000. Busti paid \$14,500 for both the country

⁷¹ Cloud, 20; Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780*, 50; E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 181.

house and 112 acres. This sound financial investment likely made inroads with Philadelphia bourgeois.⁷²

Following Busti's acquisition of the property, he quickly went to work revitalizing and restoring the productivity of the farm. During the restoration process, Busti changed the name of his tract to "Blockley Retreat Farm." The early success of his farming venture earned him notoriety among the gentlemen planters of Philadelphia and caught the eye of prominent members of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (PSPA). This attention led to his unanimous election as a resident member of PSPA on October 14, 1806, only one summer growing season after his purchase of the farm. Busti's paid overseers and farm laborers produced a diversified crop of grains, vegetables, and fruit, along with raising bovine, poultry, and swine. Busti remained active in the management of the farm until his death on July 24, 1824.⁷³

Busti's purchase of the country house and rejuvenation of its productive agricultural lands underscored his arrival in Philadelphia's elite and signaled to the wider Mid-Atlantic and trans-Atlantic audiences.⁷⁴ Richard Juliani, an Italian-American

⁷² John Barker, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Paul Busti, deed, June 26, 1806, Deed Book EF 28, 629-632, PCA; Insurance survey for Paul Busti, March 15, 1806, survey no. 906, policy no. 2149, Mutual Assurance Company, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

⁷³ Juliani, *Building Little Italy*, 36-37; Cloud, 25-27; Death notice, Bridgeton (NJ) *Washington Whig*, August 21, 1824.

⁷⁴ Juliani, 35-36; Hague 52; See also, Lloyd 1 (footnote no. 34).

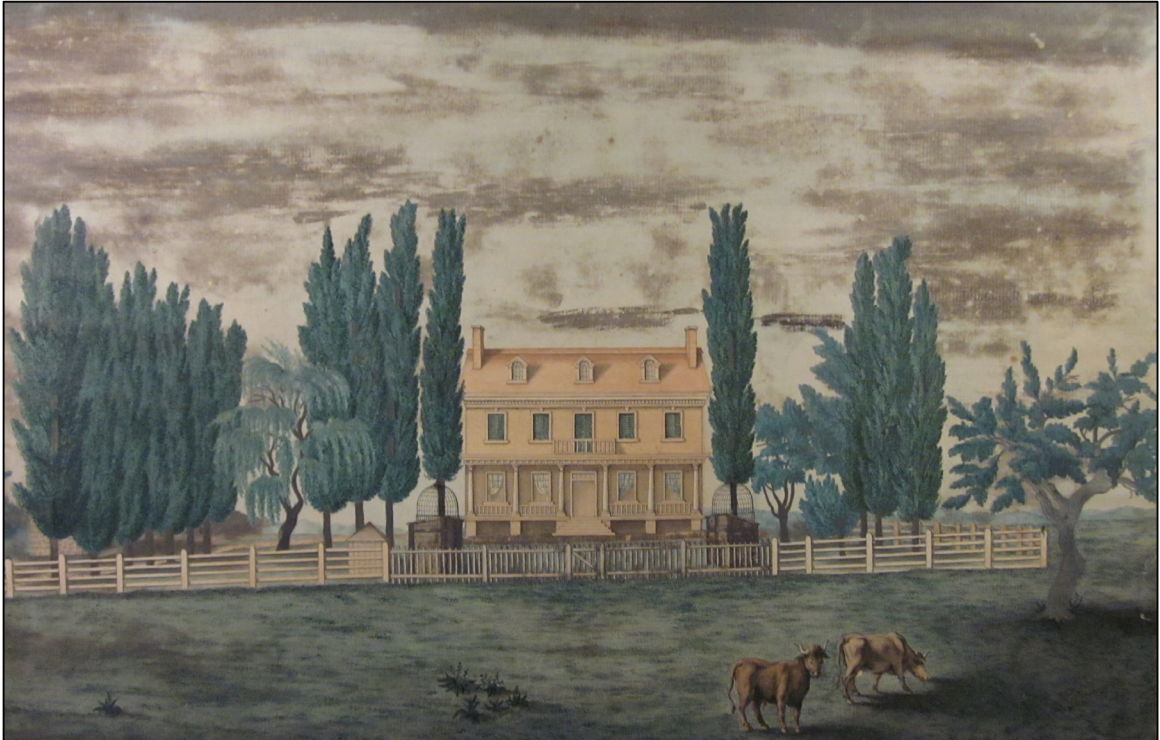


Figure 3.4. South elevation of the McConnell-Busti Country House. Watercolor by an unknown artist, c. 1800. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

scholar, argues that Busti's most significant contribution is not his work with the Holland Land Company, although significant, but his introduction of effective Italian farming practices and crops through the PSPA to the United States.⁷⁵

EXTERIOR OF THE McCONNELL-BUSTI COUNTRY HOUSE

The 54' by 38' house was built upon random rubble foundation walls of micaceous schist that measured just over twenty inches wide. The walls transitioned from rubblework to 1:7 bond below grade. Also known as American bond, 1:7 bond

⁷⁵ Juliani, 41-42.

was laid with a course of headers alternating with seven courses of stretchers, a variation on the every other course of the English bond.⁷⁶

The base of the wall continued in American bond from grade roughly four feet before being capped by a water table detailed in a single stretcher course of ovolo-molded brick. The water table adorned the step back of roughly two inches on the exterior elevations. A comparable ledge was seen on the interior without the addition of a molded course.⁷⁷ These step backs approximate the exterior wall thickness of the first and second floors at sixteen inches.

The masonry walls above the base were laid in two bond types: American and Flemish. The masons laid the costlier Flemish bond—a course of alternating headers and stretchers—for the five symmetrical ranked north and south walls. The use of the more easily laid, therefore cheaper, American bond was maintained in the four symmetrical bay east wall and three asymmetrical ranked west wall to save on cost that could be expended elsewhere.⁷⁸

The heads of the window apertures, above the water table, in the north, west, and second floor of the south elevations were supported by jack arches with central

⁷⁶ 1:3 and 1:5 bonds are also known as American bond. However, 1:7 bond is the only variety of American bond observed at the Lee Cultural Center. Carl R. Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 39.

⁷⁷ On the exterior, the water table clearly delineates the plinth from the masonry walls above. The interior ledge is visible in the stair to the basement of the Lee Cultural Center. A cementitious parge renders it difficult to acquire an accurate measurement of the brick ledge. Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*, 400.

⁷⁸ Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 26; Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary*, 38-39.

stone voussoirs. These keystones were symmetrically adorned with a vertical strand of beads at their center flanked by cyma reversa moldings bookended by a fillet.⁷⁹ The other openings, above and below the water table, were spanned by the respective bond coursing of the wall. Another example of stone ornament on the exterior of the two and a half story house is a simple, ten-inch stone belt course that delineated the level of the second floor on the north and west elevations.

The window apertures were filled with wooden frames that suspended sashes. The windows on the first and second floor were six-over-six counterbalanced sash windows.⁸⁰ These counterweighted upper and lower sashes, known as double hung windows, had weights that held the sash up when raised. The weights were hung from ropes inside the hollow, box window frames. The ropes were fed through framed sash pulleys with a rope affixed to either stile of the sash (Refer to Appendix D for data sheet on the pulley). To keep the ropes from twisting and the sash from binding, parting beads were set on the interior and exterior of the box frames to allow each sash and its respective weights to slide in its own channel.⁸¹

The woodwork on the exterior of the McConnell-Busti Country House was also ornamental. A wooden modillion cornice was hung beneath the eaves, the rake of the

⁷⁹ A comparable keystone is depicted on Plate 1 of Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant*, published in 1797. An identical keystone is delineated on Plate 31 of Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion*, published in 1806.

⁸⁰ "Unidentified Watercolors" (c.1820), Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP.

⁸¹ Edward A. Chappell, "Hardware," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, ed. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 278-280; Thomas Corkhill, *The Complete Dictionary of Wood* (New York: Dorset Press, 1979), 57, 480.

gable, and across the east and west walls at the approximate height of the garret floor. The bed molding of the cornice transitions from a simple band to cavetto crowned by an ovolo molding. The modillion blocks topped by a cyma reversa were attached below the corona, which was above the ovolo molding. The corona was crowned by a cyma reversa to cymatium. This orchestration of moldings to create the cornice was an implicit reference to the Ionic order.⁸² Architectural historian Steven Semes noted that the classical orders could be represented in part without the overt visual clues of columns or pilasters. He continued by stating that "Such an astylar treatment (without columns) can be recognizably Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian on the basis of its proportions, moldings, or ornament alone."⁸³ Plate 30 in the 1794 edition of William Pain's *The Practical House Carpenter* depicts this use of an Ionic cornice.⁸⁴ Perhaps this or an earlier edition of Pain's pattern book influenced the builders of McConnell's small classical house. Another potentially influential book was the *1786 Rule Book of Philadelphia's Carpenter's Company*. Although, it cannot be definitively stated whether the builders were members of the company or not. It is safe to assume that as the prolific builders of pre- and post-Revolution Philadelphia, they were the authorities on the Adamesque Federal and would have been imitated by non-Company members.⁸⁵

⁸² Asher Benjamin, *The Country Builder's Assistant* (1797; repr., New York: Da Capo, 1972), plate 5; William Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter*, 5th ed. (London: 1794), plate 30.

⁸³ Steven W. Semes, *The Architecture of the Classical Interior* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 40.

⁸⁴ William Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter*, 5th ed. (London: 1794), plate 30.

⁸⁵ *The Carpenter's Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786 Rule Book* (1786; repr. Princeton, NJ: Pyne Press, 1971).

The use of the partial Ionic entablature was best understood when in relationship with the explicitly Doric ordered portico on the north side of the house and piazza on the south.⁸⁶ The builder's used the proper stacking of the classical orders as described by Andrea Palladio, the sixteenth-century Renaissance architect. Palladio noted that the "Dorick must always be placed under the Ionick."⁸⁷ Even in a case where an order is omitted, the Doric order or "the most strong and solid" order must always be placed "undermost."⁸⁸ Palladio was truly the arbiter of architectural taste during the long eighteenth century. His architectural treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, was translated into English, as *The Four Books of Architecture*, at the century's start and remained a volume in the amateur's and professional's reference library.⁸⁹

The north portico, or pedimented porch, was one-story in height and covered with "a pedimented projection characteristic of a classical... Roman temple front."⁹⁰ Two Roman Doric-ordered columns supported the entablature of the pediment. The

⁸⁶ Although both north and south elevation watercolors are cataloged as unidentified at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, they were identified as Blockley Retreat in the mid-twentieth century. Refer to the "4310 Haverford Avenue" file at the Philadelphia Historical Commission for more information. "Unidentified Watercolors" (c.1820), Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP; Photograph no. K-095 (c. 1870), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.

⁸⁷ Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, trans. Isaac Ware (1738; repr., New York: Dover, 1965), 11.

⁸⁸ Palladio, *Four Books*, 11.

⁸⁹ Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780*, 8, 24; Adolf K. Placzek, introduction to Dover edition of Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, trans. Isaac Ware (1738; repr., New York: Dover, 1965), v-vii; Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 11.

⁹⁰ Lounsbury, ed., 286.

entablature of the portico was fully executed in the Doric order as it lacked triglyphs in the frieze.⁹¹

The one-story piazza that stretched the full length of the south elevation, however, was ornamented with fully executed Doric entablature supported by six 11' tall, attenuated Roman Doric columns. The 53' by 10' floor of the piazza was carried by summer beams set into pockets in the masonry of the south wall. From the beams, oriented north-south, joists were likely hung in an east-west orientation upon which floor boards were nailed. The piazza roof was framed in a similar manner. The flat roof was used as walkable surface accessed from the the central bay of the second floor. The balusters and railings that surrounded the occupiable spaces of the piazza were modest rectilinear elements.⁹²

The only break in the classical hierarchy were the six Doric-detailed dormers set over the Ionic modillion cornice. These dormers pierce the lower slopes of the gambrel roof, discussed below, with three on the north and south elevations. Resembling the dormers delineated in plate 8 of the *Carpenter's Company 1786 Rule Book*, the

⁹¹ A Roman Doric column has a smooth shaft and base. "Unidentified Watercolors" (c.1820), Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP.

⁹² "Unidentified Watercolors," [c.1820], Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP; Photograph no. K-095, [c. 1870], Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.; Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, December 30, 1835, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "First Floor Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 7, architectural drawing set, PPR; "Busti Mansion," photograph, September 30, 1960, no. 12227-54, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

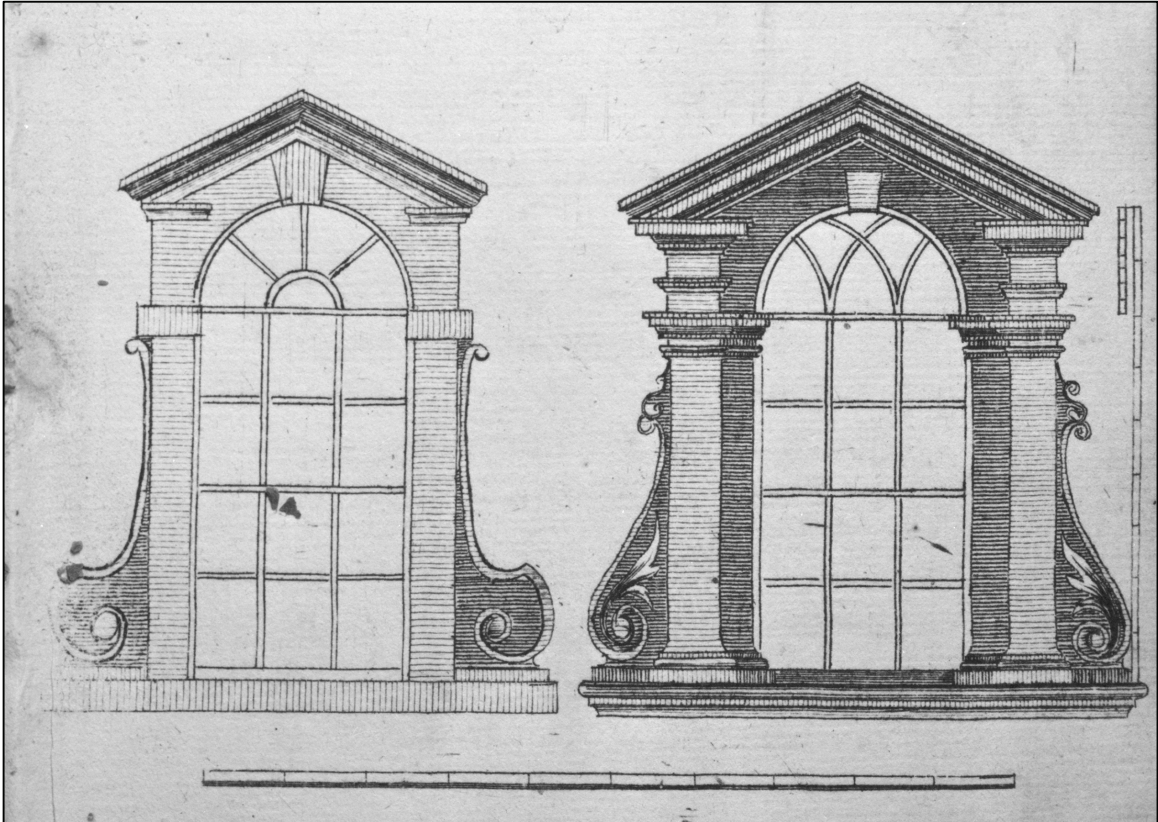


Figure 3.5. Detail of plate 8 from *Articles of the Carpenters Company of Philadelphia and Their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work* (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1786). The original dormer sash configuration was as delineated on the left with the pilasters and pediment as printed on the right. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.

dormers were composed of two Doric-like pilasters that flanked an arched window and supported a plain-cornice pediment.⁹³ The dormer windows were single hung sash windows, meaning only the lower six-light sash was operable. The upper sashes in the dormers were arched with eleven lights.

The sum of the wood and masonry elements of the façade clearly asserted that the formal entrances into house were from the north and south. The additional expense of stone voussoirs and belt course on the west elevation, built with the cheaper

⁹³ *The Carpenter's Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786 Rule Book* (1786; repr. Princeton, NJ: Pyne Press, 1971), 7, 26, plate 8.

American bond, indicated that McConnell and/or his builder felt it important to maintain the esthetic of the north and south elevations as the west elevation would have been seen from the Haverford Avenue approach into the property. The east elevation lacked all masonry ornament suggesting that the elevation faced the fields of Mill Creek Farm and a cost-conscious decision was made to maintain a plain wall.

GAMBREL ROOF

The McConnell-Busti Country House was side-gabled and covered by a Dutch or gambrel roof, a modified version of the common-rafter roof. This framing system required joists to be set upon a wooden plate at the top of the exterior masonry walls. A false plate was then set on the ends of the joist that extended beyond the face of the wall. In this case, the joists were notched to receive the false plate. Each rafter was cut with a birdsmouth to be positioned on the inner top corner of the false plate, nails were likely used to secure the rafter ends to the plate. Rafter pairs were joined together via a collar beam near the apex of the roof. The tenoned rafters were inserted into the mortised ends of the collar beam and pegged. The upper pitch of the gambrel was created with the placement of a pair of low rafters on the collar beam. These rafters were mortis-and-tenoned at the peak and butt joined with nails to the collar beam. The identification of Roman numerals on the rafters indicated that the framers likely used the scribe-rule method to frame the gambrel roof. This method required the framing be

laid out and assembled with each unique tenon cut to be received by its specific mortis.⁹⁴

The difference between the gambrel of McConnell's house and the typical Dutch roof was the narrow size of the upper sections of the roof. The gambrel roof system was often employed by builders to add an inhabitable story beneath the roof.⁹⁵ In this case, the double pitch was not necessary as the garret would have been usable with a common rafter roof. The additional expense instead provided flattened pitches at the apex that could be walked upon for viewing the surrounding landscape. The roof was and remained accessible through a trap door that pierces the southward-facing, upper slope of the roof.⁹⁶

The originality of the aperture for the trap door was corroborated through fastener analysis. A hand-wrought brad and two rose-head nails were extracted from the woodwork surrounding the the trap door (Refer to Appendix C to see data sheets on N.400.001 – N.400.003). These nails shared identical characteristics with other nails removed from more tightly dated contexts. The presence of these nails confirmed that this feature was part of the original construction, as first recorded in an 1806 Mutual Assurance Company fire insurance survey (Refer to Appendix B).

⁹⁴ The modillion cornice is attached to the underside and ends of the joists that extend beyond the masonry wall. Willie Graham, "Timber Framing," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, ed. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 225-226, 235-236; Jack A. Sobon, *Historic American Timber Joinery: A Graphic Guide* (Becket, MA: Timber Framers Guild, 2004), 3, 34.

⁹⁵ Lounsbury, ed., 125; Graham, "Timber Framing," 235.

⁹⁶ Insurance survey for Paul Busti, March 15, 1806, survey no. 906, policy no. 2149, Mutual Assurance Company, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC; Lounsbury, ed., 378.

The use of country house roofs as viewing platforms was fairly common in the Philadelphia-area. Woodford and Mount Pleasant, both located in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, are noted Colonial examples with carved railings and balusters to both accentuate and provide safety for the visitors using of the space.⁹⁷ McConnell-Busti Country House and Craig Hall, the first iteration of Andalusia, both had modified roof systems for viewing but lacked railings as observed in the earlier examples. This suggested that these viewing platforms may not have been used by residents and visitors for enjoyment, but primarily for maintenance purposes.⁹⁸ The ornamentation of the McConnell-Busti Country House's interior refutes this argument in this instance and substantiates the use of the roof for amusement.

INTERIOR OF THE McCONNELL-BUSTI COUNTRY HOUSE

The ways in which people lived and worked within the country house were guided by its floor plan. By the late-eighteenth century, the common plan for a country house was two units deep, three units wide, and two stories in height. To simplify this litany of descriptors, the terminology "compact" will be employed to describe the plan for the McConnell-Busti Country House. According to his analysis of the small classical house in the British Atlantic World, historian Stephen Hague observed that the compact

⁹⁷ Reinberger and McLean, 136-137; Daniel T. Campbell, et al., "Andalusia Big House and Adjacent Outbuildings" (historic structure report, Andalusia Foundation, December 2014), section 1.3, 3; Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia: A Tour of the Region's Museum Homes* (Philadelphia: Barra Foundation/University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 94-95, 100-103.

⁹⁸ Campbell, et al., "Andalusia," section 1.3, 3.

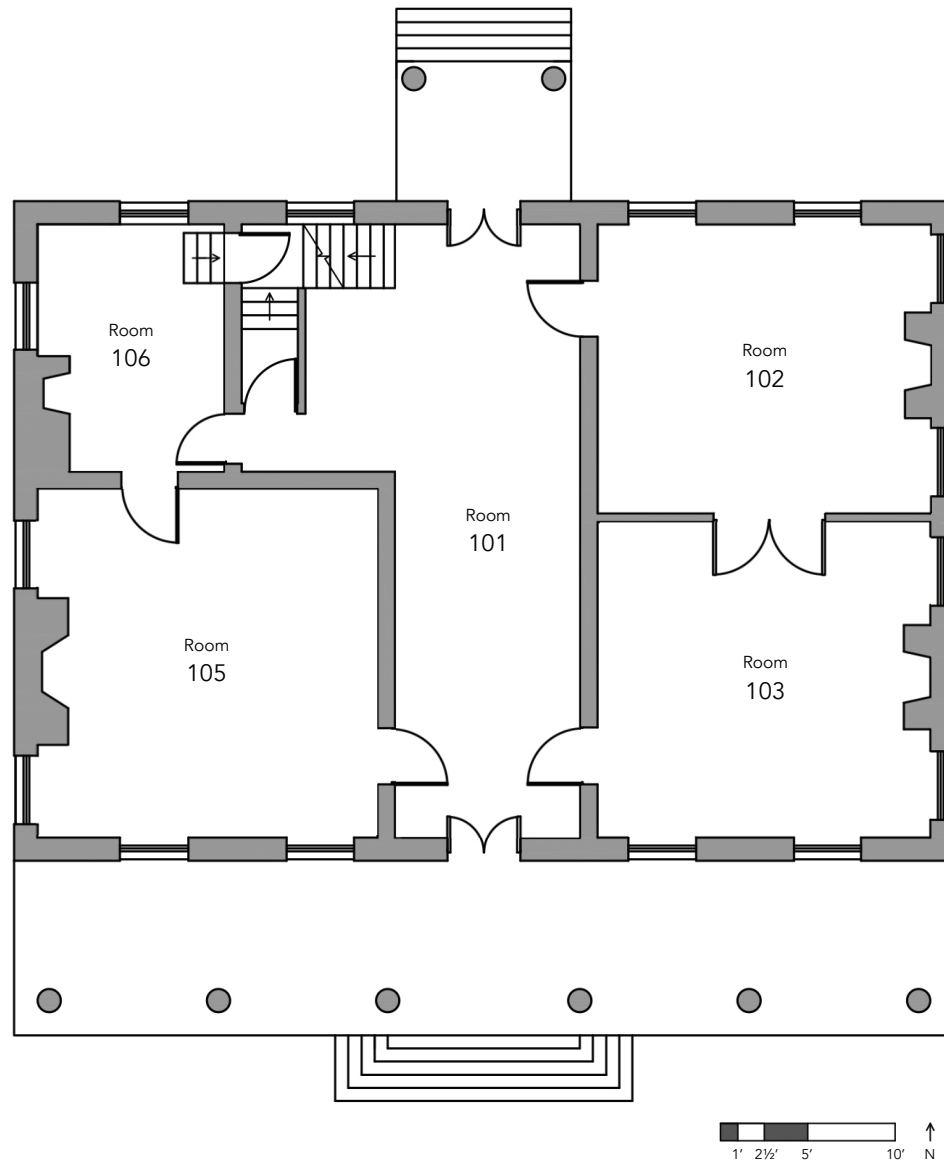


Figure 3.6. First Floor Plan of the McConnell-Busti Country House. Drawn by author, 2016.

house plan was adopted from the landed gentry by those of the non-land owning social class, i.e. McConnell and Busti, because of its adaptability, convenience, economy, and ability to convey position.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ McAlester would refer to this house type as a “box” house. Hague would refer to this house type as a “compact classical box.” Virginia McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 2nd ed., 23-29; Hague, 51-

FIRST FLOOR

The plan for McConnell's house was predicated on the central hall being oriented north-south for daily operation and flow. The central hall, Room 101, on the first floor was the first room entered from either the north or south. As the first space entered, the room was trimmed with "Neoclassical moldings loosely based on Grecian forms" to welcome the eighteenth-century visitor.¹⁰⁰

The walls of the hall were wainscoted from the heart pine floor boards to the dado with smooth-finished plaster and wooden cornice above. The wainscot consisted of raised panels with ovolo-edged fields set in rabbets cut into the cyma-edged stiles and rails of the wainscot frame. The stiles and rails were fastened with pegged mortis and tenon joints. A cavetto-and-astragal over torus molding topped the washboard that concealed the gap between the floorboards and panel framework. The dado, or surbase, that capped the wainscot was composed of cavetto-and-astragal, band, and quirked-ogee-and-astragal from bottom to top.¹⁰¹

The cornice in the hall combined Georgian and Federal elements and was likely a modification of designs printed in one of William Pain's pattern books.¹⁰² This modified block cornice consisted of a bed molding embellished with a band of dentil-

52; Reinberger and McLean, 18-24, 44-46, 225; Wenger, "Town House & Country House," in *The Chesapeake House*, 132-134.

¹⁰⁰ Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury, eds., *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 349.

¹⁰¹ These molding profiles are identical to those delineated as Figure E and H on Plate I of Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant*, published in 1797.

¹⁰² William Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter*, 5th ed. (London: 1794); Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, 39.

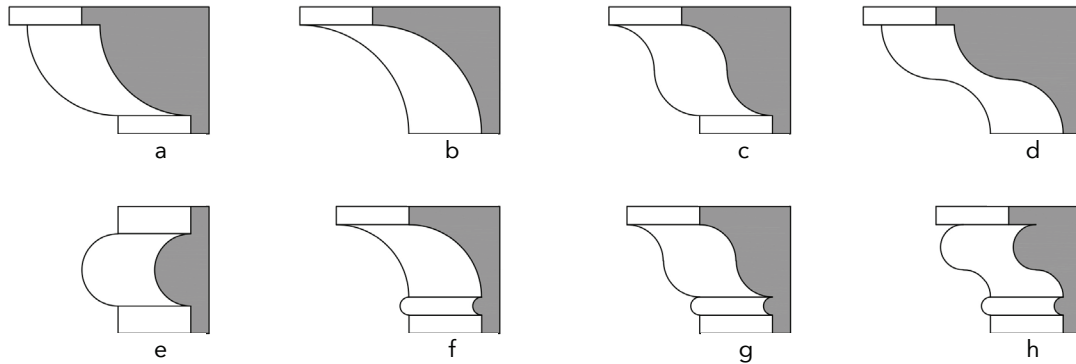


Figure 3.7. Lexicon of moldings as seen at the Lee Cultural Center: a, ovolo; b, cavetto; c, cyma recta; d, cyma reversa; e, torus; f, cavetto-and-astragal; g, cyma recta-and-astragal; h, quirked-ogee-and-astragal. Drawn by author, 2016.

like fretwork, a range of cavetto-and-astragal blocks with three guttae attached below the astragal, and a corona crowned by a cavetto-and-astragal molding (Refer to Figure E.13).¹⁰³ This sampling of profiles and details by the carpenters was a clear break from the controlled and somewhat-staid Georgian approach of mimicking the Roman form as it had been interpreted through the lens of the Italian Renaissance.¹⁰⁴

The massaging of the Georgian and Grecian forms at the end of the eighteenth century was also seen in the crosssetted double architraves surrounding the doorways in the hall. From outside in, the double architraves were formed with a quirked-ogee-and-astragal to the first band. The first band was followed by a second, smaller quirked-ogee-and-astragal to the second band that terminated with a bead at the edge of the aperture (Refer to “e” in Figure E.19). The six panel doors that filled each aperture were

¹⁰³ A comparable range of cavetto-and-astragal blocks with guttae can be seen on Plate 6 of Asher Benjamin’s *The Country Builder’s Assistant*, published in 1797.

¹⁰⁴ Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, 108-114; Carson and Lounsbury, eds., *The Chesapeake House*, 352.

arranged in the common Adam-style with a pair of smaller panels at the top.¹⁰⁵ The panels were single worked with an ovolo-edged raised field facing into the hall. The backside of the panels were flat, ornamented with an applied narrow reed in a configuration to resemble a raised field, and faced the adjoining rooms.¹⁰⁶

The wall surfaces above the dado were finished with plaster adhered directly to the interior face of the load bearing brick masonry walls. The interior masonry walls, oriented north south, created the hall in the central bay of the house. The west wall of the hall's north pile was set back an additional bay to allow for the stair. The projecting corner of the wall was treated with beaded stop. The plasters skimmed the finish coat to the face of the stops.

This offset or designation of floor space for a stair was also seen in earlier examples of the Philadelphia country house, like Hope Lodge and Mount Pleasant.¹⁰⁷ The most enriched stair type of the late-eighteenth century was the finer open newel stair. McConnell selected this expensive stair to be constructed with ramped, mahogany handrails set upon attenuated columnar newel posts and balusters with corresponding half rails and newels on the walls as prescribed in the Carpenter's

¹⁰⁵ Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, 142-143.

¹⁰⁶ Comparable doors details were delineated on Plate 12 of Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant*, published in 1797.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Patterson Sims and Charles Willing, *Old Philadelphia Colonial Details* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1914), plate 9; "Mt. Pleasant Mansion," 1932, sheet no. 3 of 31, Historic American Building Survey drawing set, Library of Congress.

Company *Rule Book*.¹⁰⁸ The stair stringers were also embellished with flora scroll brackets with central punch-work rosette and gouge-work block set below the nose of each tread.

The two rooms east of the hall, Rooms 102 and 103, were identically ornamented. They were separated by a plank framed wall with a central double door that swung into the southwest room, Room 103. The framing planks were set vertically with the short edge touching the adjoining plank. The planks were covered in riven lathe with machine-cut, hand-headed lathe nails before plaster was applied above and below the dado (Refer to Appendix C to see data sheets on N.202.001, N.203.002, and N.301.001).

The top edges of the washboards in Rooms 102 and 103 were detailed with a cyma recta-and-astragal above a torus. From bottom to top, the dado was composed of an astragal, 5/8-inch band, astragal-and-cyma reversa, and one-inch band capped by quirked-ogee-and-astragal. The crossetted double architraves of the windows and doors were identical to those explained in the hall with two bands and two quirked-ogee-and-astragal. The architraves around the recessed windows stopped at the dado. The joiners elected to use pilasters with fluting and cabling below the dado. The capital of the pilaster was the moldings of the dado with moldings of the washboard for the

¹⁰⁸ *The Carpenter's Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786 Rule Book*, 23-24, plate 22; Stephen Calloway and Mitchell Beazley, eds., *The Elements of Style: An Encyclopedia of Domestic Architectural Detail*, rev. ed. (London: Reed International Books, 1996), 224.

base. The recessed wall section below the window and flanked by the pilasters was covered with a single flat panel.

The mantels in both rooms, Room 102 and 103, were identical with significant punch-and-gouge work and pilasters corresponding to those supporting the window architraves (Refer to Figure 5.3).¹⁰⁹ The exuberant use of the punch and gouge, or carpenter's fancy, across Philadelphia, like that seen in the McConnell-Busti Country House, led Benjamin Latrobe to share his disdain. He commented that these types of pilasters were "all spindle shanked, gouty legged, jeweled, dropsical, crysypaglastic, hydrocephalic columns."¹¹⁰

The carpenter's punch and gouge were also used to embellish the cornices in both spaces. From top to bottom, the Grecian-Federal cornice was composed of a cavetto-and-astragal, corona, quirked-ogee-and-astragal, dentil-like fretwork, cyma recta-and-astragal, bed molding, and torus. The bed molding consisted of a continuous pattern of five vertical grooves of the gouge with each punctuated at their top with a hole of the punch, presumably to recall the triglyph, and separated by a swag of nine punch marks (Refer to Figure E.14).

The large room, Room 105, across the hall from Room 103 was adorned in a similar fashion to the rooms described above with minor variation. The dado and washboard carried the same molding profiles as those in the hall. Instead of the two

¹⁰⁹ Photograph no. K-037 (c. 1870), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.

¹¹⁰ Re-quoted Latrobe from Garvan. Beatrice B. Garvan, *Federal Philadelphia, 1785-1825: The Athens of the Western World* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987), 46

quirked-ogee-and-astragal moldings used on the crossetted double architraves in Rooms 101, 102, and 103, the cavetto was used in its place (Refer to “b” in Figure E.19). The fluted pilasters beneath the double architraves of the windows lacked the cabling of Room 102 and 103.

The cornice of Room 105 was composed, from top to bottom, of a cavetto-and-astragal, cyma recta, bed molding, and torus (Refer to Figure E.15). Much like Room 102 and 103, the bed molding featured five vertical grooves, each punctuated at the top with a hole from a punch. The primary difference in the bed molding was the five punch swag separating the grooves instead of nine as seen in Room 102 and 103.

The punch-and-gouge work of the mantelpiece in Room 105 was simpler than the mantels discussed above. The frieze of the mantel entablature was filled with composition ornament, also known as compo. The ornament was formed through press molding a steamed mixture of resin, linseed oil, glue, and whiting. The installation of such a mantel in 1796-97 by McConnell’s joiners would have been expensive, as the availability of such mantels in the mid-1790s was dependent on European production and shipment. The applied compo ornament in the frieze of the mantel was broken into five parts. The central panel, or tablet, was flanked by the side friezes which were bookended by trusses. The tablet in the mantel of Room 105 featured a wreath of wheat kernels surrounding a crossed rake and fork with spiraling tendrils supporting vases of fruit. The side friezes consisted of flora festoons with patera and trusses with a

kylix, a wide and shallow open-mouthed antique vessel, filled with fruit supported by a spindle that rises from crossed sprays.¹¹¹

The northwest corner room, Room 106, on the first floor was adjoined to Room 105 and located behind the stair connected to the central hall. The ornament in Room 106 dropped off significantly. The doors were surrounded by double architraves with cavetto moldings. Single architraves with cavetto moldings surrounded the windows (Refer to "a" in Figure E.19). The architraves of the doors and windows lacked crossettes, as seen in the other rooms on the first floor. The sections below the windows were not recessed. From the inside out, the firebox was surrounded by a torus, band, and cavetto without a shelf. Above the firebox in the north cheek, a wrought iron safe was set into the masonry.

The detail in the first floor architraves alludes to the function of each room. The hall facilitated the flow from room to room. Clearly, the adjoined rooms, Rooms 102 and 103, with matching details on the eastern half house were drawing rooms or a double parlor for formally entertaining visitors. The larger room in the southwest corner, Room 105, was used for dining.

The use of Room 105 as a dining room was supported by the matching cavetto profiles rendered in Room 106. This similarity in detail implied that the rooms were connected not only by proximity, but by function. The simplicity of Room 106's

¹¹¹ Lounsbury, ed., 90; Mark Reinberger, *Utility and Beauty: Robert Wellford and Composition Ornament in America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 12-15, 47, 64-67, 78-79.

ornament suggested its use was for servicing the more formally adorned rooms. The other key element was the stairway that directly connected Room 106 to the basement, which was “divided into sundry apartments, pantry, [and] kitchen... with bake ovens and other conveniences.”¹¹² The placement of this stair in the northeast corner of the room enabled strategic access to the kitchen which was probably located beneath the dining room with the shelved pantry located beneath Room 106.¹¹³ Hand-wrought brads were used to nail the treads to the stringers in this service stairway (Refer to Appendix C to see data sheets on N.000.001 and N.000.002). The presence of these nails in context with other nails and framing confirmed that this was an original feature necessary for the daily operation of the house.

SECOND FLOOR

The second floor was laid out and adorned in a similar manner, although not as high-styled as the floor below. The finer open newel stair connected to halls. The second floor hall, Room 201, provided access to the rooms of the floor and, at its southern end, the occupiable area on the flat roof of the piazza.¹¹⁴ The cornice in the hall was composed, much like its counterparts on the first floor, as an aggregate of Neoclassical elements pulled from pattern books and stacked in a custom arrangement.

¹¹² Advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *Porcupine's Gazette*, March 19, 1799.

¹¹³ Unfortunately, a cementitious parge and poured concrete floor from the late-twentieth century covers the majority of the basement surfaces. These additions either conceal or perpetrated the removal of dateable fabric.

¹¹⁴ “Unidentified Watercolors,” [c.1820], Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP; “Busti Mansion,” photograph, September 30, 1960, no. 12227-54, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

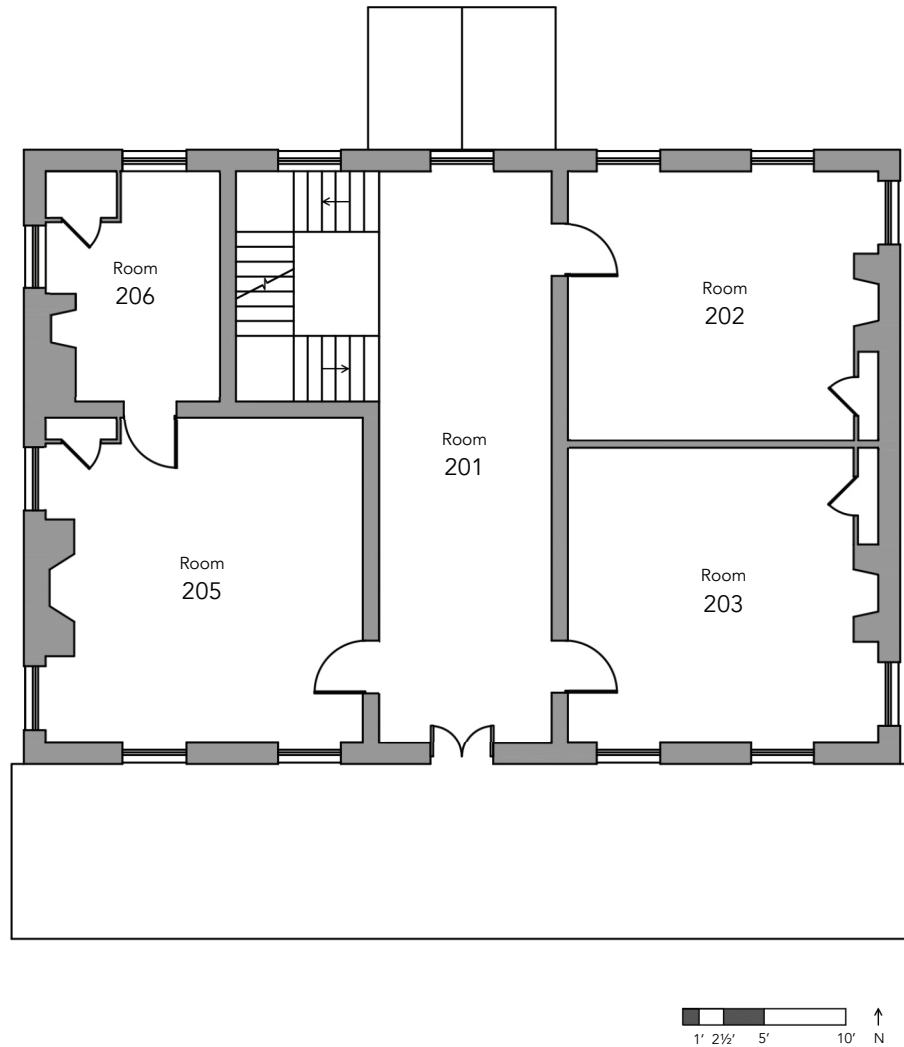


Figure 3.8. Second Floor Plan of the McConnell-Busti Country House. Drawn by author, 2016.

This cornice consisted of a bed molding embellished with a rectilinear diamond fretwork resembling the Chinese or Gothic geometry of Georgian architecture.¹¹⁵ A dentillated band capped the bed molding with each dentil receiving rosette-like punchwork at its center. Much like the cornices in Room 102, 103, and 105, this cornice is crowned by a cavetto-and-astragal molding set upon the corona (Refer to Figure E.16).

¹¹⁵ Calloway and Mitchell Beazley, eds., *The Elements of Style*, 82, 116, 148, 217.

The crossetted double architrave window and door surrounds of the hall were delineated, like those in the first floor hall, with quirked-ogee-and-astragal moldings at the outer edge of each band. From top to bottom, the dado was defined by a fillet, quirked-ogee-and-astragal, band, and cyma recta-and-astragal. The top edge of the washboard was ornamented with a torus molding crowned by a cyma reversa-and-astragal. Again like the first floor, the dado and washboard served as the capital and base of the fluted pilasters that flanked the flat paneled section below the recessed windows.

Unlike the connected parlors of the first floor, the eastern rooms of the second floor were not accessible to each other through a double door; nor were they identically ornamented. From top to bottom, the cornices in both rooms were composed of a cymatium, cyma reversa, bed molding, and torus (Refer to Figure E.17). The crossetted double architraves were the same as noted in the hall. The primary difference was seen between in the pilasters and mantels. The northeast room, Room 202, had flat panel pilasters that flanked the recessed windows and firebox; while the southeast room, Room 203, received fluted pilasters. In addition to the differences between the pilasters, the friezes of mantels were also different. The mantel in Room 202 was covered with punch-and-gouge work but lacked compo ornament, whereas Room 203's mantel had both punch-and-gouge work with floral festoons added to the side friezes.

The southwest corner room, Room 205, was adorned with a cornice identical to that of Rooms 202 and 203. However, its double architraves and dado were carved

with the cavetto plane, setting it a part from the other rooms. The pilasters around the recessed windows in Room 205 were comparable to those in Room 202. The flat panel pilasters flanking Room 205's firebox were filled with floral drop motif compo. Besides the floral swags in the side friezes, the mantel was heavily worked with the punch-and-gouge.

The northwest corner room, Room 206, was only accessible through Room 205. Room 206 was more simply ornamented with single architraves without crossettes, similar in detail to Room 106. The cavetto plane was also used to carve the molding of the surrounds. The firebox surround was also very subdued. Unlike Room 106, the surround had a mantel shelf supported by trusses with minimal gouge-work.

The function of the second floor was more straight forward than the first, as any of these rooms could have served as bedchambers. The presence of closets with double-bead edged shelves in all four rooms, further supports the familial use of the rooms. It may be surmised that the higher degree of ornament in the southern rooms, Room 203 and 205, may indicate an informal entertaining purpose that could have accentuated the uses of the piazza roof.

GARRET

The finer open newel stair continued to the garret of the McConnell-Busti Country House. The central hall of the garret was lit by the central dormers that pierced the gambrel roof. The northeastern room, Room 302, contained a firebox with mantel

shelf and built-in closet. The southeastern room, Room 303, contained a firebox with mantel shelf without a closet, but had a gable-end sash window. The southwestern room, Room 305, contained a built-in closet without a firebox, but also had a gable-end sash window. The northwestern room, Room 306, contained both a closet and firebox.

The ornament in the rooms of the garret consisted of single architraves with ovolo molding for the door and window frames. The doors hung in the doorways were composed of four single-worked raised panels. The doors were hung with the fields facing into the hall. The closet doors were also formulated with single-worked raised panels except there were only two panels in each door. The only other embellishments were seen at the upper edge of the washboards carved with a torus-profiled plane.

Like the walls that divided Room 102 from 103 and Room 202 from 203, the full-height walls of the garret are entirely framed with vertical planks set on edge. The planks and studs of the knee walls were covered with riven lathe held in place by machine-cut, hand-headed lathe nails (Refer to Appendix C to see data sheets on N.301.001 – N.301.003).¹¹⁶

The “four convenient chambers in the garret” were likely used by the servants that operated the country house.¹¹⁷ The use of the finer open newel stair to all the floors, including the garret which required greater expense, indicated that the trap door provided access to the shallow slope of the gambrel roof which Matthew McConnell

¹¹⁶ Insurance survey for Paul Busti, March 15, 1806, survey no. 906, policy no. 2149, Mutual Assurance Company, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

¹¹⁷ Advertisement, Philadelphia (PA) *Porcupine's Gazette*, March 19, 1799.

and Paul Busti used to impress visitors with a view of the Mill Creek valley and Philadelphia.

This chapter revealed the original appearance of the building assemblies of the house during the McConnell-Busti Country House Period, 1794-1824. It also established a datum for the explanation of subsequent adaptations and alterations to the structure by later occupants and owners uncovered through historical research and building archaeology. The next chapter interprets the findings related to the habitation of the country house by Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride and his family.

CHAPTER 4 | THE KIRKBRIDE FAMILY RESIDENCE PERIOD (1840-1883)

More roads were made, and the countryside was divided into lots. More houses and bigger houses... apartment houses... [dormitories] spread over the land and crowded around the Little House.

–Virginia Lee Burton, *The Little House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942)

Tracing the transformation of the McConnell-Busti Country House into a residence for the head physician of Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, this chapter chronicles the changes made to the house by Dr. Thomas Kirkbride through secondary sources and archaeological building analysis. The first of three sections establishes the context for the arrival of the Kirkbride family in 1840, their subsequent forty-year residency at 44th and Haverford Avenue, and the important institutional function of the house within the hospital complex. It also includes a biographical vignette on Dr. Kirkbride. The second part is a synthesis of above-ground artifacts—building materials, fire insurance surveys, and photographic records—to determine the exterior appearance of the Kirkbride Mansion over time. The final segment will amalgamate in-the-field observations with archival records to determine the interior additions made to and the function of the Kirkbride Mansion.

CONTEXT FOR THE KIRKBRIDE MANSION

Following the death of Paul Busti, Blockley Retreat Farm was sold by John Jacob van der Kemp, the executor of Busti's estate and his successor at the Holland Land

Company, to John Buckman.¹¹⁸ Historian Mark Lloyd notes that Buckman, a Philadelphia entrepreneur, became a “gentleman” with the purchase of the McConnell-Busti Country House on May 1, 1825. It has also been observed that Buckman turned his attention to harnessing the power of Mill Creek and building a woolen factory, instead of the traditional practice of agricultural production. His mill was known as “Good Intent” and it was leased to the Philadelphia merchant Edward Wrigley.¹¹⁹

After a decade in Blockley Township, the Buckmans decided to leave the area. In May 1835, Buckman and his wife, Susannah, sold Blockley Retreat Farm—101 acres and the country house—to Matthew Arrison. A year later, Buckman sold the remainder of his property in West Philadelphia with the “Good Intent” mill to its long time lessee Edward Wrigley.¹²⁰

In quick succession, Arrison sold Blockley Retreat Farm to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital for the construction of the hospital’s new country asylum for the mentally ill.¹²¹ This transaction on November 13, 1835 was enabled by the Contributor’s resolution on June 8, 1835:

Resolved, that in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient that the Lunatic department of the Pennsylvania Hospital should be removed from the City of Philadelphia to the country in its vicinity, provided that the removal can be

¹¹⁸ John Jacob Vanderkemp, Executor of Paul Busti's Last Will and Testament, to John Buckman, deed, May 1, 1825, Deed Book GWR 4, 455-458, PCA; *Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont: Journals of John Lincklaen, Agent of the Holland Land Company* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons/Knickerbocker Press, 1897), 133.

¹¹⁹ Lloyd 1.

¹²⁰ Ibid; John and Susan Buckman to Mattew Arrison, deed, May 15, 1835, Deed Book AM 65, 184-186, PCA.

¹²¹ Matthew and Maria Arrison to The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, deed, November 13, 1835, Deed Book SHF 1, 30-32, PCA.

effected upon such a plan as will promote the comfort and improve the health of the patients and admit of the superintendence and control essential to a good administration of the institution.¹²²

The resolution charged the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital with finding a suitable farm. Touring numerous farms in the Philadelphia area and finding many of them “destitute of Health,” the managers recommended the Arrison tract for its “lofty situation... [and] requisite supply of wholesome water,” the same qualities desirable in a country seat.¹²³

The need for a suitable country campus was the contributors and managers of Pennsylvania Hospital response to Philadelphia’s rapid growth.¹²⁴ The historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr. observes that the second quarter of the nineteenth century was an era of Philadelphia transitioning into a large modern city when its physical size, population, and social complexity surged. The shift from the colonial to the industrial forced old and new residents to adjust to the unfamiliar sights and sounds of an accelerating modern city and its economy.¹²⁵ Historian David Schuyler notes that the “shift from country to city, from farm to factory, was perhaps the most fundamentally dislocating experience in all of American history. It demanded innovative solutions the would protect public health, provide areas for recreation to ease the psychological adjustment to a new

¹²² Resolution of Contributors quoted from Lloyd 2. See also, Thomas G. Morton and Frank Woodbury, *The History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895* (Philadelphia: Times Printing House, 1895), 115.

¹²³ Morton and Woodbury, 117-118.

¹²⁴ Morton and Woodbury, 113-115; Lloyd 2.

¹²⁵ Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 49; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 1-3.



Figure 4.1. Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane at 44th and Market Streets. It was designed by Isaac Holden, complete in 1841, and demolished in 1959. Lithograph by W. Mason, artist, and W.E. Tucker, engraver, c. 1845. Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

urban environment, and redirect the spatial growth of cities.”¹²⁶ This is the backdrop upon which the contributors and managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital worked to expand its operational effectiveness in handling the issues arising with the rapid growth of the city.

Following the acquisition of Blockley Retreat Farm, the hospital administration hired an architect, Isaac Holden, to erect their West Philadelphia hospital building, east of Mill Creek. On October 12, 1840, during the waning months of construction, Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride was selected to be Medical Superintendent of the new Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. Kirkbride moved his family into the McConnell-

¹²⁶ Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, 2.

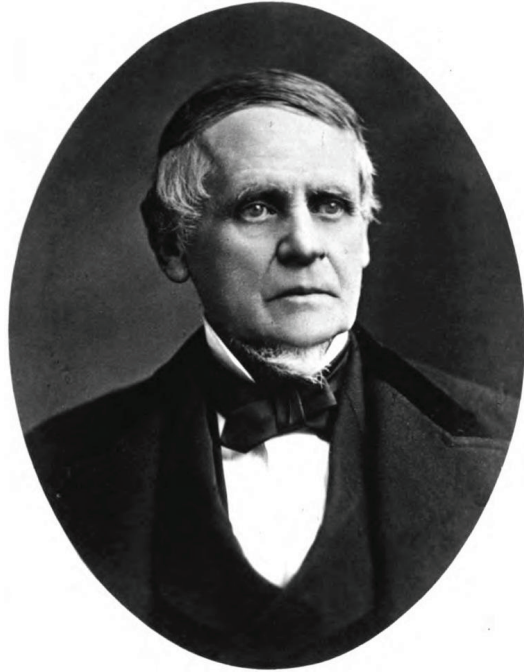


Figure 4.2. Thomas Story Kirkbride, M.D., LL.D., c. 1880. Frontispiece of *Memoir of Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D., LL. D.* (Warren, PA: E. Cowan, 1885).

Busti Country House shortly after his appointment. In subsequent years, the house became known as the “Kirkbride Mansion.”¹²⁷

Born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on July 31, 1809, Kirkbride was raised in a rural community. His parents, John and Elizabeth Story Kirkbride, were Quaker farmers that owned and operated a 150-acre farm where Kirkbride learned about agriculture. Kirkbride’s early formal education was at a primary school operated by the local Friends Meeting in Morrisville. During these formative years, Kirkbride expressed an interest in pursuing a career in medicine at his father’s urging. To honor those aspirations, Kirkbride’s parents sent him to two boarding schools in New Jersey where he studied

¹²⁷ Morton and Woodbury, 165, 202; Cloud, 40.

classics and algebra to prepare him for his medical training.¹²⁸ Before matriculating at the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in the fall of 1828, Kirkbride apprenticed under Dr. Nicholas Belleville, a French-born physician working in Trenton. Kirkbride learned the “basics of bedside medicine,” as Belleville’s student, a practice he would later put to great use.¹²⁹ Kirkbride completed his course work at the University of Pennsylvania in 1832 and sought a medical residency. Kirkbride elected to take two residencies. His first was a year stint at the Friends Asylum for the Insane in the village of Frankford, before moving on to a highly coveted opportunity at Pennsylvania Hospital in March 1833.¹³⁰

In 1836, Kirkbride completed his residencies and opened a private practice at Fourth and Arch Streets in Philadelphia. The success of his practice fueled aspirations for a surgical post at Pennsylvania Hospital. However, the unexpected offer to become the first superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane shifted his attention to treating mental illness. After a brief deliberation, Kirkbride accepted the appointment, moved to the campus with his family, and made final preparations for his first patients to be admitted into the newly constructed facility on January 9, 1841.¹³¹

Kirkbride was noted to have worked tirelessly for the improved conditions and health of the mentally ill patients under his charge. His ideals and yearning for

¹²⁸ Nancy Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Origins of American Psychiatry* (1984; repr., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 45-49; Earl D. Bond, “Part One: The Man,” in *Dr. Kirkbride and His Mental Hospital* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1947), 3-50.

¹²⁹ Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping*, 53-57.

¹³⁰ Tomes, 62-68.

¹³¹ Morton and Woodbury, 165, 197; Tomes, 68-73.

collaboration among superintendents of hospitals for the mentally ill led to a meeting between Kirkbride and Dr. Samuel B. Woodward of the Massachusetts State Lunatic Asylum in the double parlor of the Kirkbride Mansion in 1844.¹³² From that conversation, a Philadelphia meeting was held between thirteen superintendents to discuss best practices on October 16-19, 1844. This body elected to found the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, known today as the American Psychiatric Association. Kirkbride served in many capacities within the Association and was a leading member interested in developing building plans for hospitals.¹³³

Kirkbride's interest in developing hospital plans came to a head with the overcrowding of the male and female wards in the early-1850s. Kirkbride petitioned the administration for the erection of a new building at the West Philadelphia campus. In 1854, his appeal for the building was approved by the Managers and Contributors. Interestingly, Kirkbride published his designs and arguments for the planning of mentally ill hospitals in the same year. Kirkbride's treatise, entitled *On the Construction, Organization and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane*, was a guiding document for the renowned Philadelphia architect Samuel Sloan to design

¹³² Photograph no. K-092 (c. 1870), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.; John Curwen, *History of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, from 1844 to 1874, Inclusive* (1875), 5.

¹³³ Morton and Woodbury, 198; Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping*, 75; Curwen, *History of the Association of Medical Superintendents*, 5-9; American Psychiatric Association, <https://psychiatry.org/> (accessed April 3, 2016).



Figure 4.3. Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane Department for Males at 49th and Market Street. It was design by Samuel Sloan and Thomas S. Kirkbride and completed in 1859. Lithograph by Samuel Sloan, artist, and J.M. Butler, engraver, c. 1860. Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

the cutting edge hospital building to house male patients. The brick and stone edifice, west of Mill Creek, was begun in 1856.¹³⁴

The male dormitory opened to patients on October 27, 1859. The structure, in conjunction with Kirkbride's published plans, served as a model for the construction of hospital buildings across the United States.¹³⁵ The only aspect of the plan Kirkbride could not control was the urban development that began to surround the rural asylum. Kirkbride, much like his predecessors, believed that removing patients from the sites

¹³⁴ Morton and Woodbury, 174-177; Thomas S. Kirkbride, *On the Construction, Organization and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane* (Philadelphia: 1854); Richard E. Greenwood, "Kirkbride's Hospital or Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital" (nomination, National Historic Landmark, National Park Service, 1974); Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved*, 212.

¹³⁵ Morton and Woodbury, 176; Greenwood, "Kirkbride's Hospital" (nomination, NHL, 1974); Richard James Webster, "Buildings as Artifacts of Urban Development: Philadelphia Architecture, 1690-1940" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 282-283.

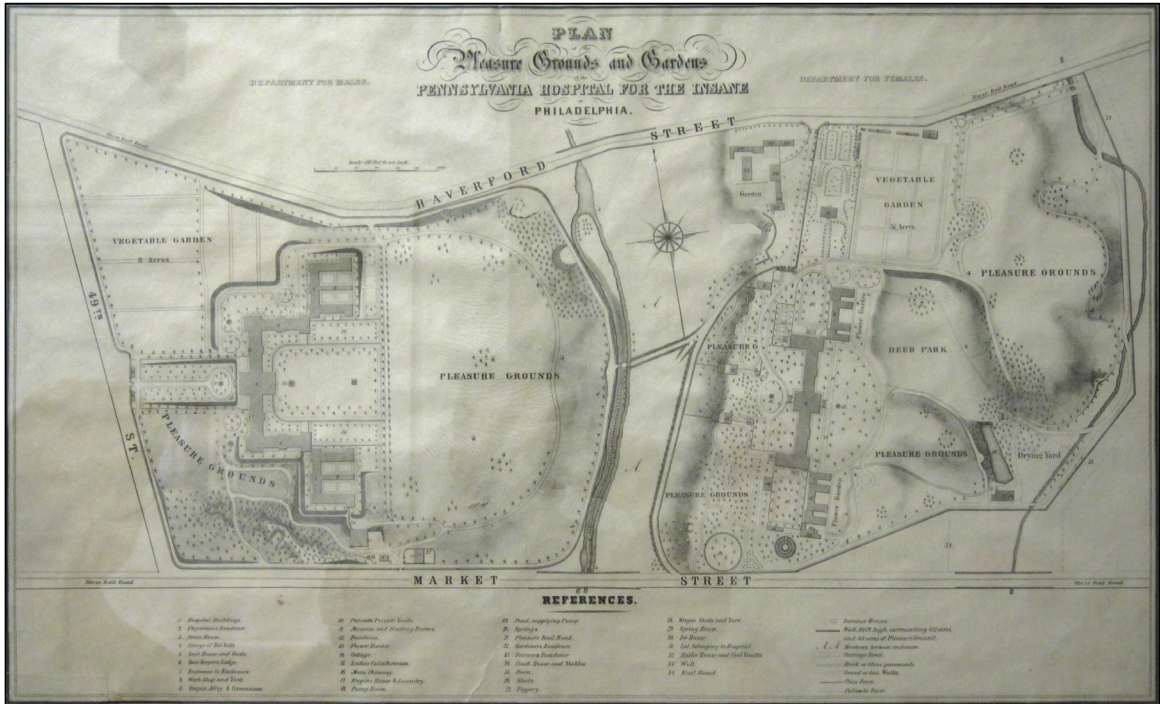


Figure 4.4. Plan of the Pleasure Grounds and Gardens of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane at Philadelphia, c. 1860. Photograph of map by Aaron Wunsch, 2014. Map on view at the Kirkbride Center in Philadelphia.

and sounds of the city, creating the opportunity for participation in agricultural labor, and strolls through pleasure grounds would facilitate healing.¹³⁶ Arguably, this was dependent on the rural setting of the asylum. However, as Warner observed: “By 1860 the area of unbroken urban settlement covered about six square miles. The mass of houses spread out over the Delaware and Schuylkill river plain like a man-made savannah of brick and slate, its surface pierced here and there by steeples, gas holders, and the masts of ships.”¹³⁷ The sum of which pushed urban growth into West

¹³⁶ Nancy Gerlach-Spriggs, Richard Enoch Kaufman, and Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Restorative Gardens: The Healing Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 20-21, 28-31; Kenneth B. Hawkins, “The Therapeutic Landscape: Nature, Architecture, and Mind in Nineteenth Century America” (PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, 1991), 74.

¹³⁷ Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 53.

Philadelphia and the rowhouse neighborhoods accessible at first by omnibus and later street cars.¹³⁸

No matter the suburban development that began to engulf the hospital, Kirkbride remained focused on the task of seeking treatment and hopeful healing of those individuals with mental illness. Kirkbride stayed at his post until his death on December 16, 1883. For forty-four years, he dedicated his life to science and the study of mental illness at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.¹³⁹ Although his practices were criticized towards the end of career, historian Nancy Tomes noted that Kirkbride never developed the “impersonal view of patients as clinical material that would ultimately facilitate the objectification and neglect of hopeless cases.”¹⁴⁰ In light of his contemporaries, Kirkbride remained a professional charismatic that sought healing and wellness for his patients at the expense of his own.

EXTERIOR OF THE KIRKBRIDE MANSION

The masonry façade of the 54’ by 38’ country house was little altered at the time of the Pennsylvania Hospital’s acquisition. A few wooden elements, however, were changed and added at some point between 1820 and 1835.¹⁴¹ The piazza retained its size and Doric ornament as noted in the previous chapter, in spite of the flat roof’s

¹³⁸ Webster, “Buildings as Artifacts of Urban Development,” 284.

¹³⁹ Bond, *Dr. Kirkbride and His Mental Hospital*, 149, 159-162; Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping*, 312.

¹⁴⁰ Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping*, 321.

¹⁴¹ “Unidentified Watercolors” (c.1820), Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP; Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, December 30, 1835, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP.

failure. The failed roof was covered by a shed roof. The new roof sloped away from the masonry and was covered with cedar shingles. The occupiable space in the piazza was adapted to a glazed porch. The intercolumniation was filled by twenty-five-over-twenty-five sash windows with each pane measuring 8" by 10". The windows in the masonry apertures remained double hung but the light configuration went from six-over-six to twelve-over-twelve (Refer to Appendix D for data sheets on sash pulleys). The gambrel roof walk, or widow's walk, received plain wooden posts and railings.¹⁴²

During their forty-four years at 44th and Haverford, the Kirkbrides changed the exterior of the house. In the early years of their residency, minor maintenance changes were completed; for example, tin gutters and spouts were added to the south eave of the piazza to help funnel water away.¹⁴³ The most significant exterior changes likely occurred in the third-quarter of the nineteenth century during the latter portion of Kirkbride's residency.

An 1877 fire insurance re-survey noted that a two-story tower was constructed on the north elevation at the center bay (Refer to Appendix B for a transcription of the re-survey). Following the removal of the Doric-ordered pedimented porch, the 12' x 8' tower was constructed of bricks laid in the American bond. The masons maintained the ovolo-molded stretcher course for the water table, but used three projecting courses of

¹⁴² Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, December 30, 1835, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP; Photograph no. K-095 (c. 1870), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.

¹⁴³ Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 14, 1842, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP.

brick instead of stone for the belt course. The modest wood cornice that crowned the tower was subdued in comparison to the modillion cornice of McConnell-Busti Country House. The flat roof above the cornice was covered with tin.¹⁴⁴

The first floor window apertures of the tower were filled with six-over-six sash windows. A central double door with a four light transom provided access through the tower into the Kirkbride Mansion. The narrower second floor windows were filled with four-over-four sash windows.¹⁴⁵

The other significant alteration during the Kirkbride residency was another reconfiguration of the piazza roof. The shed roof and Doric entablature were removed for the addition of a hipped roof. The top ends of the hip rafters were set in the masonry with the lower ends set on a false plate carried by the joists ends via the top plate supported by the six attenuated columns. The intermediate rafters running north south were likely nailed, at their top, to a ridge board that spanned the space between the upper ends of the hip rafters and to false plate at their lower end. The rafters of the east and west slopes were nailed to the false plate and the outward faces of the hip

¹⁴⁴ Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, February 5, 1877, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP; Photograph no. K-045 (c. 1870), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.; Photograph no. K-101 (c. 1880), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.; Theodore F. Dillon, "North and West Sides," 1958, photograph no. PA-1628-2, Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

rafters. The board ceiling was hung from north south running joists set in masonry and carried by the top plate.¹⁴⁶

INTERIOR OF THE KIRKBRIDE MANSION

The interior of the McConnell-Busti Country House remained relatively unchanged in the years between Busti's death and the hospital's purchase of the farm. The 1842 fire insurance re-survey conducted two-years after the Kirkbride family moved into the house noted that nothing was changed inside the house except the south end of the central hall of the garret which was partitioned with "planed boards" creating a fifth room in the garret (Refer to Appendix B for a transcription of the re-survey).¹⁴⁷

Shortly after this re-survey, two planed board closets were inserted into Room 305 as revealed through assembly and fastener analysis.¹⁴⁸ The doors of both closets were produced in a similar manner, but with different configurations. The frames of the paneled doors were not pegged as in earlier work. The room-side panel faces were flat with the closet-side faces fielded. The fields did not carry a molding at their edge, rather the scrub marks of the plane were left on the bevels.

¹⁴⁶ "Busti Mansion," photograph, September 30, 1960, no. 12227-54, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC; Photograph no. K-157 (c. 1875), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.; Photograph no. K-072 (c. 1875), Kirkbride Family Photo Album, Hosp. Arch.

¹⁴⁷ The board wall was added between 1835 and 1842. Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 14, 1842, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP.

¹⁴⁸ These closets must have been installed post-1842 as the survey notes three closets in the garret (the built-ins), not five. The 1835 survey did not mention closets in the garret.

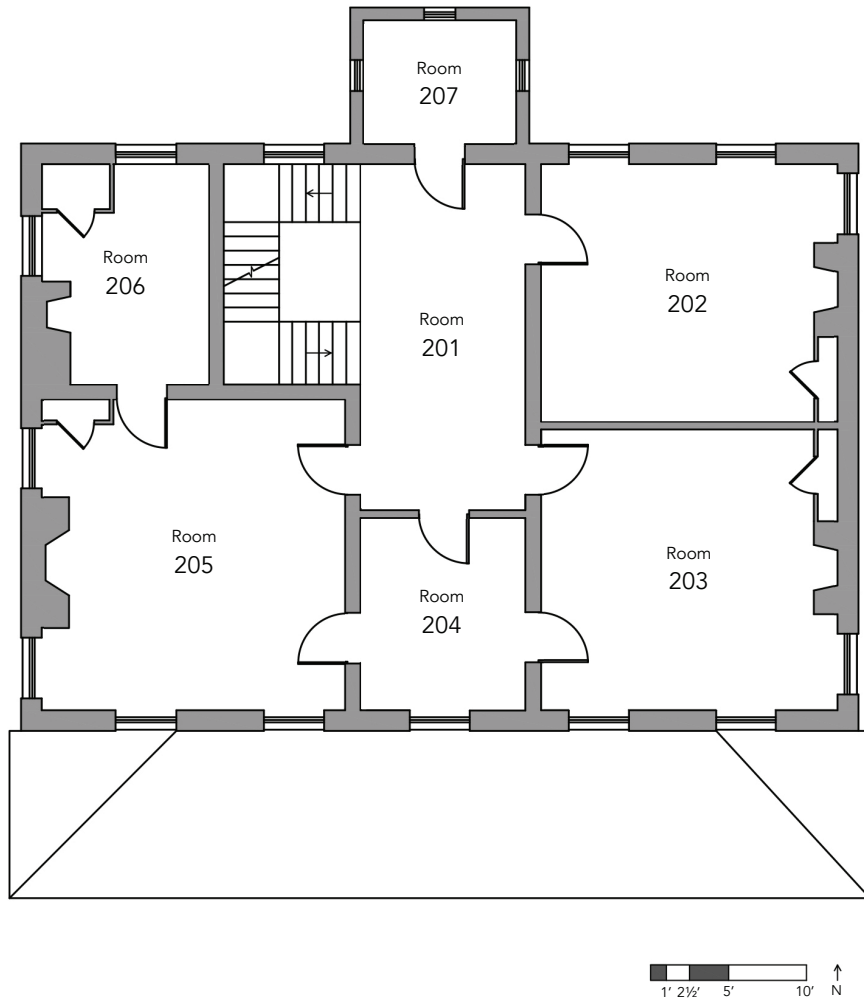


Figure 4.5. Second Floor Plan of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1877. Drawn by author, 2016.

The northeast closet was accessible through double doors. Each door of the northeast closet possessed two long vertical panels. The door of the northwest closet was four paneled with longer panels above smaller panels at the bottom of the door. These configurations are characteristic of doors with a Greek Revival period provenance, about 1830 through the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, 144; Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 179-182.

This period provenance was supported by the cornice that tops the vertical board walls of the northwest closet. The cornice was composed of cavetto and ovolo moldings. The ovolo is more elliptical, therefore based on the Grecian oval and not the Roman circle as seen in earlier moldings.¹⁵⁰ The type of machine cut and headed nails that adhered the cornice to the planed boards of the northeast closet also corroborate this provenance (Refer to Appendix C to see data sheets for N.305.001 and N.305.002).

The addition of the two-story tower created two new rooms within the Kirkbride Mansion. The first floor space served as a vestibule to shelter individuals entering the house. The second floor room was the first plumbed bathroom in the house. In 1877, the fire insurance surveyor observed a bathtub, toilet, and wash stand in the room. Around the time of the tower addition and alteration of the piazza, the second floor hall was partitioned at its southern end.¹⁵¹

The partition facilitated the creation of a dressing room, Room 204. The 1877 fire insurance re-survey noted that Room 204 was finished the same as the hall.¹⁵² The joiners were able to replicate the cornice with un-noticeable variation. The double architraves surrounding the doorway from the hall into Room 204 were also similar to the original double architraves. However, Kirkbride's joiners did not use two quirked-ogee-and-astragal molding planes as seen earlier. Instead, they used the cyma recta-

¹⁵⁰ Garvin, 138-139.

¹⁵¹ The doorway that led to flat roof of the piazza was filled with a double hung window above the dado with a flat panel below. Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, February 5, 1877, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP.

¹⁵² Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, February 5, 1877, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, HSP.

and-astragal on the outside edge and quirked-ogee-and-astragal between the two bands of the double architraves (Refer to "c" in Figure E.19).

The original dado in the hall, from top to bottom, was delineated by a fillet, quirked-ogee-and-astragal, band, and cyma recta-and-astragal. This same profile was seen on three of the four dado elements added to the north and south elevations of the partition wall. The outlier was in the northwest dado. This dado carried a cavetto-and-astragal in the place of the cyma recta-and-astragal. This variation in the dado suggested the reuse of an element from another location.

The creation of Room 204 required the the cutting of two new doorways into the interior load bearing walls. The doorways into Rooms 203 and 205 from the hall were located within Room 204 with partitioning of the hall. The doorways were framed to match the original, except again the double architraves do not match the originals with the cyma recta-and-astragal on the outside edge of the surrounds. The dado pieces cut for these new doors were then reused on the partition wall, which explained why the one section of the dado on partition wall is identical to the original dado in Room 205.¹⁵³

The limited number of alterations to the first floor indicated that little changed in regard to how the Kirkbrides used the formal spaces in the house when compared with McConnell or Busti. The second floor, however, clearly illustrated the fashionable and functional updates of the late-nineteenth century. The creation of a room dedicated to

¹⁵³ Paint microscopy should be completed to corroborate this argument. Paint cratering was inconclusive.

dressing became increasingly popular to address Victorian sensibilities. The introduction of the technological advance in plumbing with a bathroom was a cutting edge advancement for the improvement of domestic life and health.

Through the analysis of above-ground archival artifacts and building materials, this chapter communicated the alterations made during the period of the Kirkbride family's residence in the McConnell-Busti Country House. The next chapter builds upon this understanding of the structure's architectural history by looking at the preservation and reuse of the Kirkbride Mansion as the Lee Cultural Center in the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER 5 | LEE CULTURAL CENTER PERIOD (1957-present)

Pretty soon there was an elevated train going back and forth [near] the Little House. ... Pretty soon they tore down the [dormitories]... around the Little House. ... Pretty soon they started building up... They built up [nineteen] stories...

–Virginia Lee Burton, *The Little House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942)

After a century of service to the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Kirkbride Mansion was sold to the City of Philadelphia. Philadelphia’s City Planning Commission, Department of Recreation, and Historical Commission worked together to see the reuse of the 160-year-old structure as a recreation center located at the heart of a dense urban neighborhood. This chapter, split into four sections, delves into the alterations that transitioned the building into its use as a recreation center for West Philadelphians. The first portion describes the circumstances that led to the purchase and reuse of the Kirkbride Mansion by Philadelphia. The next two sections explain the physical exterior and interior manifestations of the designs orchestrated by the Philadelphia architecture firm Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson. The final element of this chapter highlights interventions made in the decades since the 1960 opening of the Lee Cultural Center.

CONTEXT FOR THE LEE CULTURAL CENTER

The Kirkbride Mansion remained the residence for the chief physician and superintendent after Kirkbride’s death. Dr. John B. Chapin took the reigns of the Department for the Insane on September 1, 1884 and moved into the house. Following



Figure 5.1. Residence of Paul Busti, Esq., Philadelphia. Watercolor by David Johnson Kennedy, April 1889. Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

twenty-seven years of service to the hospital, Chapin resigned from his post and vacated the house in 1911. It is probable that Chapin's replacement, Dr. Copp, also took up residence in the Kirkbride Mansion before the house transitioned into a space for patient services. By 1943, the house was being solely used for occupational therapy.¹⁵⁴

A 1949 Philadelphia Contributionship fire insurance survey confirmed that the Kirkbride Mansion was being used for numerous activities throughout the day. The basement was used for ceramics, woodworking, and print making. The staff office was

¹⁵⁴ Francis R. Packard, *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital of Philadelphia from 1751 to 1938* (Philadelphia: Engle Press, 1938), 122-125; Nancy Tomes, *The Art of Asylum-Keeping: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Origins of American Psychiatry* (1984; repr., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 316; Cloud, 57-58.

located in an addition off Room 102, discussed below, with leatherworking activities in the other rooms of the first floor. The second floor housed looms for weaving and gas blowpipes for smithing.¹⁵⁵

The neighborhoods surrounding the hospital continued to develop at rapid pace. The street cars gave way to the erection of an elevated railway over Market Street in 1906, along the hospital's southern boundary. In the mid-1920s, the neighborhood invaded the campus of the old Hospital for the Insane, then known as the Pennsylvania Hospital Department of Mental and Nervous Diseases with the sale of "unused Hospital land."¹⁵⁶ The Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia acquired a parcel of the hospital lands for the construction of its corporate headquarters at 46th and Market Streets. The next significant intrusion was the City of Philadelphia's 1949 approval to move the elevated rail underground through a portion of the hospital's campus.¹⁵⁷

This continued whittling of the hospital acreage was compounded by the poor financial situation of the Department of Mental and Nervous Diseases. The fiscal shortages were evident in the deteriorated condition of the Kirkbride Mansion recorded in the 1949 fire insurance survey, cited above. Its preparer observed that the "Interior

¹⁵⁵ Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, January 5, 1949, resurvey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

¹⁵⁶ Lloyd 3.

¹⁵⁷ The name changed in January 1919 to be more politically correct. Lloyd 3.

paint and paper [were] very shabby; exterior badly in need of painting, pointing, and carpenter repairs.”¹⁵⁸

In 1951, Pennsylvania Hospital’s administration decided to attempt a sale of the original hospital building and Kirkbride Mansion with twenty-seven acres, a section of the 101-acre tract commonly referred to as “Kirkbride’s Hospital” or simply “Kirkbride’s.” Without an immediate buyer, the hospital continued to operate the department as construction of the subway commenced. By the summer of 1955, the City of Philadelphia expressed interest in acquiring the tract for a recreation site with the potential for public housing. Philadelphia’s city planners, like other planners in the United States, were interested in the development of recreation facilities in urban parks to assist in the redevelopment of congested, lower socio-economic areas as part of urban renewal efforts.¹⁵⁹

The city’s interest in the tract likely had its origin in the designation of the Mill Creek neighborhood for redevelopment on January 9, 1948. Although the hospital tract was south of Haverford Avenue therefore outside the scope of redevelopment planning conducted by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC), it was still an area of interest to city planners as it was the last open tract of land within the densely populated district of West Philadelphia.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, January 5, 1949, resurvey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

¹⁵⁹ Lloyd 3; Galen Cranz, *The Politic of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982), 119-121, 135-138.

¹⁶⁰ “Philadelphia Redevelopment Areas” (Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1965), 3, <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017.4/4131> (accessed April 4, 2016); Louis I. Kahn, “Mill Creek

According to a June 10, 1955 letter from Edmund N. Bacon, Executive Director of the PCPC, to Hamilton Vogdes, Director of Redevelopment and Planning for the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), the PCPC had given preliminary approval for the redevelopment of the hospital tract in 1950 "provided eight to ten acres of land adjacent... would be reserved for a playground for acquisition and development by the Department of Recreation."¹⁶¹ This further explains the five scenarios enumerated in a 1952 memorandum of the West Philadelphia Citizens Planning Committee for the long range use of the hospital property. The crux of the scenarios called for the retention of open space with trees, public use of the Kirkbride Mansion, and recommended that if public housing was constructed it should preserve the "park-like nature of the tract."¹⁶²

Following the city's expression of interest in the property, it authorized Albert M. Greenfield to enter negotiations with Pennsylvania Hospital.¹⁶³ With the procurement of Kirkbride's eminent, the PCPC entered a period of intense conversations regarding the use of "the last open area of its size left in the city available for public development."¹⁶⁴ The PCPC remained divided on the development of public housing on the tract. In March 1956, PCPC's disunity on the topic was evident in its four to two vote approving

Redevelopment Area Plan," (Philadelphia City Planning Commission, September 1954), <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017.4/4335> (accessed April 4, 2016).

¹⁶¹ Edmund N. Bacon to Hamilton Vogdes, letter, June 10, 1955, Group 145.2 of Philadelphia City Planning Commission Collection, Housing sites folder, PCA.

¹⁶² "West Phila. Citizens Planning Committee for Long Range Use of 27 Acres Tract of Penna. Hospital Department of Mental and Nervous Diseases 44th and Market Streets," memorandum, February 1, 1952, Group 145.2 of Philadelphia City Planning Commission Collection, Recreation folder, PCA.

¹⁶³ Lloyd 3.

¹⁶⁴ "City Planners OK Housing at Kirkbride's by 4-2 vote," Philadelphia (PA) *Evening Bulletin*, March 22, 1956. See Lloyd 3 for transcription.

public housing. According to the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, the plan adopted by the PCPC was a revision drafted by Edmund Bacon, which addressed the commission's concerns about the density of the early plans put forward by the PHA.¹⁶⁵ Although Bacon's plan was not identified as part of this research, it is safe to assume that Bacon recommended something that resembled the "towers in the park" designed by Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson in the early 1960s.¹⁶⁶

With PCPC approval for development, the city authorized the purchase of the tract and acquired its portion of the property on January 10, 1957.¹⁶⁷ Following the acquisition, hospital operations continued on the city-owned tract until spring 1959 when new hospital facilities at 49th and Market Streets had been completed. Those facilities shared the block with Kirkbride's 1850s hospital building.¹⁶⁸

In the time between acquisition and occupation, the Department of Recreation retained the services of Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson (H2L2) to record and assess the condition of the Kirkbride Mansion for its new use as the hub of a recreation center.¹⁶⁹ The results of the 1957 conditions assessment facilitated the preparation of

¹⁶⁵ Initially, the PHA was considering 900 units per their Federal authorization in July 1955. The PCPC did not like the density so for preliminary approval PHA dropped the number to 550 in December 1955. By the March 1956 vote, Bacon had sliced the number to 231 units. "City Planners OK Housing at Kirkbride's by 4-2 vote," *Philadelphia (PA) Evening Bulletin*, March 22, 1956.

¹⁶⁶ Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 262-265.

¹⁶⁷ Council of the City of Philadelphia, *Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia From January 1 to December 31, 1956* (Philadelphia: Dunlap Printing, 1956), 986-987; Pennsylvania Hospital to City of Philadelphia, deed, January 10, 1957, Deed Book C.A.B. 475, 163-166, PCA.

¹⁶⁸ Lloyd 3.

¹⁶⁹ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson was the successor firm to Paul P. Cret's firm in 1945. John F. Harbeson, William Hough, William Livingston, Sr., and Roy Larson operated the firm until their retirement. In 1976, the firm rebranded as H2L2. The use of H2L2 in this thesis is strictly for ease in abbreviation and does not reflect the work of firms later iteration.



Figure 5.2. PA-1628-1 Front (South) Side. Photograph by Theodore F. Dillon, 1958. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.

an architectural drawing set to outline the necessary alterations for the reuse of the house.¹⁷⁰ Of course, this work caught the eye of the newly formed Philadelphia Historical Commission.

The Philadelphia Historical Commission, appointed for the first time in the spring of 1956, was granted jurisdiction over all the historic structures of Philadelphia. The first five-member commission was composed of the architects Grant M. Simon and Charles E. Peterson, historian R. Norris Williams, II, businessman Harry A. Batten, and city councilman Victor E. Moore. These commissioners set about identifying and

¹⁷⁰ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson, "Paul Busti Mansion," memorandum, August 15, 1957, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR.

certifying buildings for preservation with the authority granted to them by city ordinance.¹⁷¹ The Kirkbride Mansion was among the first class of buildings certified for preservation by the commission on October 31, 1956.¹⁷²

As a certified building, the Kirkbride Mansion plan developed by H2L2 and the Department of Recreation needed to be sympathetic to the fabric that composed the house and approved by the commission. The correspondence between the three entities were cordial and conveyed a yearning to preserve character-defining features of the Kirkbride Mansion.¹⁷³ While preparing final drawings and negotiating with Historical Commission for the Kirkbride Mansion, H2L2 was also contracted to draft plans for PHA's public housing project that shared the block. H2L2's Westpark Apartments, 1961-1963, was noteworthy: "Incorporating large amounts of green space, naturally landscaped, this is one of the least sterile public housing endeavors in the city."¹⁷⁴ The retention of open space should also be credited to the work of Edmund Bacon and the PCPC of the late 1950s.

The final plans for the Kirkbride Mansion were likely approved in the spring of 1960 as work began that summer. According to a collection of photographs at the

¹⁷¹ Margaret B. Tinkcom, "The Philadelphia Historical Commission: Organization and Procedures," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 36, no. 3 Historic Preservation (Summer 1971): 386-397.

¹⁷² Philadelphia Historical Commission, *Historic Buildings Recommended for Preservation* (Philadelphia: 1959), 72; Webster, "Buildings as Artifacts of Urban Development: Philadelphia Architecture, 1690-1940," 304.

¹⁷³ Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson to Grant M. Simon, letter, November 17, 1959, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR.

¹⁷⁴ Edward Teitelman and Richard W. Longstreth, *Architecture in Philadelphia: A Guide* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1974), 203; Lloyd 4.

Philadelphia Historical Commission, the first action was the breaking of ground for the one-story meeting room addition connected to the house by a glazed foyer. The adaptation of Kirkbride's interior and exterior followed in the fall and winter of 1960.¹⁷⁵ By June 1961, the work had concluded as opening ceremonies were held at the new recreation center. On June 27, city council designated the former Kirkbride Mansion as the "John A. Lee Recreation Center," to honor the life of a prominent African-American community leader.¹⁷⁶

EXTERIOR OF THE LEE CULTURAL CENTER

In the seventy-four-year period between Kirkbride's death and acquisition of the Kirkbride tract by the city a few alterations were made to the exterior of the Kirkbride Mansion. The most significant was the addition of a small, one-story addition to the east side of the house by Kirkbride's successor, Dr. John Chapin.¹⁷⁷ Laid in a stretcher bond and covered by a hipped roof, the one-room addition served as an office, mentioned above. The office was accessible through the southern-most window of Room 102 which had been expanded into a doorway.¹⁷⁸ The only other alterations of

¹⁷⁵ This is according to a series of photographs dated September 30, 1960 located in the 4310 Haverford Avenue file at the PHC.

¹⁷⁶ The date of the change in name from Lee Recreation Center to Lee Cultural Center was not identified during the course of this research. Council of the City of Philadelphia, *Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia From January 1 to December 31, 1961* (Philadelphia, 1961), 727; Lloyd 4.

¹⁷⁷ The addition post dates the 1889 watercolor by David Kennedy and pre dates the 1908 Philadelphia Contributionship survey. Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 15, 1908, survey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

¹⁷⁸ Theodore F. Dillon, "Fireplace, First Floor," 1958, photograph no. PA-1628-4, Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress.

note was the replacement of the large sash windows of the piazza by screens and the insertion of a basement entrance through an expanded window aperture on the southwest corner of the house in the first-half of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁹

The layers applied to the exterior over time were removed in 1960 when H2L2 implemented their approved plans to rehabilitate the Kirkbride Mansion for use as a recreation center. The plans called for the removal of all appendages, including Chapin's office addition, Kirkbride's two-story tower addition, and McConnell's piazza. The nineteenth-century additions were removed to restore the esthetic of the house back to its late-eighteenth century appearance. The piazza was removed do its deteriorated condition, limitations in the Department of Recreation's budget, and H2L2's perspective that it was "of minor historical or architectural interests."¹⁸⁰ H2L2 designed cantilevered pedimented hoods to cover the north and south entrances into the Kirkbride Mansion and argued that they were sympathetic to the structure.¹⁸¹

H2L2 also designed a one-story, 30' x 64' meeting room with restrooms constructed to west of the Kirkbride Mansion. This addition was built of concrete masonry units veneered with brick laid in the Flemish bond to resemble the coursework used by the masons of the McConnell-Busti Country House. The gable roof was

¹⁷⁹ Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 15, 1908, survey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC; Theodore F. Dillon, "Front (South) Side," 1958, photograph no. PA-1628-1, Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress.

¹⁸⁰ Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson to Grant M. Simon, letter, November 17, 1959, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR; Edward A. Mauer to Grant M. Simons, letter, April 1, 1960, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

oriented north south with the roof sheathing covered by felt paper and shingles. The addition was appended to the Kirkbride Mansion by a glazed foyer with doors to the exterior. The west facing windows of Rooms 006 and 106 in the Kirkbride Mansion were expanded into doorways to facilitate flow into and out of the addition.¹⁸²

INTERIOR OF THE LEE CULTURAL CENTER

The interior remained relatively unchanged in the interim between Kirkbride and city ownership, except for a few additions. The first insertion was probably a dumbwaiter, likely installed at the inclination of Dr. John Chapin, Kirkbride's successor.¹⁸³ Located in the southwest corners of Rooms 006 and 106, the dumbwaiter facilitated the movement of food prepared in the kitchen, Room 005, to the dining room, Room 105. The ease of placing food into the dumbwaiter from the kitchen was facilitated by cutting an aperture through the load bearing masonry wall between Rooms 005 and 006.¹⁸⁴ The addition of the dumbwaiter likely brought about the infilling of the basement stair from Room 006.

¹⁸² Yoo Choi, et al., "Blockley Retreat/Lee Cultural Center." (report, drawing set, and photographs, HSPV 601: Research, Recording, and Interpretation II, University of Pennsylvania, 2015), 3, sheet 9; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Elevations of Meeting Room," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 9, architectural drawing set, PPR.

¹⁸³ The dumbwaiter was not mentioned in the 1877 fire insurance re-survey, but recorded on the 1908 fire insurance survey. Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 15, 1908, survey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

¹⁸⁴ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Basement Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 6, architectural drawing set, PPR.



Figure 5.3. The bookshelves of the office addition can be seen through the doorway to the right of the fireplace in Room 102. *PA-1628-4 Fireplace, First Floor*. Photograph by Theodore F. Dillon, 1958. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.

The largest insertion was a dwarf partition across the landing of the stair on the second floor.¹⁸⁵ The stud-framed partition with two doorways was capped by a Colonial Revival assembly of elements typical to the first half of the twentieth century. The casings around the door are machine-made standardized moldings also dating to the first half of the twentieth century (Refer to "f" in Figure E.19). The presences of

¹⁸⁵ Cyril M. Harris, *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction*, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), 349.

extruded wire nails also supported this provenance (Refer to Appendix C for data sheets on N.201.001 and N.201.002).¹⁸⁶

An identical set of standardized door casings framed a doorway punched through the interior masonry wall at the first stair land above the second floor. The doorway provided a second point of access into Room 206. The mid-wall height of the doorway required a set of steps in Room 206.¹⁸⁷

The changing operational function of the Kirkbride Mansion in the first half of the twentieth century likely facilitated the installation of a tub, sink, and toilet in the partitioned space in the hall of the garret, Room 304. This bathroom was indirectly recorded in 1949 by a fire-insurance surveyor. The individual noted that the garret “May become an Apt. without cooking.”¹⁸⁸

The interior accumulation of layers over 160 years was observed by H2L2 and informed the plans they developed. Much like the exterior, H2L2’s plans required interventions be made for the new operation of the Kirkbride Mansion as a recreation center. However, unlike the exterior, H2L2 called for the retention of as much inherited building fabric as possible. Their primary efforts were focused on bring the house to code and the creation of a caretaker’s apartment on the second floor.

¹⁸⁶ Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, 141.

¹⁸⁷ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, “Elevations of Meeting Room,” November 23, 1959, sheet no. 9, architectural drawing set, PPR.

¹⁸⁸ Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, January 5, 1949, resurvey, policy no. 15828, Philadelphia Contributionship, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, PHC.

The first alterations to interior in 1960 revolved around fire exit standards as dictated by the Philadelphia Department of License and Inspections. Code required that the open stair be separated from the floors. To meet code, the dwarf partition wall on the second floor was extended to the height of the ceiling with plywood and a new framed, plywood-covered partition was constructed at the garret.¹⁸⁹

A caretaker's apartment was created using the partition wall across the stair at the second floor. The apartment's living room was located in Room 202 and it remained unchanged. Room 203 was partitioned to create a dining room in its eastern half with a kitchen in the other. The doorway from Room 203 into Room 204 was filled with metal lath and plaster for the placement of the kitchen sink in Room 203 and bath tub in Room 204.¹⁹⁰ The apartments bathroom was in Room 204 with a toilet and sink flanking the doorway from Room 204 into 205. Room 205 was designated as the bedroom for the apartment. The only alteration in Room 205 was the infilling of the doorway into Room 206. This was deemed necessary with the installation of a staff bathroom in Room 206. H2L2 noted on their drawing sheet that the woodwork—dado and washboard—necessary to finish the infilling of the doorway should be taken from somewhere else in the building.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson to Grant M. Simon, letter, November 17, 1959, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Second Floor Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 8, architectural drawing set, PPR.

¹⁹⁰ This doorway was the original doorway into Room 203 from the hall during the McConnell-Busti Country House period.

¹⁹¹ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Second Floor Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 8, architectural drawing set, PPR.

The creation of the second floor apartment made access to Room 206 difficult. The original doorway was infilled and the early-twentieth century stair, discussed earlier, was cut off by apartment. The tradesmen were directed to cut a new doorway into Room 206 from the landing below the second floor.¹⁹² The insertion of this stair required a bulkhead in Room 106 to conceal the stringer and five steps. The early-twentieth century stair into Room 206 was removed, the doorway was filled with plywood and painted, the casings were left in the stair.

The bathroom in Room 206 had a tiled shower inserted into an original built-in closet in the northwest corner of the room. The toilet was set in the northeast corner of the room and partitioned with the sink set between the partition and the new stair into the room.¹⁹³

The first floor alterations were focused around the usability of the spaces and required limited intervention. The double door between Rooms 102 and 103 was infilled with a 2" by 4" stud wall. The division of the rooms allowed for individual room uses. Room 102 was used as the office for Department of Recreation staff. The bookshelves that had been located in the office addition were salvaged from its demolition and reset in the front of the stud wall in Room 102. Rooms 103 and 105 were activity rooms with cabinets being added to the north walls of both rooms. Room 106 was a pass through from the meeting room addition into the Kirkbride Mansion, the

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Second Floor Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 8, architectural drawing set, PPR.

majority of the woodwork in this space was removed. The dumbwaiter was also removed and the opening between Room 005 and 006 was infilled with concrete masonry units.¹⁹⁴

OTHER INTERVENTIONS AT THE LEE CULTURAL CENTER

The alterations performed at the direction of H2L2 facilitated the creation of the Lee Recreation Center. The continued operational effectiveness of the Lee Cultural Center was maintained through interventions by designers, contractors, and department maintenance personnel. In the 50 years since H2L2 finished its work, there were two building campaigns that altered the appearance of the Lee Cultural Center.

In the late-1970s, the Philadelphia architecture firm of Stonorov and Haws were retained to address some deferred maintenance and heating issues. To supplement the installation of new heating units, the firm developed plans to infill the windows on the east and west elevations. It was argued that the windows hindered the ability of personnel to adequately heat the building during the winter months. With the approval of Philadelphia Art Commission, the east and west window apertures were filled with color-matched brick laid in a corresponding American bond.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "First Floor Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 7, architectural drawing set, PPR; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson Architects, "Basement Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 6, architectural drawing set, PPR.

¹⁹⁵ Philadelphia Art Commission, submission review, June 13, 1978, submission #85-78, photocopy, Lee Cultural Center file, PPR; Stonorov and Haws, "Elevs & Ext. Details," June 1979, sheet no. A4, architectural drawing set, PPR.

The firm also directed the installation of a vestibule at the northern end of the first floor hall. The placement of the vestibule required the doorway from the hall into Room 102 to be relocated. The tradesmen cut a new doorway through the masonry wall into Room 102. They removed the crossetted double architrave surrounds and frame from the original doorway and reframed the new opening with the old woodwork. The old doorway was infilled with studs and drywall.¹⁹⁶

The next campaign was completed in the late-1990s again to address deferred maintenance and some operational changes. The Department of Recreation contracted the architect William G. Algie to conduct the work. The second floor transitioned from a caretaker's apartment to additional activity and classroom spaces. The caretaker's bathroom in Room 204 was reconfigured to function as a two-stall restroom. A closet was also created in Room 204, except it was only accessible through Room 205. The closet enclosed the doorway from Room 205 into 204.¹⁹⁷

The doorway from Room 205 into 206 was reintroduced. The door surround was constructed from machine-made moldings to resemble earlier molding profiles and configured to reflect the crossetted double architraves of the original door surrounds (Refer to "g" in Figure E.19). The reestablishment of the doorway facilitated the covering of the stair and infilling of the doorway. The final element of the repair

¹⁹⁶ Stonorov and Haws, "First Fl. Plan," June 1979, sheet no. A-M1, architectural drawing set, PPR.

¹⁹⁷ William G. Algie, "Second Floor and Attic Plan," August 3, 1998, sheet no. A-2/LEE, architectural drawing set, PPR.

campaign was the painting of the entire interior with a blue and white palette. The
woodwork was painted blue and the walls were painted white.¹⁹⁸

This chapter identified the preservation-minded reuse scheme developed that
retained a striking amount of early architectural fabric while accommodating a radically
new function. It also established a chronology of the additions, alterations, and
modifications in the second half of the twentieth century. This new found understanding
of these twentieth century adaptations will be invaluable to decision making and on-
going maintenance efforts.

¹⁹⁸ William G. Algie, "Second Floor and Attic Plan," August 3, 1998, sheet no. A-2/LEE, architectural
drawing set, PPR; Cloud, 72, 83-94.

CHAPTER 6 | CONCLUSION

Building archaeology has revealed a sequential order of the architectural change that occurred in the first 160 years of the structure known today as the Lee Cultural Center. This methodology of exegesis through the analysis of historic artwork, period photographs, primary documents, secondary sources, architectural assemblies, and building materials enabled the establishment of this chronology using relative dating techniques. The results produced a richer, nuanced history of the small classical country house turned recreation center.

Of course, this archaeological building analysis was successful due to the structure's high level of integrity in spite of its adaptive reuse. If the interventions of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries had been more invasive, like the removal of additions and the piazza in 1960, and widespread, like the cementitious parge applied to basement walls in the late-twentieth century, a wealth of information would have been lost. Along these lines, the preservationist Morgan W. Phillips commented in 1971:

that [which] matters most about an old building is... the old material in it [and] the fact that the building is a direct physical transference of the past into the present. ...judge all fabric in the building, earlier and later, [as] part of this material and historic reality, for which no new restoration fabric can ever be substituted. ...old buildings are [not] made all at once and observe that they normally and naturally consist of a continuum. ...restoration obliterate[s] so much of the human history of a building. Historic architecture is more than architecture, it is also history.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Morgan W. Phillips, "The Philosophy of Total Preservation," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 3, no. 1 (1971), 38.

The idea that a building is on a continuum is a key tenant to the preservation movement. We as preservationists should not only be concerned with saving an edifice, but also its internal fixtures, assemblies, and materials as they together convey and characterize its use over time and in the recent past.

The Lee Cultural Center was clearly a break from the preservation and reuse strategies employed by early preservationists of the twentieth century. The survival of the McConnell-Busti Country House in its near original condition into the mid-twentieth century is unto itself is an interesting story, but the choice to preserve a building of historic house museum quality as a city recreation center was revolutionary. The techniques employed by H2L2 and the Department of Recreation at the Lee Cultural Center remain a valuable counter-example to the more explicitly curatorial approaches—i.e. creating historic house museums—applied to such buildings in Philadelphia and beyond.

It is also a dynamic counter-example to the often façade-centric techniques in current strategies of adaptive reuse.²⁰⁰ The idea of repurposing a historic structure through the evisceration of its interiors by developers, often in the name of preservation, for the needs, or perceived needs, of new occupants destroys the continuum that made the building what it was. This ideology is no different than the reuse that services the old esthetic—i.e. vintagism—of western consumer culture. A

²⁰⁰ Adaptation and reuse was the focus an entire issue of *Change Over Time* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

culture that collects pieces or lives in shells of the past, while not engaging with or understanding the cultural value of the objects it owns or structures it inhabits.

Moving forward, the Lee Cultural Center must continue to layer its additions, alterations, and adaptations without completely removing earlier building/repair campaigns. This retention of fabric will facilitate future studies of the building. As new technologies are developed, they can be utilized to further document this nationally significant structure. Future work should follow the preservation philosophy established by Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson in 1959.²⁰¹ They recommended that interventions should be minimal in scope and sympathetic to the original.

This preservation philosophy will safeguard building materials and their stratigraphy. It will also result in tangible evidence of the Lee Cultural Center as a building in continuum. It is my hope that future archaeologists, conservators, and historians will take the opportunity to continue to develop and refine the chronology established in this work with the goal to better understand and inform the conservation of the building successively known as the Blockley Retreat, Kirkbride Mansion, and Lee Cultural Center.

²⁰¹ Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson to Grant M. Simon, letter, November 17, 1959, Lee Cultural Center files, PPR.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE SCHOLARSHIP

- National Register of Historic Places: The Lee Cultural Center is a nationally significant structure. It should be designated under Criteria A with its association to the nineteenth century pattern of the rural insane asylum; Criteria B with its association to Paul Busti and Thomas S. Kirkbride; and Criteria C as an early example of the preservation technique of adaptive reuse.
- Architectural Finishes Analysis: A complete finishes study would elucidate details in the construction, maintenance, and alteration of the house not viewable through other analyses. This should include the identification of period paint schemes for the McConnell-Busti Country House, Kirkbride family residence, and Lee Cultural Center. A match of those schemes to a commercially available palette is ideal for future maintenance and conservation efforts.
 - Mantel in Room 103: The mantel in Room 103 was replaced, probably in the early-twentieth century. It should be the subject paint analysis to determine its installation date.
- Exploration of the Basement at the Lee Cultural Center: Building archaeological investigations should continue in the basement of the Lee Cultural Center, as the scope of exploration in this thesis was limited.
 - Built-in, Wooden Storage Cabinet in Room 005: This cabinet is probably from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Finish and nail analyses will confirm or reject this hypothesis.

- Wood Identification and Dendrochronology: An in-depth examination of the woodwork, both finish and framing, within the Lee Cultural Center would reveal the different species of wood used in its construction and alteration. The floor joists and roof framing should be investigated with dendrochronology, as it may tighten the date range of the McConnell-Busti Country House's construction.
- Kirkbride Family Papers at the Pennsylvania Hospital Archive: A review of personal correspondence between Kirkbride family members may reveal maintenance and alteration campaigns.
- Paul Busti Journal (1816-1823), Am.933, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: A thorough vetting of Busti's farm journal may reveal maintenance and alteration campaigns of McConnell-Busti Country House.
- Architectural Archives: Scour local architectural archives for additional drawings or correspondence relating to Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson's work at 44th and Haverford between 1957 and 1961.

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APPENDIX A | MAJOR EVENT CHRONOLOGY

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
1771	1779	AD	Purchased/ Built	Thomas Harrison purchased 6 contiguous tracts of land in Blockley township totaling 112 acres. Harrison developed a plantation composed of a stone house and barn, garden, orchard, and meadow.	Richard and Elizabeth Mason to Thomas Harrison, deed, October 31, 1771, Deed Book D 24, 235-238; Joseph and Ann George to Thomas Harrison, deed, February 10, 1772, Deed Book D 24, 233-235; David and Abigail Rose to Thomas Harrison, deed, April 14, 1772, Deed Book D 24, 230-233; Edward and Margaret Shippen to Thomas Harrison, deed, January 30, 1779, Deed Book D 28, 242-245; Advertisement, Philadelphia Pennsylvania Evening Post, February 27, 1776; Lloyd 1.
1776	1776	AD	Farmed	TO BE RENTED,... a PLANTATION in the township of Blockley,... containing ninety acres,... a STONE HOUSE two story high, an excellent spring house two story high, a large stone barn, with stalls for eighteen head of cattle, a garden containing about an acre of ground, all well paled in, and a young orchard of about five hundred trees of choice fruit.	Advertisement, Philadelphia Pennsylvania Evening Post, February 27, 1776; Lloyd 1.
1794	1794	AD	Purchased/ Sold	Matthew McConnell purchased "Mill Creek Farm" consisting of 112 acres from Thomas Harrison on February 11, 1794 without Sarah Harrison's signature. This created a defective deed.	John Barker, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Paul Busti, deed, June 26, 1806, Deed Book EF 28, 629-632; Cloud, 5; Lloyd 1
1795	1797	AD	Built	A two-story, five-bay, double-pile house was constructed for Matthew McConnell on the 112 acre tract known as "Mill Creek Farm."	Cloud, 6-7; Lloyd 1

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
1799	1799	AD	Purchased/ Sold	Thomas McEuen purchased "Mill Creek Farm" at Sheriff Sale. McConnell did not make mortgage payments to the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania (ICSP). ICSP sued for payment and won. The property was put up for auction.	Jonathan Penrose, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Thomas McEuen, deed, March 28, 1799, Deed Book D 79, 389-390.
1799	1799	AD	Purchased/ Sold	William Parkinson purchased the brick house, ~103 acres, and ICSP debt from Thomas and Hannah McEuen.	Thomas and Hannah McEuen to William Parkinson, deed, July 2, 1799, Deed Book D 79, 391-393.
1804	1804	AD	Advertised	FOR SALE, THAT elegant commodious mansion house on Mill Creek Farm, late the residence of William Parkinson, Esq. deceased...	Advertisement, Philadelphia <i>Aurora General Advertiser</i> , May 14, 1804. See also, Lloyd 1.
1805	1805	AD	Occupied	Mrs. Rivardi's Seminary was operated out of the house throughout the summer and into the fall of 1805.	"Mrs. Rivardi's Seminary," advertisement, Philadelphia <i>Aurora General Advertiser</i> , May 28, 1805; Advertisement, Philadelphia <i>United States' Gazette</i> , November 8, 1805; "Mrs. Rivardi's Seminary, advertisement, Philadelphia <i>Aurora General Advertiser</i> , November 23, 1805.
1806	1806	AD	Surveyed	Mutual Assurance Company surveyed "Paul Busti's two story Brick House situate in the Township of Blockley" in March 1806.	Mutual Assurance Company, policy no. 2149, March 17, 1806, photocopy, Folder 4310 Haverford Avenue, PHC.
1806	1806	AD	Purchased/ Sold	Paul Busti purchased "Mill Creek Farm" at Sheriff Sale on May 12, 1806. Busti also rectified McConnell's defective deed and debt.	John Barker, Sheriff of City and County of Philadelphia, to Paul Busti, deed, June 26, 1806, Deed Book EF 28, 629-632; Thomas and Sarah Harrison to Paul Busti, deed, December 31, 1806, Deed Book RLL 11, 304-306.
1824	1824	AD	Death	Paul Busti died on July 24, 1824	Richard N. Juliani, Building Little Italy: Philadelphia's Italians Before Mass Migration, 36-37.

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
1825	1825	AD	Purchased/ Sold	The executor of Paul Busti's estate, John Jacob Vanderkemp, sold "Blockley Retreat Farm" to John Buckman.	John Jacob Vanderkemp, Executor of Paul Busti's Last Will and Testament, to John Buckman, deed, May 1, 1825, Deed Book GWR 4, 455-458.
post-1824	pre-1835	AD	Adapted	The piazza on the southside of the house was enclosed with sash windows. The flat roof was covered by a shed roof.	"Unidentified Watercolors" (c.1820), Bc61 Z99a & Bc61 Z99b, HSP; Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, December 30, 1835, HSP.
1835	1835	AD	Purchased/ Sold	John and Susan Buckman sold "Blockley Retreat Farm" to Matthew Arrison.	John and Susan Buckman to Matthew Arrison, deed, May 15, 1835, Deed Book AM 65, 184-186.
1835	1835	AD	Purchased/ Sold	The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital purchased Blockley Retreat Farm from Matthew Arrison.	Matthew and Maria Arrison to The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, deed, November 13, 1835, Deed Book SHF 1, 30-32.
1835	1835	AD	Surveyed	D.H. Flickwir of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia surveyed Blockley Retreat house on December 30, 1835 for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, December 30, 1835, HSP.
post-1835	pre-1842	AD	Installed	Plank partition wall installed in garrett hall. The closets in room 305 were likely installed after 1842 the same time.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, December 30, 1835, HSP; Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, April 14, 1842, HSP.
1840	1883	AD	Inhabited	Dr. Thomas Kirkbride resided in the house with his family.	Richard James Webster, "Buildings as Artifacts of Urban Development: Philadelphia Architecture, 1690-1940" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 304.
1842	1842	AD	Surveyed	D.H. Flickwir of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia resurveyed the house on April 14, 1842.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, April 14, 1842, HSP.

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
post-1842	pre-1877	AD	Altered	A two-story vestibule and bathroom addition was added to the central bay of the north wall.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, February 5, 1877, HSP.
post-1842	pre-1877	AD	Adapted	The south end of the second floor hall was partitioned for use as a dressing room.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, February 5, 1877, HSP
1877	1877	AD	Surveyed	Isaac K. Piersin of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia added an addendum to 1842 survey.	Franklin Fire Insurance Company, policy no. 1450, February 5, 1877, HSP.
post-1870	pre-1883	AD	Altered	The piazza roof system is altered from a shed roof to a hipped roof.	Kirkbride Family Photoalbum, PHA; David J. Kennedy, <i>Residence of Paul Busti</i> , April 1889, watercolor, HSP.
1883	1883	AD	Death	Thomas S. Kirkbride died at 11:45pm on Sunday, December 16, 1883.	Nancy Tomes, <i>The Art of Asylum-Keeping: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Origins of American Psychiatry</i> , 312.
post-1889	pre-1908	AD	Altered	A one-story office addition was added to the east elevation of the house. The addition was only accessible through the northeast room of the first floor.	David J. Kennedy, <i>Residence of Paul Busti</i> , April 1889, watercolor, HSP; Philadelphia Contributionship, policy no. 15828, April 15, 1908, photocopy, PHC.
1908	1908	AD	Surveyed	B.D. Blair of the Philadelphia Contributionship surveyed the house on April 15, 1908.	Philadelphia Contributionship, policy no. 15828, April 15, 1908, photocopy, PHC.
1949	1949	AD	Surveyed	Philadelphia Contributionship resurveyed the house on January 5, 1949.	Philadelphia Contributionship, policy no. 15828, January 5, 1949, photocopy, PHC.
1956	1956	AD	Authorized	Mayor Dilworth approved the purchase a portion of the Blockley Retreat Farm tract "for recreational purposes" on December 14, 1956.	Council of the City of Philadelphia, <i>Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia From January 1 to December 31, 1956</i> (Philadelphia, 1956), 986.

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
1957	1957	AD	Purchased/ Sold	City of Philadelphia purchased the tract from Pennsylvania Hospital for \$456,000 on January 10, 1957.	Council of the City of Philadelphia, Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia From January 1 to December 31, 1956 (Philadelphia, 1956), 986; Pennsylvania Hospital to City of Philadelphia, deed, January 10, 1957, Deed Book C.A.B. 475, 163-166.
1957	1957	AD	Designated	The historic house of known successively as Blockley Retreat and Kirkbride Mansion added to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places on April 9, 1957.	Philadelphia Historical Commission, "Philadelphia Register of Historic Places," 121, http://www.phila.gov/historical/PDF/Phila%20Reg%20Hist%20Places%205-13-2015.pdf .
1960	1960	AD	Demolished	Two-story addition on north side removed.	Paul Harbeson to Philadelphia Historical Commission, letter, October 27, 1959, photocopy, PPR; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson, "Basement Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 6, architectural drawing set, PPR.
1960	1960	AD	Demolished	One-story addition on east side removed.	Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson, "Basement Plan," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 6, architectural drawing set, PPR.
1960	1960	AD	Demolished	Piazza of the south elevation was removed by September 30, 1960.	"Busti Mansion," photograph no. 12227-51, September 30, 1960, PHC.
1960	1960	AD	Altered	Meeting Room addition constructed west of the Kirkbride Mansion	"Busti Mansion," photograph no. 12227-51, September 30, 1960, PHC; Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson, "Elevations of Meeting Room," November 23, 1959, sheet no. 9, architectural drawing set, PPR.
1961	1961	AD	Designated	On June 27, 1961, the City of Philadelphia designated their portion of the old Blockley Retreat Farm tract the John A. Lee Recreation Center.	Council of the City of Philadelphia, Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia From January 1 to December 31, 1961 (Philadelphia, 1961), 727.

Start Year	End Year	Era	Major Event	Description	References
1979	1979	AD	Altered	The windows on east and west elevations are enclosed.	Philadelphia Art Commission, submission review, June 13, 1978, submission #85-78, photocopy, Lee Cultural Center file, PPR; Stonorov and Haws, "Elevs & Ext. Details," June 1979, sheet no. A4, architectural drawing set, PPR.

APPENDIX B | TRANSCRIPTIONS OF EPHEMERA

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE, MARCH 19, 1799²⁰²

Sheriff's Sale

Philadelphia, March 12, 1799.

By virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas to me directed, will be sold at the merchant's coffee house, on Wednesday, the 27th of March inst. at 6 o'clock in the evening, all the message or tenement and two several tracts or parcels of land, both of them situate, lying and being in Blockley township, on the west side of the river Schuylkill, in the county of Philadelphia; one of them above three miles and a half from the city, called mill creek farm, bounded by lands by the Haverford road and lands of George Ogden, Richard Crean, Sarah Robinson and Joseph Cochran, the new Lancaster road running through part thereof; containing 112 acres, 25 perches be the same more or less—and the other of them, called Cobb's creek farm, situate on the Haverford road aforesaid, about 6 miles from the said city; bounded by Mill creek and Indian creek and by lands of John Seller, John Thomas, James Jones, Conrad Hoover, Jonas Suple, Adam Roads and others; containing 109 acres and a half, be the same more or less.

Seized and taken in execution as the property of Matthew M^cConnell, and sold by

Jonathan Penrose, *Sheriff.*

March 19.

23-27

On Mill Creek Farms are two brick dwelling houses, 57 feet front by 37 feet deep; two stories of 12 feet high each, four rooms on a floor, fire places in each room, and four convenient chambers in the garret, a hall 10 feet wide, a remarkably dry and commodious cellar, divided into sundry apartments, pantry, kitchen 20 feet square &c. with bake ovens and other conveniences, a stone farm house and barn, with good stabling and carriage house; a pump of excellent water at the kitchen door; a never failing spring, over which there is a milk house, wash and smoke house; two large Gardens in high order and containing a variety of the best fruit; two apple orchards in their prime, containing upwards of 700 trees. The soil is good, and produces remarkably well, and a large quantity now under clover. About 7 acres of meadow, adjoining a creek which runs through the place, and on which there is a site for water works. The situation high and remarkably healthy.

²⁰² This advertisement was also printed in the March 23, 25, and 28 editions of *Porcupine's Gazette*. A nearly verbatim advertisement ran in Philadelphia's *General Aurora Advertiser* on March 22, 23, 27, and 28, 1799. See also, Mark Frazier Lloyd, "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia," West Philadelphia Community History Center, University of Pennsylvania Archives, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch1sect1.html.

Cobb's Creek Farm,

Is well situated for being divided into two plantations, both with respect to a sufficient supply of timber and water. On the lower part adjoining the creek, and towards the West Chester road; are convenient buildings for a farmer; an orchard, 7 acres of meadow, and an excellent spring; on the upper part adjoining the Haverford road, is a fine situation for building, with a view of the city, and a good spring of water.

March 19.

23-27

UNITED STATES' GAZETTE, MAY 14, 1804²⁰³

FOR SALE

THAT elegant commodious mansion house on Mill Creek Farm, late the residence of William Parkinson, Esq. deceased, together with out-houses and plantation containing One Hundred and Twelve Acres or thereabouts, within half a mile of the Turnpike, and one and a quarter mile of Schuylkill Bridge.

The mansion house is 52 by 38 feet, with four rooms on each floor, piazza full length on south side and potico in front. Garden well stocked with asparagus, strawberries, currants, raspberries, gooseberries, ornamental evergreens, &c.

Out buildings, consisting of tenants, wash, spring and coash houses, stone barn, very commodious framstable nearly new, sheds, &c.

There are on the plantation three orchards, containing about 530 full bearing apple trees, peach, plumb, and cherry trees, chiefly of the best kinds, several fields in grain and fit for tilling.

Abundant pasture ground and a good portion of wood land, the situation for salubrity of air and convenience to the city, exceeded by few if any in its vicinity.— Further description being deemed unnecessary, as no person will purchase without viewing the premises. Such may learn the terms by applying to the subscriber, who will give an indisputable title.

Wm. Buckley.

January 2.

tuthstf.

²⁰³ This advertisement was also printed in the February 25, May 3, and 22 editions of United States' Gazette. See also, Mark Frazier Lloyd, "112 Acres of Change in The Heart of West Philadelphia," West Philadelphia Community History Center, University of Pennsylvania Archives, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/exhbts/inst_pa_hosp/ch1sect1.html

FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY SURVEY, DECEMBER 30, 1835²⁰⁵

SURVEY.

N^o. 1450

DATE.

Dec^r 30 1835

PERPETUAL.

Contribution to the Penn^a Hospital

[Text rotated clockwise 90°]

On Building, \$6000	\$160
Policy and Incidental Expenses,	5
5000 do. dwelling	Dolls. <u>160</u>
1000 do. Barn + Stable.	

I acknowledge the within Survey to be correct.

Philadelphia, 30 day of Dec.^r 1835

Sam.^l N Lewis

Treasurer Penna Hospital

[Begin Survey]

SURVEY made December 30th 1835 and reported to the
Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia.
For the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital

A Two story Brick dwelling House situate on the southerly side of the Haverford Road in Blockley Township, County of Philadelphia and 1 ½ miles from the High Street Permanent Bridge; Also a Two story Brick Barn and stable on the same Premises.

The Dwelling House is 54 feet front by 37 feet 6 in. deep, stone partition walls to Garret floor; Kitchen in the west end 16 light 9 by 11 window, and door inside pannel shutters and doors, dresser mantel shelf side closets in Pantry, in the adjoining room

²⁰⁵ Franklin Fire Insurance Company Survey No. 1450 transcribed from the original. Insurance survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, December 30, 1835, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

also finished as an eating room, heart floor and washboard in each, plain jamb casings and mouldings, cellar windows with sash in them all around, square steps and rizers to first floor of Heart boards 3 feet going.

The first story has a Hall 10 feet wide in the centre, wainscoted, a door frame front, stone sill, square transom and 4 light of glass, plank pannel door, paneled jambs, portico in front, 2 turned Columns and pediment pitch to roof, wood plank steps & platform, doorframe with square transom, and 4 windows back, 4 windows in the East end and 3 in the West end, and 4 windows in the north side or front, Brick partition wall each side of the Hall, plank pannel doors and jambs, double faced architraves, and mouldings, surbase and washboard, windows all recessed to floor and paneled below, neat wood mantels, recess closets, wood cornice around the ceilings, the rooms on the east end having an Elliptical arch in the centre, coal grates to the fire places, heart pine floor and story 12 feet high; The Stairs from the first story to the garrett are open newell 3 ft. 10 inches going, open string, return nosing, turned ballusters, heart steps and rizers, paneled skirting, square steps and quarter paces, mahogany hand rail and half rail on the sides.

The second story has heart floor, story 12 feet high, Hall the same, 5-24 light 9 by 11 windows front, 5 ditto back the centre one used as a door on the portico, 3 ditto west end and 2 ditto east end, all the windows recessed to floor and paneled below, double faced architraves, surbase and washboard paneled door jambs, plank double worked pannel doors wood cornice to ceilings, side and Recess closets and neat wood mantels inside clamped window shutters;

The Garrett is in 4 rooms stud partitions, single worked pannel doors, heart floor, and washboard, 3 plain wood mantels a 16 light 9 by 11 window in west gable end, broken pitch Roof 11 feet high thus [sketch of gambrel roof], 3-12 light 9 by 11 Dormer windows front and 3 back with semicircular sash, ridge top of window, cheeks all shingled, straight flight of stairs and 4 winders to the roof of heart pine boards, cedar shingles, copper gutters and conductors, trap door, wood eaves, cornice and bed mould, level cornice on ends and barge cornice also Roof painted Red plain railing on the top each side of the flat and plain posts.

The Window Frames are all cased Frames with fancy heads and key over them, marble water table between first and second story windows, sashes all double hung, lined single worked pannel shutters to first story and venetian to second story all around; House all lathed and plastered; A portico the whole extent back, 6 turned columns to it 11 feet high, yellow pine platform and plank steps in the centre turned

ballusters between the posts and filled in with planed boarding and sash having 8 by 10 glass, ends the same, neat eaves, cornice and bedmould to it and cedar shingle roof the ceiling lined with planed boards.

The Stable and Barn is 57 feet 6 in. front by 35 feet deep, Brick floor throughout the first story and Brick partition walls, stable at each end and Carriage House in between, a door frame in each stable with stone sill, square transom and 4 lights of glass and a window frame with venetian Blind and inside clamped shutters front and back 2 large doors to carriage house lined ledge doors, 6 stalls, racks and mangers in each stable, a granary partitioned off back of the carriage house Binns fitted up in it for grain and 2-12 light 8 by 10 windows in it back story 10 feet high in the clear.

The second story has joist framed into 2 poplar girders running lengthwise the whole extent of the building and resting on the partition walls, clean sap floors, story 8 ft. 6 in. high in the clear; a Ladder from the stables to the left, 3 windows front and 3 back, 2 in the north end, scantling frames and ledge shutters, 2 windows south end venetian blinds, and a circular window and fan sash each gable end Double pitch Roof 14 feet rise, cedar shingles, Tin gutters and conductors, Battlement walls, moulded Brick eave front and plain back; common Rafters no collar beams, 2 purlins the whole extent supported from the partition walls; All the walls are thirteen inches thick except the partition wall which are nine inches thick

DH Flickwir, Surveyor

[Sketch of dwelling's first floor plan]

[Sketch of stable and barn's first floor plan]

FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY RE-SURVEY, APRIL 14, 1842²⁰⁶

RE-SURVEY.

Nº. 1450

DATE.

PERPETUAL.

Contribution to the Penn^a Hospital

[Text rotated clockwise 90°]

On Building, \$6000	\$160
Policy and Incidental Expenses,	<u>5</u>
Dolls.	<u><u>160</u></u>

I acknowledge the within Survey to be correct.

Philadelphia, twenty second day of April 1842

John T. Lewis

Treasr Penn^a Hospital

[Begin Survey]

RE,SURVEY made April 14th 1842 and reported to the
Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia.
For the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital

A Two story Brick dwelling House occupied by the Resident Physician, and situated on the Premises known as the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, on the southerly side of the Haverford Road in Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, one and a half miles from the High Street Permanent Bridge \$5000. Insured; Also a Two story Brick Barn & stable on the premises \$1000. Insured.

The Dwelling House is 54 feet front by 37 feet 6 in. deep, stone partition walls to the garrett floor; A furnace in the cellar for heated air which appears to be safe; The Kitchen is in the west end, 16 light 9 by 11 window & door, inside pannel shutters and doors,

²⁰⁶ Franklin Fire Insurance Company Re-survey No. 1450 transcribed from the original. Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, April 14, 1842, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

dressers, mantel shelf, side closets in pantry in the adjoining room also finished as an Eating room, heart floor and washboard in each, plain jamb casings and mouldings, cellar windows all around with sash in them, a flight of square steps & rizers to the first floor of heart boards, 3 feet going.

The First story has a Hall 10 feet wide in the centre, wainscoted, a door frame front, stone sill, square transom & 4 lights of glass, plank pannel door, paneled jambs, portico in front, 2 turned columns & pediment roof, wood plank steps & platform, a door frame with square transom, and 4 windows back, 4 windows East End, 3 ditto in West End, and 4 windows on North side or front all 24 light 9 by 11 glass, Brick partition wall each side of the Hall, plank pannel doors & jambs, double faced architraves, moulding & surbase and washboard, the windows are recessed to floor & paneled below; neat wood mantel each room, wood cornice around the ceilings, folding doors between the East rooms, coal grates in 2 fire places, heart pine floor boards, story 12 feet high: The stairs from the first story to the garrett are open newell, 3 feet 10 in going, open string, return nosings, turned ballusters, heart steps & rizers, paneled skirting, square steps & quarter paces, mahogany painted handrail and half rail on the sides.

The second story has heart pine floor & is 12 feet high, Hall the same 5-24 light 9 by 11 window front, 5 ditto back the centre one south side used as a door on to the portico, 3 windows west end, and 2 ditto East End, all recessed to floor and paneled below, double faced architraves, surbase & washboard, pannel door jambs, double worked plank pannel door, wood cornice to ceiling, side closet and neat wood mantel each room, inside clamped shutters to west rooms.

The Garrett is in 5 rooms, stud & planed board partitions, single worked pannel doors, heart floor, washboard, 3 plain wood mantels & closets in 3 rooms, a 16 light 9 by 11 window in west gable end and a 12 light in East-End; Broken pitch roof 11 feet high thus [sketch of gambrel roof], 3-12 light 9 by 11 Dormer windows front & back with semicircular sash, Ridge tops to the windows, cheeks all shingled, a straight flight of stairs & winders to the roof of heart pine boards, cedar shingles, copper and tin conductors and gutters, trap door, wood eaves cornice, modillions, and bedmould, level cornice on ends and barge cornice also, roof painted, and a plain railing on the top each side of the flat, with plain posts to it.

The window frames are all cased frames with plain heads and marble key stones over them marble water table between first & second story windows, sash double hung, lined pannel shutters single worked to first story and venetian shutters to second story

& garrett windows, house lathe and plastered; A Portico the extent of the south front resting on Brick and stone foundations, 6 turned columns to it 11 feet high, Yellow pine platform, plank steps in the centre, turned ballusters between the posts and filled in with planed boarding and sash having 8 by 10 glass, ends the same, neat wood eave, cornice & bedmould, Tin gutter and spouts, cedar shingle roof, and the ceiling lined with planed boards.

The Stable & Barn is 57 feet 6 in. front by 35 feet deep, Brick floor throughout the first story and brick partition walls, stable at each end and Carriage House in between a door frame in each stable with stone sill, square transom & 4 lights of glass and a window frame with venetian blind and inside clamped shutters front & back, 2 large doors to the carriage house, lined ledge doors, 6 stalls with racks & mangers in each stable; a granary partitioned off back of the carriage house, Binns fitted up in it for grain and 2-12 light 8 by 10 windows in it back, story 10 feet high in the clear.

The second story floor has oak joist framed into 2 poplar girders running lengthwise of the Building and resting on the partition walls, clean sap floors, story 8 feet 6 in. high in the clear, ladder from the stables to the loft, 3 windows front, 3 back and 2 in the north end, scantling frames, ledge shutters, 2 windows in south end and a circular window & fan sash each gable end; Double pitch roof 14 feet rise cedar shingles, Tin gutters and conductors, battlement walls, moulded brick eave front & plain back; common rafters no collar beams, 2 purlins the whole extent supported from partition walls; The walls are 13 inches thick except the partition walls which are 9 inches thick.

DH Flickwir, Surveyor

[Sketch of dwelling's first floor plan]

[Sketch of stable and barn's first floor plan]

FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY RESURVEY, FEBRUARY 5, 1877²⁰⁷

Prep.^l No 1450

February 5th 1877

The alterations and additions made to Dwelling consists of Enclosing the Portico at south front with a sash in 8 + 10 lights with Entrance doors +c. opposite Hall. Their has also been a 2 story vestibule + bath room built on North front of brick as plan marked with red ink first story has a pair of 7/4 panel front doors folding plain cased frame + square transom over in 4 light and a moulded projecting head with corner brackets 2 windows in 12 lights 12x16 a 7/4 vestibule door opening to main hall panel at bot. 2 light above + 4 light transom over story and finished same as main Hall. Second story over is a Bath room has a planished copper bath Tub water closet wash stand all neatly cased story is 8 ft. finish same as main Part moulded cornice + Tin roof A room partitioned off the Hall in second story south Front for a dressing room finish same as main part

Issac K. Piersin Surveyor

[Sketch of dwelling's first floor plan]

[Copy of 1842 Re-survey Omitted]

February 5th 1877

The alterations and additions to stable consists of building a on story addition at End as marked on Plan with red ink has a pair of ledge carriage house doors + a ledge stable door 2 windows in 12 lights 8 x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ wire inside 2 horse stalls + plank floors the story on south side about 9 ft + about 14 feet Next to old part slate roof.

Issac K Piersin Surveyor

[Sketch of stable and barn's first floor plan]

²⁰⁷ Franklin Fire Insurance Company Re-survey No. 1450 transcribed from the original. Insurance re-survey for the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, February 5, 1877, policy no. 1450, Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTIONSHIP SURVEY, APRIL 15, 1908²⁰⁸

*Physician's residence, Female Dept. Penna. Hospital for the Insane
The Contributors of the Pennsylvania Hospital*

Location

Map: *Hex.* VOL. 31 PAGE. 799

Construction – Brick, stone, concrete, mill, frame, metal; good, fair, bad; age. *about 110*
good, fair, bad.

Condition, Parapet Walls – Brick, stone, coped. *Detached*

Cornice – Metal, stone, brick – wood finish, wood – metal lined, cut at division
wall.

Roof – Hipped, flat, mansard; metal, slate, tiled, gravel, slag, felt, shingle, tin.

Walls – Open, plaster, on lath, on wire, boards, plain, varnished, fire proof,
metal.

Floors – Plank, joist, metal, brick, arch, concrete, terra cotta.

Joists – Steel, protected, cast iron; wood. Girders—steel, protected; wood,
Beams—steel, protected; wood.

Stairs – Open, cased; brick tower; doors at each landing, wood, metal
covered, fair only, standard.

Elevators – Steam, electric hydraulic, hand, open, cased—wood, metal, lath
and plaster—brick tower; automatic hatches—under side covered with
tin; doors, wood, metal covered, fair only, standard.

Dumb Waiters. ^{1st} Belt Holes.

Heating – Steam, hot water, direct, indirect, furnace, stoves,—oil; gas—rubber
hose, iron pipe; none; on brick, metal, sand box, floor; safe.

²⁰⁸ All entries on the printed survey form were entered by hand, the entries are italicized or underlined in this transcription. Philadelphia Contributionship Survey No. 15828 transcribed from the photocopy. Philadelphia Contributionship, policy no. 15828, survey, April 15, 1908, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Lighting – Electric, A, J; petroleum lamps, lantern, gas—Kitson, none; open, edged, covered, swinging, fixed brackets, safe, dangerous, metal over them where needed.

[?] Doors – Iron, wood—metal lined one side, both; door one side wall, both; properly hung, latches secure, swinging, sliding, fair, standard.

[?] Shutters – Iron, wood—metal lined one side, both; properly hung, latches secure; standard, wire glass, in metal frames.

Stoves – Gas, steam, electric; power from outside.

[Toilet?] – In building, outside. under pavement, how far from wood; secure.

Ashes – Kept in cellar on earth, concrete, vault, metal cans, wood—lined, outside.

[?] – Heated by steam, gas—rubber house, iron pipe, lamps.

[?] gasoline, wood alcohol, rubber cement, turpentine, varnish, oils; acids; kept inside at night; outside; patent cans.

Packing – Hay, straw, shavings, excelsior, waste paper, in tin lined box.

Waste and Rubbish – Removed properly, fair, neglected.

As a whole the risk is—Excellent, fair, bad.

Lamp,..... Capacity,..... Stand Pipe,..... Hose,.....

Tank – Capacity,..... Fire Alarm,.....

Sprinklers,..... Steamer connection,.....

Watchmen – General, private, inside, clock—stations,.....

[End of Page 1]

	Skylight Light Shaft Ventilating	3 Gallon Extinguishers	Pails	Communications	Clean	Dirty	Hose nozzle att'd to
<i>Dumb waiter to 1st</i>							
B— <i>Brick furnace + Coal range</i>					[check]		
1— <i>Dwelling</i>					[check]		
2— "					[check]		
½ "					[check]		
4—							
5—							
6—							

No. of tenants. 1

Exposures. none

4-15-08

*BD Blair
Surveyor*

[End of Page 2]

PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTIONSHIP RE-SURVEY, JANUARY 5, 1949²⁰⁹

The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital (0)

LOCATION *Bldg., "The Mansion" on premises of Pennsylvania Hospital, 44 St. & Haverford Ave., Phila., Penn. Re-survey Pol.-#15828*

Map *San* Vol. 14 Page *1314*

Risk is a *2 1/2 sty brick, det. former dwlg., occupied as Occupational Therapy Bldg.*

Construction *Std. - G.*

Age *1794*

Repair *P.*

Cornice *wood*

Roof *gable - slate, rodded*

Floors *joist*

Ceilings *L. & P.*

Partitions *L. & P.*

Stairs *open*

Cooking *gas*

Heating *L.P.S. from outside*

Hot water *gas*

Lighting *elec.*

Ashes *none*

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION

Columns [blank]

Beams [blank]

Elevators [blank]

Dumb Waiters [blank]

Fire doors [blank]

HAZARDOUS MATERIALS

[blank]

²⁰⁹ All entries on printed survey form were entered using a typewriter, the entries are italicized in this transcription. Philadelphia Contributionship Re-survey No. 15828 transcribed from the photocopy. Philadelphia Contributionship, policy no. 15828, re-survey, January 5, 1949, photocopy, 4310 Haverford Avenue file, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

SPECIAL RISKS or UNDESIRABLE FEATURES

occupancy

poor repair

age

WASTE and RUBBISH

O.K.

PROTECTION EQUIPMENT

Buckets, Extinguishers, Hose, Sprinklers, Steamer Connections, Watchman, Clock System

RISK (if hazards are removed) is excellent, good, fair, poor

Recommend DECLINING
 CANCELLATION

[End of Page 1]

<p>A. L.L.P.S. Heat from Central Plant B. Anto. Gas Tank Heater C. To be woodworking and Printing Shops D. Electric Ceramic Kiln</p>	<p>Protection Equipment</p>
<p>1 Office Gas Range Leathercrafting</p>	<p>2 ½ gal. s. a.</p>
<p>2 Loom Weaving Metal working – two gas blowpipes</p>	<p>do</p>
<p>2 ½ Not used May become an Apt. without cooking</p>	
<p>4</p>	

Interior paint and paper are very shabby; exterior badly in need of painting, pointing, and carpenter repairs. One lightning rod is broken off near roof line. Bldg. is locked and empty at night.

100 Index \$ 31,122.00 @ 34.
 sq. ft. 2135 cube ft. 92020
 9/28/31 - \$77,780.00 [?]

Hydrants City
 Fire Zone City
 Class [blank]
 No. of tenants one

Exposures *none*

Date 1/5/49

[End of Page 2]

Estimated cost of rebuilding \$ 70,031.00
@ 76.9 ¢ per cubic foot.
[signature of surveyor unreadable]

APPENDIX C | FASTENER ANALYSIS

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from area of removed step on stringer between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Chisel	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged brad, pre-1850 (floor nail)		




Fastener Analysis | Nails


Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from area of removed step on stringer between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Chisel	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged brad, pre-1850 (floor nail)		




Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.003		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from south wall of stairway between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.004		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from south wall of stairway between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.005		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from south wall of stairway between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.000.006		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from south wall of stairway between Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>N.000.007</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 11, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 23, 2016</i>		
Location (in structure)	<i>Taken from header of doorway to stairway connecting Rooms 000 and 106. This stairway has been enclosed with remnants accessible through the doorway at the landing of the basement stair.</i>		
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Iron</i>	6. Burr	<i>N/A</i>
2. Mfg. Method	<i>Hand</i>	7. Pinch	<i>N/A</i>
3. Grain Direction	<i>In-line</i>	8. Shaft Taper	<i>Four-side</i>
4. Point	<i>Sharp</i>	9. Shaft Section	<i>Square</i>
5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand (T-head)</i>		
Nail Type	<i>Hand-forged T-head nail, pre-1850</i>		




Fastener Analysis | Nails


Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>N.003.001</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 11, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 17, 2016</i>		
Location (in structure)	<i>Taken from lathe attached to bottom face of floor boards between joists. Accessible via ladder in Room 003.</i>		
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Iron</i>	6. Burr	<i>Same face</i>
2. Mfg. Method	<i>Cut</i>	7. Pinch	<i>Side</i>
3. Grain Direction	<i>Cross</i>	8. Shaft Taper	<i>Two-side</i>
4. Point	<i>Sharp</i>	9. Shaft Section	<i>Rectangular</i>
5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>		
Nail Type	<i>Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810</i>		



Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.004.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from upper third of south west elevation (in Room 004) of the plank wall separating Rooms 001 and 004.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Round	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Machine		
Nail Type	Machine-cut nail with machine-made head, 1810 – 1840.		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.005.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 17, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from inside built-in cabinet beneath drawers. The cabinet is located in the northeast corner of Room 005.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Face
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Flat	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Machine		
Nail Type	Machine-cut nail with machine-made head, 1820 - 1890		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.005.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 17, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from interior trim of Window 007 (window in southwest corner) in Room 005.		




Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	Spoon	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand (T-head)		

Nail Type	Hand-forged T-head nail, pre-1850
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Fastener Analysis | Nails


Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.005.003		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from west wall of ceiling well for Window 007 (window in southwest corner) in Room 005.		




Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	N/A	9. Shaft Section	Square, Rectangular, Round
5. Head Mfg.	N/A		

Nail Type	Hand-forged hook, c. 1800
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Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.105.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 10, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from inside the built-in cabinet above the dado in the south cheek of the chimneystack of Room 105.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged rose head nail, pre-1850		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.105.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 10, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from inside the built-in cabinet above the dado in the south cheek of the chimneystack of Room 105.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged rose head nail, pre-1850		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.201.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	March 3, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from northeast skirting block of Door 201 in Room 201. The skirting block is part of the partition wall at the second floor stair landing.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Steel	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Drawn	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	N/A	8. Shaft Taper	None
4. Point	Pyramidal	9. Shaft Section	Round
5. Head Mfg.	Machine		
Nail Type	Wire finish nail, 1870 - present		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.201.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	March 3, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from the standardized molding of Door 201 in Room 201. The standardized molding is part of the partition wall at the second floor stair landing.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Steel	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Drawn	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	N/A	8. Shaft Taper	None
4. Point	Pyramidal	9. Shaft Section	Round
5. Head Mfg.	Machine		
Nail Type	Wire brad, 1870 - present		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.202.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of vertical plank wall above closet door in Room 202. This nail was made accessible with the installation of pipe for a heating system.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.202.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of vertical plank wall above closet door in Room 202. This nail was made accessible in Room 202 with the installation of pipe for a heating system.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.203.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of vertical plank wall separating Rooms 202 and 203. This nail was made accessible in Room 203 with the installation of pipe for a heating system.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.203.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of vertical plank wall separating Rooms 202 and 203. This nail was made accessible in Room 203 with the installation of pipe for a heating system.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.203.003		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of vertical plank wall separating Rooms 202 and 203. This nail was made accessible in Room 203 with the installation of pipe for a heating system.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Round	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.205.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from planking lining the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand (T-head)		
Nail Type	Hand-forged T-head nail, pre-1850		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.206.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of the ceiling in Room 206. The nail was accessible via a failed area of plaster caused by water infiltration.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	unidentifiable due to corrosion
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.206.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe of the ceiling in Room 206. The nail was accessible via a failed area of plaster caused by water infiltration.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	unidentifiable due to corrosion
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.301.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 17, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe between Doors 302 and 303 in Room 301. The nail was accessible via a failed section of plaster.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.301.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 17, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 23, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from lathe between Doors 302 and 303 in Room 301. The nail was accessible via a failed section of plaster.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	Side
3. Grain Direction	Cross	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Round	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>N.301.003</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 17, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 23, 2016</i>		
Location (in structure)	<i>Taken from lathe between Doors 302 and 303 in Room 301. The nail was accessible via a failed section of plaster.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Iron</i>	6. Burr	<i>Same face</i>
2. Mfg. Method	<i>Cut</i>	7. Pinch	<i>Side</i>
3. Grain Direction	<i>Cross</i>	8. Shaft Taper	<i>Two-side</i>
4. Point	<i>Sharp</i>	9. Shaft Section	<i>Rectangular</i>
5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>		
Nail Type	<i>Machine-cut lathe nail with hand-forged head, c. 1790 - c. 1810</i>		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>N.305.001</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>January 21, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 24, 2016</i>		
Location (in structure)	<i>Taken from cornice of the closet in the northeast corner of Room 305.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Iron</i>	6. Burr	<i>Same face</i>
2. Mfg. Method	<i>Cut</i>	7. Pinch	<i>Face</i>
3. Grain Direction	<i>In-line</i>	8. Shaft Taper	<i>Two-side</i>
4. Point	<i>Flat</i>	9. Shaft Section	<i>Rectangular</i>
5. Head Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>		
Nail Type	<i>Machine-cut nail with machine-made head, 1820 - 1890</i>		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.305.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	January 21, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from cornice of the closet in the northeast corner of Room 305. NB. From the same context as N.305.001		
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	Same face
2. Mfg. Method	Cut	7. Pinch	unidentifiable
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Flat	9. Shaft Section	Rectangular
5. Head Mfg.	Machine		
Nail Type	Machine-cut finish nail with machine-made head, 1820 - 1890		




Fastener Analysis | Nails


Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.400.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 17, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from frame of the trap door aperture.		
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Four-side
4. Point	Sharp	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged rose head nail, pre-1850		




Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.400.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 17, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from frame of the trap door aperture.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	unidentifiable	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged rose head nail, pre-1850		

Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	N.400.003		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 17, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 24, 2016		
Location (in structure)	Taken from frame of the trap door aperture.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Iron	6. Burr	N/A
2. Mfg. Method	Hand	7. Pinch	N/A
3. Grain Direction	In-line	8. Shaft Taper	Two-side
4. Point	Chisel	9. Shaft Section	Square
5. Head Mfg.	Hand		
Nail Type	Hand-forged brad, pre-1850		


Fastener Analysis | Nails

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>	
Artifact ID	<i>N.400.004</i>	
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>	
Extracted on	<i>February 17, 2016</i>	
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>	
Analyzed on	<i>March 24, 2016</i>	
Location (in structure)	<i>Taken from frame of the trap door aperture.</i>	


Features

1. Metal	<i>Steel</i>	6. Burr	<i>N/A</i>
2. Mfg. Method	<i>Drawn</i>	7. Pinch	<i>N/A</i>
3. Grain Direction	<i>N/A</i>	8. Shaft Taper	<i>None</i>
4. Point	<i>Pyramidal</i>	9. Shaft Section	<i>Round</i>
5. Head Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>		
Nail Type	<i>Wire finish nail, 1870 - present</i>		


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.005.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 11, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from top hinge area, hinge absent, of doorframe. Doorway, Door 005, connects Room 001 to Room 005.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>	6. Slot	<i>Off-center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type <i>Early machine made screw, c. 1795</i>			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.205.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 18, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from top hinge of Door 212. Door 212 is the closet door for the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>	6. Slot	<i>Off-center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type <i>Early machine made screw, c. 1795</i>			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.205.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 18, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from broken hook hardware (three screws) mounted to the plank lining of the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Round</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type			
<i>Later machine made screw, c. 1800 – c.1840</i>			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.205.003		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 18, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from broken hook hardware (three screws) mounted to the plank lining of the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Round</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type			
<i>Later machine made screw, c. 1800 – c.1840</i>			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.205.004		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 18, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from broken hook hardware (three screws) mounted to the plank lining of the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Ferrous	5. Head Mfg.	Hand
2. Shank Mfg.	Lathe	6. Slot	Center
3. Thread Mfg.	Lathe	7. Shank Taper	No
4. Trough Shape	Round	8. Point	Blunt
Screw Type			
Later machine made screw, c. 1800 – c. 1840			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.205.005		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 18, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from broken hook hardware (two screws) mounted to the plank lining of the closet in Room 205.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	Ferrous	5. Head Mfg.	Lathe
2. Shank Mfg.	Machine	6. Slot	Center
3. Thread Mfg.	Lathe	7. Shank Taper	Yes
4. Trough Shape	Square	8. Point	Gimlet
Screw Type			
Modern screw, c. 1840 – present			


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>S.205.006</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 18, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 25, 2016</i>		
Location (within structure)	<i>Taken from broken hook hardware (two screws) mounted to the plank lining of the closet in Room 205.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>Yes</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Gimlet</i>
Screw Type		<i>Modern screw, c. 1840 – present</i>	


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>S.205.007</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 18, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 25, 2016</i>		
Location (within structure)	<i>Taken from jamb edge of Door 210 in Room 205. The screw was used to secure the mortis lock in the door.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Drawn</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>Yes</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Gimlet</i>
Screw Type		<i>Modern screw, c. 1840 – present</i>	


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>S.206.001</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 18, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 25, 2016</i>		
Location (within structure)	<i>Taken from sash pulley of Window 201 in Room 206.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Round</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type		<i>Modern screw, c. 1840 – present (19th century)</i>	


Fastener Analysis | Screws

Site	<i>Lee Cultural Center</i>		
Artifact ID	<i>S.206.002</i>		
Extracted by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Extracted on	<i>February 18, 2016</i>		
Analyzed by	<i>Joseph C. Mester</i>		
Analyzed on	<i>March 25, 2016</i>		
Location (within structure)	<i>Taken from sash pulley of Window 201 in Room 206.</i>		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Machine</i>	6. Slot	<i>Center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Round</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type		<i>Modern screw, c. 1840 – present (19th century)</i>	

Fastener Analysis | Screws




Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.306.001		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from sash pulley of Window 301 in Room 306.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>	6. Slot	<i>Off-center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type		<i>Early machine made screw, c. 1795</i>	

Fastener Analysis | Screws




Site	Lee Cultural Center		
Artifact ID	S.306.002		
Extracted by	Joseph C. Mester		
Extracted on	February 24, 2016		
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester		
Analyzed on	March 25, 2016		
Location (within structure)	Taken from sash pulley of Window 301 in Room 306.		
			
Features			
1. Metal	<i>Ferrous</i>	5. Head Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>
2. Shank Mfg.	<i>Hand</i>	6. Slot	<i>Off-center</i>
3. Thread Mfg.	<i>Lathe</i>	7. Shank Taper	<i>No</i>
4. Trough Shape	<i>Square</i>	8. Point	<i>Blunt</i>
Screw Type		<i>Early machine made screw, c. 1795</i>	

APPENDIX D | HARDWARE ANALYSIS

Hardware Analysis

Site	Lee Cultural Center	
Artifact ID	H.206.001	
Artifact Type	Framed Axle Sash Pulley	
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester	
Analyzed on	May 9, 2016	
Location (within structure)	The sash pulley was located in the eastern most box jamb of Window 201 (northeastern window) in Room 206.	
Metal	Cast iron	
Manufacture	Machine made	
Assembly	Two rivets joined the face plate to side plates. The side plates carried the axle of the pulley wheel.	
Fasteners	Two screws secured the axle pulley to the box frame (Refer to S.206.001 and S.206.002).	
Approximate Date	c. 1840 – c.1900	
Notes:	<p>"W. French" was stamped on a side plate. This may be a manufacturer or seller stamp.</p> <p>A similar axle pulley was pictured in: Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware Manufacture and For Sale by Sargent & Co (New York, 1871), 148; Wyvill James Christy, A Universal Dictionary for Architects, Civil Engineers, Surveyors, and Builders (London: Griffith & Farran, 1879), 72.</p>	

Hardware Analysis

Site	Lee Cultural Center	
Artifact ID	H.306.001	
Artifact Type	Framed Sash Pulley	
Analyzed by	Joseph C. Mester	
Analyzed on	May 9, 2016	
Location (within structure)	The sash pulley was located in the eastern most box jamb of Window 301 (dormer window) in Room 306.	
Metal	Cast iron	
Manufacture	Early machine made with hand finishing	
Assembly	Face plate and sides was cast as one piece. The rivet-like axle carried the sash wheel.	
Fasteners	Two screws secured the axle pulley to the box frame (Refer to S.306.001 and S.306.002).	
Approximate Date	Late-eighteenth century, c. 1795	
Notes:	The screw holes in the face plate were not in-line with the sash wheel.	

APPENDIX E | ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS AND MODELS

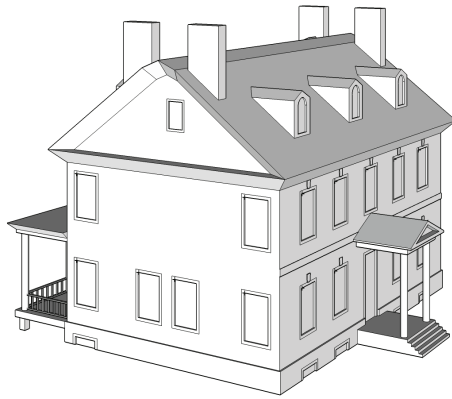


Figure E.1. Southwest perspective of the McConnell-Busti Country House, 1794 - 1824. Drawn by author, 2016.

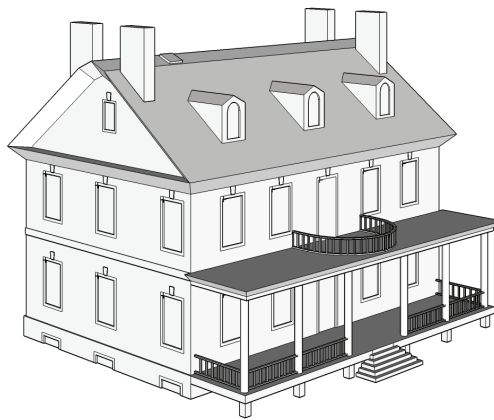


Figure E.2. Northeast perspective of the McConnell-Busti Country House, 1794 - 1824. Drawn by author, 2016.

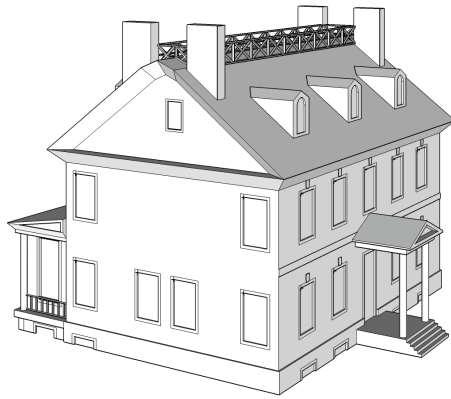


Figure E.4. Southwest perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1830 – c. 1875. Drawn by author, 2016.

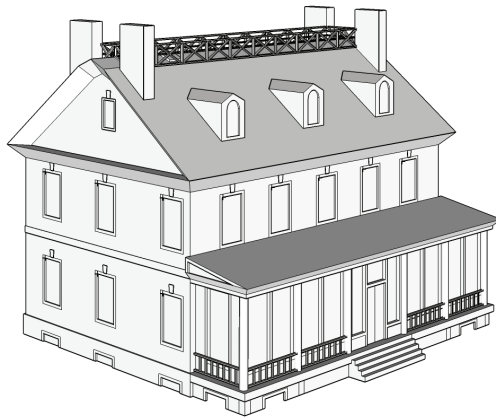


Figure E.3. Northeast perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1830 – c. 1875. Drawn by author, 2016.

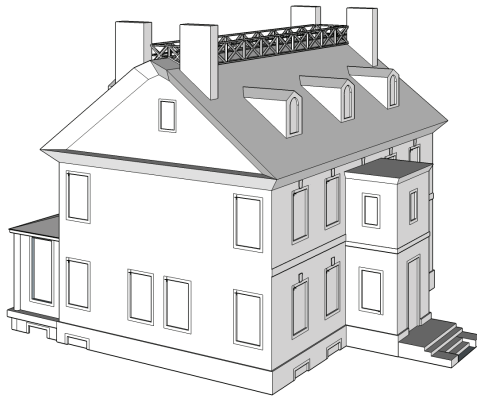


Figure E.5. Southwest perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1875 – c. 1900. Drawn by author, 2016.

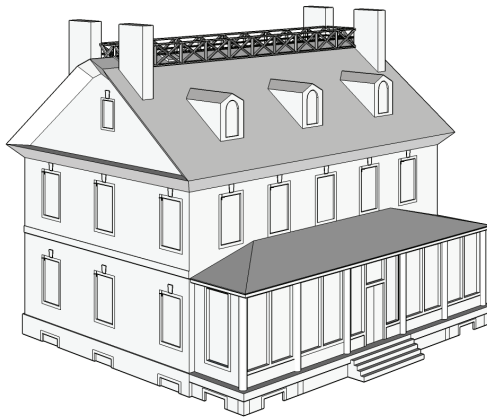


Figure E.6. Northeast perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1875 – c. 1900. Drawn by author, 2016.

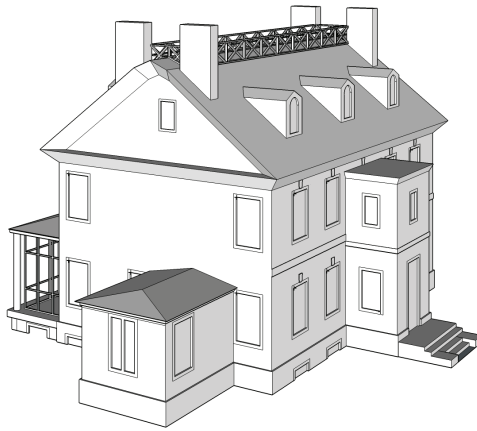


Figure E.7. Southwest perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1940 – 1960. Drawn by author, 2016.

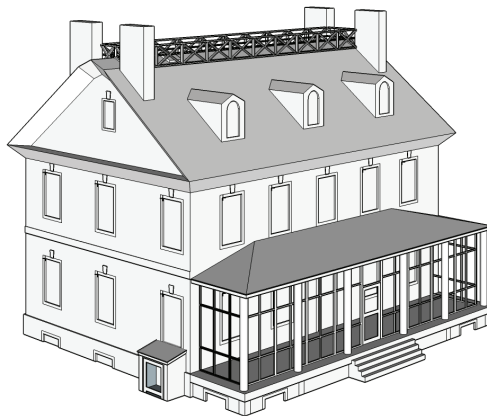


Figure E.8. Northeast perspective of the Kirkbride Mansion, c. 1940 – 1960. Drawn by author, 2016.

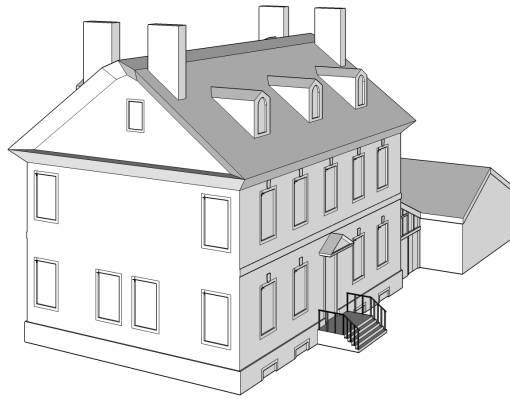


Figure E.9. Southwest perspective of the Lee Cultural Center, 1960 – 1979. Drawn by author, 2016.

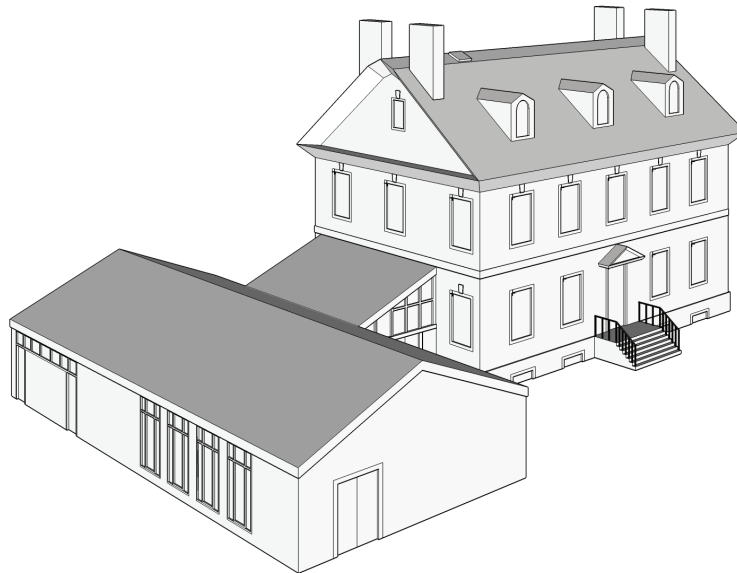


Figure E.10. Northeast perspective of the Lee Cultural Center, 1960 – 1979. Drawn by author, 2016.

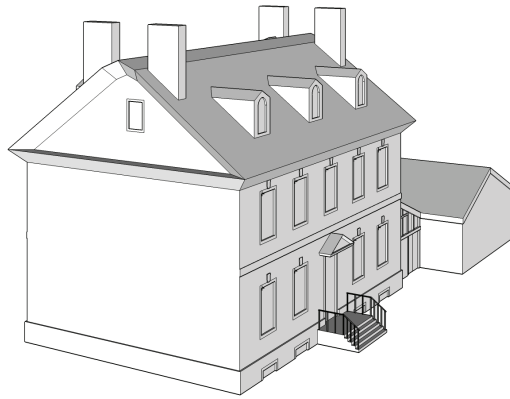


Figure E.11. Southwest perspective of the Lee Cultural Center, 1979 – present. Drawn by author, 2016.

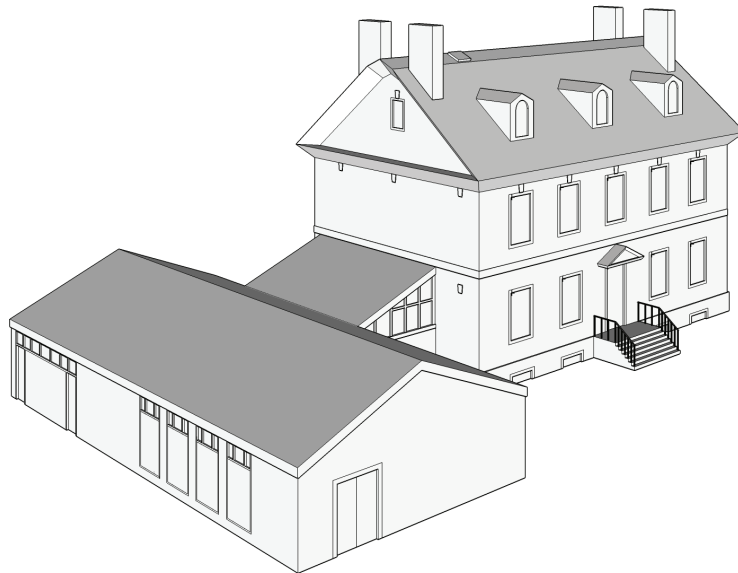


Figure E.12. Northeast perspective of the Lee Cultural Center, 1979 – present. Drawn by author, 2016.

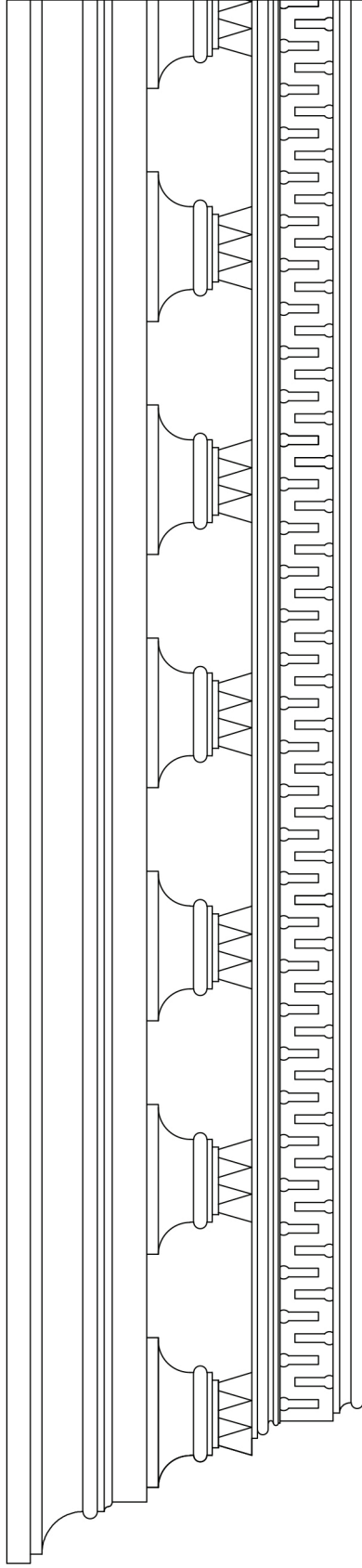


Figure E.13. Cornice of the central hall, Room 101. Drawn by author, 2015; edited 2016. Scale: 2½" = 1'.

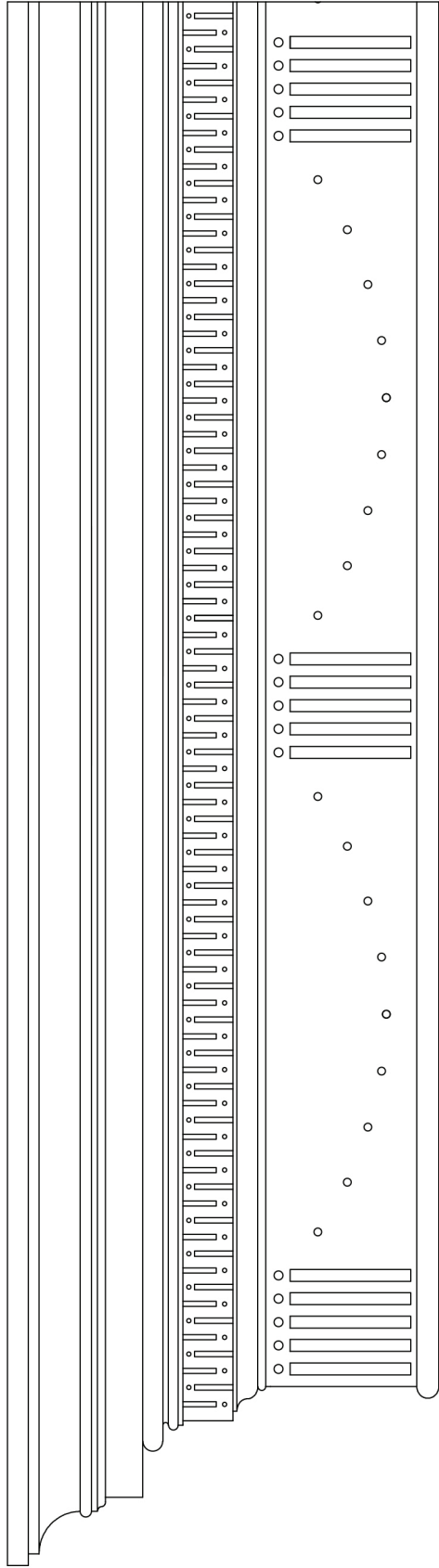


Figure E.14. Cornice of double parlor, Rooms 102 and 103. Drawn by author, 2015; edited 2016. Scale: 2 1/2" = 1'.

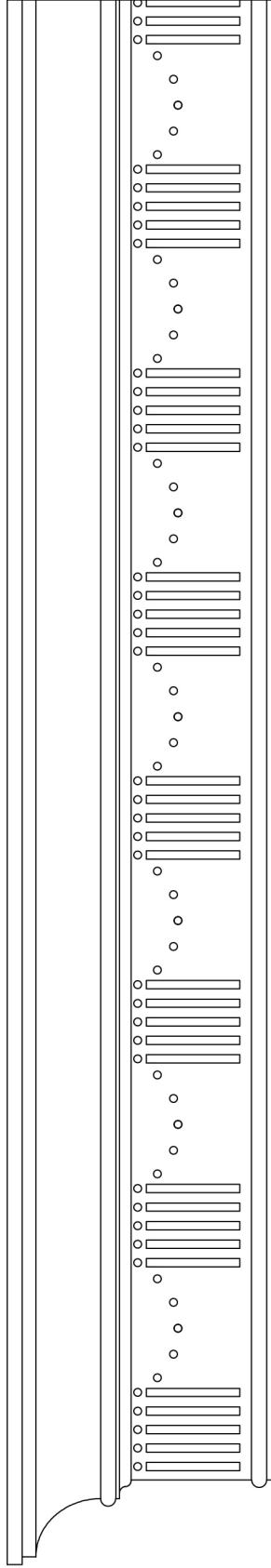


Figure E.15. Cornice of dining room, Room 105. Drawn by author, 2016. Scale: 2½" = 1'.

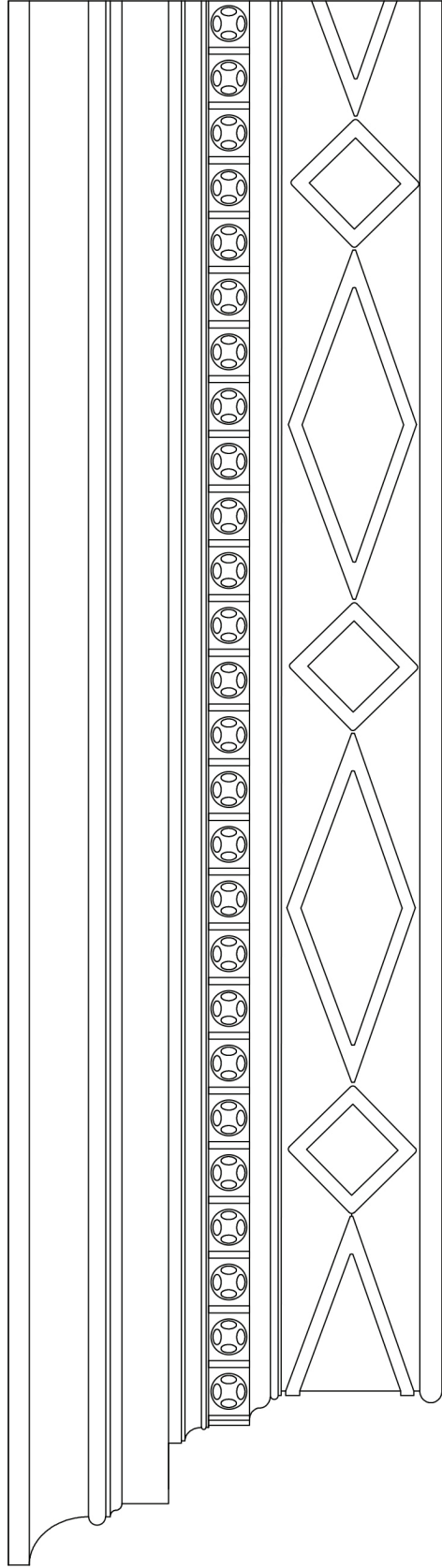
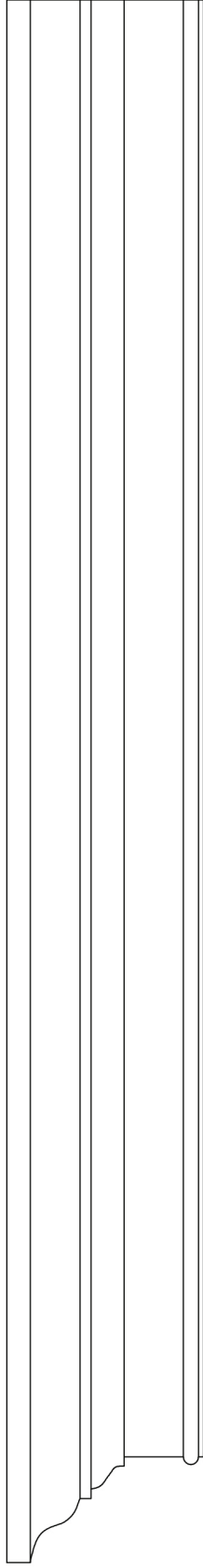
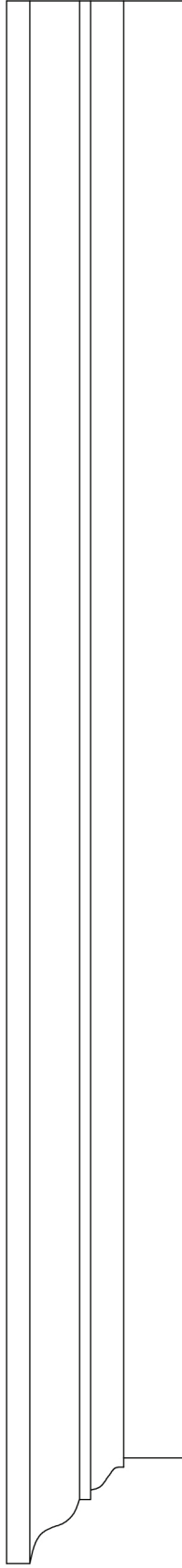


Figure E.16. Cornice of second floor central hall, Room 201. Drawn by author, 2015; edited 2016. Scale: $2\frac{1}{2}'' = 1'$.



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Figure E.17. Cornice in second floor chambers, Rooms 202, 203, and 205. Drawn by author, 2016. Scale: 2½" = 1'.



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Figure E.18. Cornice in second floor chamber, Room 206. Drawn by author, 2016. Scale: 2 1/2" = 1'.

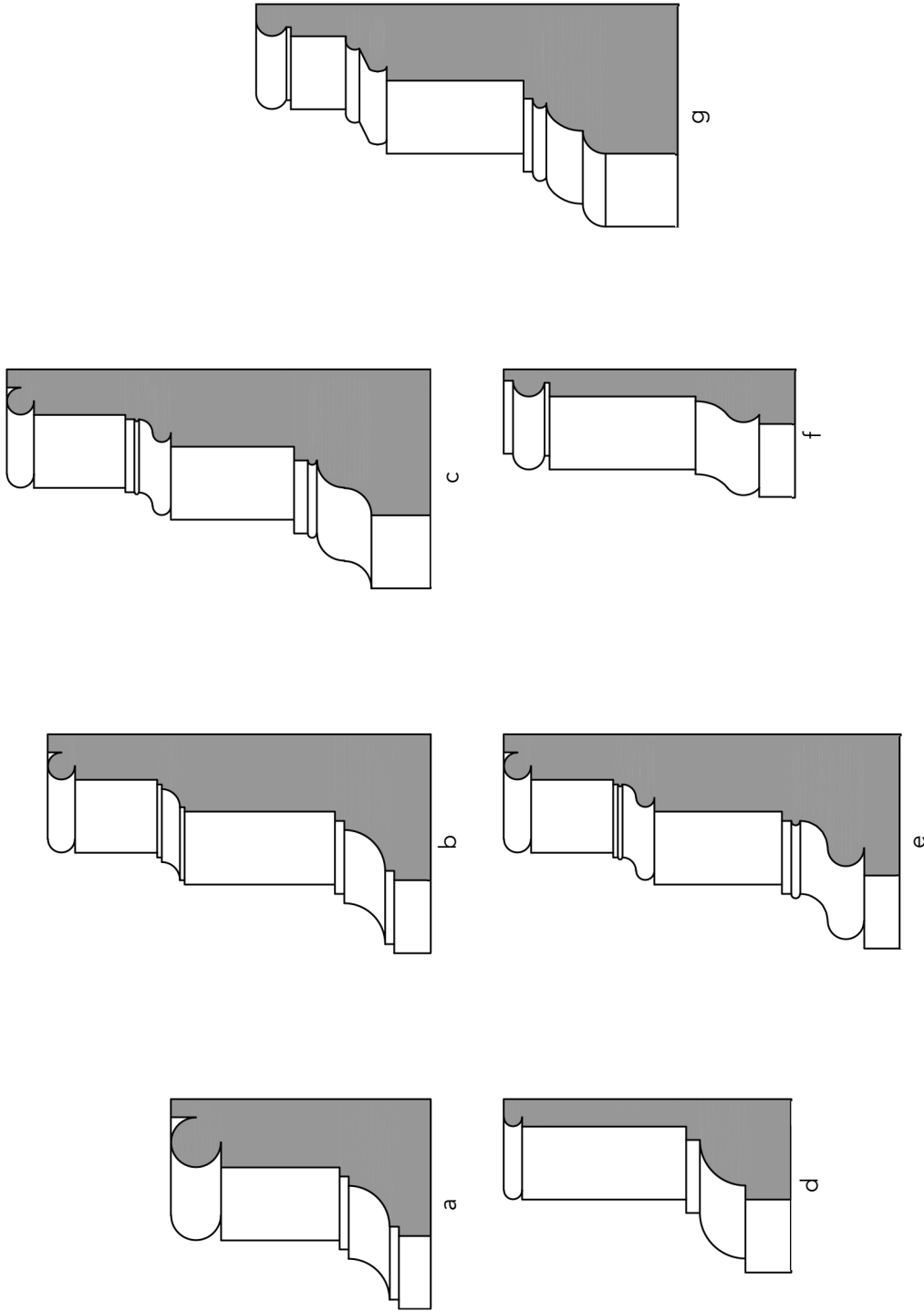


Figure E.19. Lexicon of Architraves as seen at the Lee Cultural Center: a, single architrave with cavetto (Rooms 106 and 206); b, double architrave with cavetto (Rooms 105 and 205); c, double architrave with cyma-and-astragal and quirked-ogee-and-astragal, c. 1877; d, single architrave with ovolo (basement and garret); e, double architrave with quirked-ogee-and-astragal (Rooms 101, 102, 103, 201, 202, and 203); f, standardized molding, early-twentieth century; g, double architrave, 1998. Drawn by author, 2016. Scale: 5" = 1'.

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