1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: The Woodlands (Revised Documentation)

Other Name/Site Number: William Hamilton House, and The Woodlands Cemetery

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 4000 Woodland Avenue Not for publication:__

City/Town: Philadelphia Vicinity:__

State: PA County: Philadelphia Code: 101 Zip Code: 19104

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
2	3	buildings
1	__	sites
6	1	structures
1	__	objects
10	4	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 2

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

Signature of Certifying Official   Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official   Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

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

Signature of Keeper   Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic Funerary	Sub:	Single dwelling Cemetery
Current:	Funerary	Sub:	Cemetery

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: EARLY REPUBLIC: Early Classical Revival

Mausoleums and Monuments: Early Republic (Early Classical Revival); Mid-19th century (Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Exotic Revival), Late Victorian (Gothic, Stick/Eastlake, Renaissance), Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals (Beaux Arts, Classical Revival, Late Gothic Revival).

Materials:

Foundation:	Concrete
Walls:	Stone, Stucco
Roof:	Asphalt (shingles)
Other:	Stone (marble, granite, sandstone, limestone) (mausoleums and monuments)

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

SUMMARY

The Woodlands site currently combines William Hamilton's eighteenth century mansion with a notable cultural landscape, a rural cemetery established on ground formerly occupied by Hamilton's famed garden. The house and landscape, originally part of a comprehensive design, are now linked through historical association. The site encompasses the mansion and a stable dependancy, entrance gates and fencing, numerous mausoleums, vaults, monuments, and varying forms of grave markers situated on approximately fifty-three acres in West Philadelphia, southwest of the University of Pennsylvania and near the Schuylkill River. The entrance gate faces Woodland Avenue to the north, overlooking a trolley stop, row houses, and early suburban villas. Railroad tracks along the Schuylkill River form the property's southern border; to the east lies a Veterans Administration hospital; and to the west stretches the campus of the Philadelphia College of Science and Pharmacy. The cemetery sits on a low hill that peaks in the center of the site and rolls gently toward the river. This topography struck botanist William Hamilton as the appropriate setting for his porticoed mansion and picturesque garden in the eighteenth century. The same natural features, along with Hamilton's house, trees, and place in his city's historical memory also attracted cemetery founders.[1]

William Hamilton's late-eighteenth century seat at The Woodlands consisted of an imposing neoclassical residence inextricably linked to the landscape, which most notably was comprised of pleasure gardens created in the English tradition. When completed, William Hamilton's mansion was among American's most preeminent residential structures, noted for its sophisticated plan and architectural embellishment, both of which were virtually without equal in this country. Hamilton's garden likewise was recognized as being among the finest in North America, and the closest to approximating those of England's great estates. The interconnection between the built and natural environments at The Woodlands was accomplished through a number of means: the mansion was thoughtfully sited to fit within the gently sloping terrain and to provide for pleasing vistas of the river and countryside. A north-facing terrace and south-facing oversized portico served as outward extensions of the interior domestic space. Lastly, a network of interconnecting paths and drives emanating from the mansion provided circulation for both domestic and social use, linking the mansion, stable, green house, and other dependancies to the surrounding gardens.[2]

The establishment of the Woodlands Cemetery Company on the site in 1840 began the slow transformation of Hamilton's garden into a rural cemetery. William Hamilton's mansion remained the centerpiece, serving both a ceremonial purpose by creating a provenance for the cemetery, and functional purpose through its use as its offices. The house and its original English gardens provided the inspiration for the development of the cemetery and still defines it as a rather unique cultural landscape in that the mansion and stable building are extant. While the landscape today is vastly changed, its evolution was predicated upon the Hamilton period features, thus creating an historical continuum at The Woodlands. The open space maintained through its use

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[1] Charles Snell, National Historic Landmark Nomination "The Woodlands," National Park Service, 1967.

[2] Dr. Charles Drayton, in his diary entry of 1808 described the landscape as "laid out with much taste & ingenuity." With regard to the blending of house and landscape, he claims that "one is led in to the garden from the portico, to the east or lefthand. Or from the park, by a small gate contiguous to the house. . . "From the cellar one enters under the bow window & into this Screen which is about 6 or 7 feet square. Through these, we enter a narrow area, & ascend some few steps into the garden– & thro the other opening we ascend a paved winding slope, which spreads as it ascends, into the yard. The sloping passage being a segment of a circle, & its two outer walls concealed by loose hedges & by this projection of the flat roofed Screen of masonry, keeps the yard. & I believe the whole passage out of sight from the house– but certainly from the garden & park lawn." Dr. Charles Drayton.. "Diary." Drayton Hall, South Carolina. National Trust for Historic Preservation.

as a cemetery preserves the last vestige of the once renowned landscape park, and is vital to the correct perception of the house. The cemetery not only contributes to the setting of the building, it possess an importance of its own. The Woodlands Cemetery is an early and significant contribution to the rural cemetery movement in America. The roadways and original sections were designed in the picturesque to follow the contour of the land, and to create scenic vistas and private enclaves. Later designs became increasingly more geometric in form, reflecting changes in popular tastes while also responding to maintenance issues. The cemetery includes a notable collection of funerary art, including symbolism associated with death, as depicted from the mid-nineteenth century through to the present. Funerary forms range from large family mausoleums and groupings of tombstones clustered around large monuments, to single graves, and encompass a range of period styles from Neoclassical and Greek Revival, Eastlake and Art Nouveau, to more starkly modern grave markers.

THE MANSION

Erected in two separate building campaigns, Hamilton's mansion was begun as the villa residence of a wealthy bachelor ca. 1770. Between 1786 and 1789, the plans for the house were greatly expanded in the manner of an English country house. As completed, the large, symmetrically balanced structure measures 96'-2" x 68'-7 ¾", including east and west semi-circular window bays, south-facing monumental Doric portico, and a north-facing, pilastered engaged pavilion and terrace. The house is two stories in height with the inclusion of a finished garret, and a full basement with exterior access provided by a cryptoporticus running along the north elevation. The foundation walls are constructed of random-coursed rubble stone to thicknesses ranging between 1'-6" and 2'-0,"and are covered in scored concrete up to the first-floor sill line. With the exception of the visible window surrounds—which are of brick—the load-bearing exterior walls are constructed of Wissahickon schist and gneiss. The center sections of both the north and south facades are faced in stucco. Except for traces of a yellow wash in some protected places, the remainder of the exterior walls are not currently stuccoed, roughcast, or limed. Beyond the extreme spatial sophistication of the expansion and retrofitting in the 1780s, the exterior of the house is notable for its south-facing, monumental portico. Included as part of the original ca. 1770 country house forming the core of the present structure, this feature was likely the first of its kind in Philadelphia and ranks among the earliest in America. Equally significant, the house contains one of the preeminent, if not the most August, neoclassical house interiors in the United States. The plan is defined by parallel and intersection axes that incorporate a barrel-vaulted passage, circular reception hall, and flanking oval rooms to the north, with a large central saloon and square-shaped rooms, or cabinets, to the south.

The north facade provides the historical land approach to the mansion. This elevation is symmetrically arranged in three parts with an engaged Ionic temple-front flanked by two wings, which step out twice from the central wall plane. In the center section, three bays containing the primary entrance and flanking windows are defined by Ionic pilasters which "uphold" a cornice with rosettes, in turn surmounted by a denticulated pediment, and, in the attic story, an oxeye window. The round-headed door frame contains folding doors, with each door holding three fixed lights and one simple panel. Recesses on the interior indicate that the original doors were meant to fold back into the wall when open. The ornate fanlight above has metal muntins, most of which are structural. In each wing, a recessed arch accommodates glazed folding doors, a fanlight, and engaged column/pilaster pairs, which despite not having the requisite flanking windows, suggest a Venetian window arrangement. The doors contain ten fixed panels arranged in pairs. The fanlights above have ornamental wood muntins. The spandrels of the larger arched recess are simply finished with buff-colored stucco. A single window is present above each of the arches. A 6'-0" deep platform with three stairs rising from the circular drive extends across the north front of the house; the undifferentiated terrace surface is surrounded by a border of stone. In general, the window openings in the center wall sections of the north and south facades are smaller than those in the wings, underscoring a history that features two major periods of construction. The five

windows at the center of the north face are set into the stucco with simple frames and stone sills. Both the upper and lower windows are filled with six-over-six double hung sash; the light dimensions of the second-story windows are smaller than those on the first. A cryptoporticus formed by a flattened arch runs under the terrace and provides its support. At the cryptoporticus level are three doorways, aligned with those on the main level. The central doorway consists of unglazed folding doors containing three panels each. The flanking doorways both have standard six panel doors. The center and east doors have paneled jambs and lintels, while only the jamb panels survive outside the west door.

As the imposing garden/water front, the symmetrical south-facing elevation is dominated by a large tetra-prostyle portico two columns deep in the Tuscan order. The portico is raised on a battered stone base and covered by a roof with a denticulated pediment and oxeye window. Unlike the north front, the south wall remains essentially in a single plane, although the center section under the portico is stuccoed and scored to resemble ashlar blocks. A stuccoed string course is present between the first and second stories. Three arched doorways open onto the portico. Their frames extend 8" from the stuccoed wall and contain pairs of French windows and ornamental fanlights with metal muntins. The frames are composed of symmetrical architraves with bull's-eye corner blocks at the arch's springing point. A delicately molded keystone stands at center above the fanlight. Fixed lights of differing dimensions are made to appear as a single sheet of glass through use of extremely narrow muntins. Interior shutters are divided into similarly sized panels and fold back into wall recesses when not in use. On the river front, three six-over-six, double-hung windows, similar in scale to the second-floor windows opposite on the north face, are positioned over the three arched portico openings. Of particular note, these windows are contained within heavily molded crosseted frames with plainly fashioned key blocks at center. The flanking "wings" are separated from the portico by means of pilasters in line with the portico columns. First-floor niches and recessed blind roundels provide for further separation, perhaps in absence of a significant plane change. As on the north façade, recessed arches contain Venetian windows composed of a large double-hung window flanked by narrow fixed sash and topped by a fanlight. One window is located above each of the Venetians and a semi-circular window opening is present at ground level.

The east and west (side) elevations are essentially mirror images of each other, their dominant features being graceful rounded bays on their north ends, each containing three curved windows per story. Each floor contains five openings in total; all except two on the west side are windows. The first-floor openings are a full story in height. All of the first- and second-story windows in the wings are contained within flush brick frames bearing more-or-less uniform jack-arch lintels and quoin-like extensions tying the brick into the stone wall. The windows on the first floor are twelve-over-twelve double hung and those on the second floor are eight-over-eight double hung, and have stone sills.

The roof form is a low-pitched hip-on-hip running east-west, and is sheathed in asphalt shingles. Its structure exists in two parts with the roof of the original house encased within the structure of the 1780s roof. As a result of this situation and the considerable twin chimney masses, the joinery for the later hip roof and cross gables to the north and south is quite complex. In terms of components, most of the members are common rafters with wood props assisting the large spans. The large brick chimney stacks are symmetrically placed at the intersection of the roof planes. Cross gables extend to the north and south; their ridges intersect the main roof at a point lower than its ridge. A monitor pierces the roof at its center along the hip-on-hip's ridge. The attic story originally contained three monitors, only one of which– located in the north-south corridor– remains in service today. Glazing was set into the four sides of the square monitors, which was covered with shallow pitched roofs. Two skylights once provided additional light to the room above the portico; only the framing is extant. The removal of floor boards in the room over the portico reveals one massive beam (presumably there is a similar one on the west side) extending out to the forward portico columns, which contain at their centers hewn posts; another hewn beam extends across the front of the portico. Originally, the lateral beams rested on

the house's stone walls and supported the roof rafters and attic floors, as well as the portico ceiling; joints were mortise-and-tenoned and large iron spikes kept the lateral beams from slipping off the outer-most vertical posts.[3] Degradation discovered in the 1960s required the addition of steel channels on either side of the beams, blocks bolted their intersection with the vertical posts within the splined columns, and the posts received new concrete bases in order to discourage rot. Recent structural intervention included the insertion of steel posts and beams to stop the deflection of the first-floor joists.

No original floor plans are known to exist for either of the house's two construction campaigns; however, a fairly accurate plan of the structure's first-floor rooms and immediate surrounding landscape was sketched into an 1806 diary entry describing a visit to The Woodlands.[4] The rather complex interior plan is best understood in terms of parallel and intersecting axes. Two east-west axes allowed for enfilades of rooms, providing dramatic sight lines. On the north side of the house, the dining room, barrel-vaulted passage, circular vestibule, stair hall, and oval drawing room are aligned and provide a particularly stunning vista through the house. The number of discrete spaces and their series of arched openings creates a rapid and dynamic view across the house. This sight-line is kept in check by means of the dining room passage and the vestibule columns. The east-west axis on the south side, while containing the house's most impressive room in terms of size, is not as dramatic. Although still grand, the controlled sight-line of the east/west axis is diluted as one looks across the lofty saloon from one flanking square cabinet to the other. The single, centered north-south axis provides for the most dramatic view shed. Beginning at the north exterior door, this axis passes through a vestibule arch framed by columns across the saloon's short side to a similarly arched French window giving onto the portico. The axis continues out into the garden landscape and, originally, views of the river.

A complete circuit through the first floor of the house is made possible by a series of doorways that connect some of the north and south facing rooms. The most formal and impressive doorways are the primary ones for the drawing and dining rooms, opening from the stair hall and the vestibule passage, respectively. Facing the room interiors and surrounding the doors are highly articulated, curved neoclassical architraves. While not identical, these doors share a similar disposition of parts and use of classical elements. Fluted Ionic pilasters flank the door and a floral garland in low relief "hangs" between the capitals' scrolls. The pilasters support a full entablature with a denticulated cornice breaking out around the pseudo-impost blocks topping the columns. At frieze level, each impost block bears a single rosette and the center is embellished with two mirror-image griffins in low relief. The doors contained within this openings are mahogany six-panel doors with intricate incised patterning around the panels facing into the rooms. There are two-jib doors opening from the dining and drawing rooms into their respective square, south-facing cabinets. Jib doors also conceal closets within the southeast and southwest cabinets. Many of the first- and second-story doorways are round headed and contain fanlight windows or mirrored fanlights. Some of the doors contained in these openings are double; the three sets of interior double doors into the saloon all have mirrored faces.

The energetic ground floor plan is not repeated on the second story. Eight principal chambers are arranged along a single passage oriented east-west, and continued at its ends by extensions running at 45 degree angles from the primary passage. These extensions provide access to the southeast and southwest rooms. At the center on the south side under the portico, three of the chambers are reached via three steps; this uplifted portion of the second story accommodates the high ceiling of the saloon below. The three northern bed

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[3] Edwin Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Restoration Report No. 1—South Portico," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 28 April 1965, 3-4. Copies of reports are available in the office of the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[4] Dr. Charles Drayton, "Diary," 2 November 1806, p. 55, Drayton Hall, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 53.

chambers include what were originally bed alcoves, and built-in closets and cabinets abound throughout the floor. On the second floor most of the room and closet doors are of six panels and contained within doorways with carved architraves. Many of the doors include rim locks for closure.

From the second half of the nineteenth century through late in the twentieth, the Cemetery Company utilized the southwest cabinet and the saloon for their work, while the rest of the structure was given over to a tenant/caretaker residence and storage. An "Architectural /Historical Assessment and Space Planning Study" conducted in 1992 recommended that the tenant apartment be relocated to the second floor and the first floor rooms entirely opened for public visitation. The Cemetery Company followed this suggestion and relocated the tenant apartment in 1995. The unit occupies the western two-thirds of the second floor and comprises the six rooms located to the west of the principal stair hall. In creating the apartment, the Cemetery Company laid wall-to-wall carpeting (linoleum flooring in the kitchen and bathroom) over the hardwood floors, had a kitchen installed in the bed alcove of the former northwest bed chamber, and a bathroom/laundry created in a small bed chamber at the center of the house's north side. Although no major structural changes occurred, the installation of such things as kitchen cabinets undoubtedly compromised the original building fabric to some degree.

Like the rest of the house, the cellar is arranged in a complex plan. Access to most of the cellar areas, if not actual rooms, radiates out from a spacious "servants' vestibule" on the north side of the house at the center. Doors to the exterior, kitchen, stairs up, rooms on the south side of the house, and a small western passage with three rooms opening from it all feed into this central location. Only the room in the southwest corner remains relatively distant from this space. Circulation paths are augmented by a linear cryptoporticus located under the terrace on the structure's north side, open on both ends to the exterior. There are six finished spaces in the attic story, which is reached by stairs off the second-story passage. Four rooms open onto a single north-south axis running between rooms behind the north and south pediments. While there are interior attic spaces under the eastern and western portions of the roof, these are unfinished; the functional rooms are situated at the center of the house.

With regard to finishes, all of the first- and second-story ceilings and walls are plastered, with most furred-out and plastered over lathe. Most of the cellar walls and ceilings are lathed and plastered, those that are not have whitewashed stone walls and ceilings open to the joists and floorboards above. The flooring throughout the first, second, and third floors is of random-width boards. The attic/third-story floors are all plank. The basement floors are concrete. Nearly every room from the cellar to the attic contains some sort of trim and/or woodwork. The first and second stories bear elements of varying profiles and include window and door architraves, baseboards, chair rails, cornices, mantles, and other decorative trim. In the attic and the cellar it is largely restricted to architraves, simple fireplace surrounds, shutters, and shoe molding.

Historically, the house was heated by means of fireplace and stove. Today, two large furnaces remain in the cellar as do grates for varying generations of forced-air heating and ventilation. Bathrooms in the cellar and on the first-floor, and a kitchen and bathroom/laundry in the tenant apartment on the secondary floor are all plumbed for water and sewer. Remnants of knob-and-tube wiring exist throughout the house, as do many generations of later electrical wiring. This wiring is both imbedded within the walls and baseboards as well as surface mounted. A bell-pull system for calling servants was installed as part of the reconstructed house as noted in an account ledger on October 12, 1791: "Bell pulls & Cranks"[5] Remnants of the system is evident

[5] Woodlands Household Accounts, Smith, HSP.

throughout The Woodlands.[6]

After Hamilton's 1813 death, the changes wrought on his neoclassical seat along the Schuylkill River remained predominantly cosmetic in nature. His nephew James Hamilton, who inherited the house, made some alterations to fireplace surrounds and room trim. Minor repair work occurred throughout the 1820s; however, neglect after its sale out of the Hamilton family was made clear through an 1838 diary entry noting that the house was "rapidly going to decay."[7]

After the Woodlands Cemetery Company purchased the property, they routinely engaged in internal and external repairs and changed interior finishes throughout the first floor.[8] These included: roofing; new window sash; exterior lime washes of the stone; removal of the projecting north porches, two of the roof monitors, and the roof balustrade; the installation of gas and water plumbing; sewerage; speaking tubes; electric lights and outlets; and forced-air heating plants. The introduction of utilities and power lines has been particularly noticeable and destructive to building fabric in the cellar rooms. Restoration work conducted by G. Edwin Brumbaugh in 1965 targeted the failing portico supports, as well as the highly speculative recreation of the north-facing Venetian windows, removed by the Cemetery Company in the mid-nineteenth century.[9] In 1981, John Dickey supervised restoration work in the saloon which, among other things, recreated a series of wall sconces with escutcheon plates crafted using paint ghosts as a guide. Mirrored door panels and transom panels were also somewhat cavalierly applied to the original doors—eliminating their original thinned-out profiles. In addition, as mentioned above, in the mid-1990s the tenant's apartment was relocated from the east side of the first floor to the western half of the second floor. While no individual change since 1840 proved drastic in regard to the basic form and layout of the house, more than a century-and-a-half of collective change in decorative finish and mechanical and utility lines/equipment has obscured some of house's well-known and celebrated historical state.

STABLE/CARRIAGE HOUSE

The stable/carriage house (hereafter stable) is the only Hamilton-era outbuilding extant at The Woodlands. The stable was constructed as a companion piece to the mansion. This fact is made evident by its orientation– the stable's front (south) face is clearly visible from the land approach to the house– as well as its visual affinity to the enlarged house. Some of the architectural motifs discernible on the exteriors of both the mansion-house and the stable are blind arches, roundels, niches, keystones, and stringcourses. Built of rubble stone, the stable consists of a two-story, three-part, low-hip-roofed main block flanked by single-story, shed-roof wings, measuring in its totality 48' x 30'. The carriage entry is in the center section of the main block, under an arch that rises up to the full height of the building (although the upper portion of the arch is in-filled and plastered). To either side of the carriage entry are plastered niches on the first story, and roundels on the second story. Set back ever so slightly from the central portion of the main block are flanking sections, each again with a full-height arch. In this case, they are *blind* arches, each with a six-over-six-light sash window in its first story, and

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[6] The description for The Woodlands Mansion was taken from James Jacobs' report for HABS. "Addendum to The Woodlands," Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, 2003.

[7] *Diary of Sidney George Fisher*, 61.

[8] The discussion of changes are, in large part, drawn form the unprocessed Woodlands Cemetery Company papers located by the HSP.

[9] Braumbaugh, "Portico" and "North Terrace Doors."

a fixed, six-light window in its second. Abutting the northeast and southwest side walls are the shed-roof extensions. Construction seams indicate that these extensions were added later. Design elements seen in the original structure—specifically blind arches and a continuation of the stringcourse—were repeated in these additions. The blind arches are inset with a six-over-nine-light window with a plaster arch above. Conversely, the use of bricks in the flanking door and central window arches in the northeast end wall, and keystones above the blind arches on the principal elevation and on the northeast wall, set them apart from the initial phase. In the opposing southwest end is found a single doorway, set towards the front of the stable. The interior of the main block consists of a central "carriage room" flanked by stalls, with a loft above all three sections. The east wing has a "harness room" to the front and a "work room/office" to the rear. The west wing was used as a storeroom.

A letter written by Hamilton while in England reveals that he was envisioning a new stable building at The Woodlands at the same time he was thinking about enlargements to the house. "Some addition to the House, a stable & other offices are immediately necessary at The Woodlands."[10] As a companion to Hamilton's nearby dwelling, the stable was remarkable enough to be at least mentioned in some early histories of American architecture. Cousin and Riley's *The Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* (1920) notes: "A word may well be said in passing in regard to the stable…while rightly unassuming, lives in complete accord with the house, as every outbuilding should."[11] Construction of the stable did not begin until major work on the house's expansion was winding-down and occurred in two phases. Based on documentary and physical evidence, Hamilton envisioned the two-story central section consisting of a carriage room, stalls, and an upper loft, all contained under a hip roof. By June 1790, the structure was completed enough for Hamilton to confer with John Child about the "Quantity of Shingles which would be necessary for the stable."[12] Sometime in the following year, Hamilton found the stable structure inadequate and launched a campaign to enlarge it.[13] By July 1791 the foundations had been started for the new sections.[14]

The stable retains a high degree of integrity. Beyond some door and window replacements and updated roofing, very little change has been wrought on the structure over its two centuries of existence. Given documentary evidence that the house was once at the very least limed, if not stuccoed, it can be suggested that at least the principal face of the stable was similarly finished. A fanlight behind boarding above one of the principal elevation's windows is likely the only remaining one at The Woodlands dating from the eighteenth century and may reflect those that were also employed in the mansion-house. The stable/carriage house should continue to be recognized both in terms of a holistic view to period estate design as well as a distinctive outbuilding, which despite its high-style architectural features, was fully utilitarian in function. The stable is considered a contributing building.

THE CEMETERY

As initially conceived in the early 1840s by Philip M. Price, the cemetery plan consisted of winding roadways

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[10] Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[11] Cousins, 66.

[12] Hamilton to Smith, 12 June 1790. Smith, HSP.

[13] Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791.

[14] Woodlands Household Accounts, 1791.

marking the boundaries of the individual sections, each of which were fully articulated in their own time and by their own design. Most of the "avenues" as laid out by Philip Price were named for trees, and in some cases (such as Cedar Avenue) these names correspond to species planted along the route. Subdivisions or "sections" within this scheme are lettered A through Q. Of these, A and B remain undeveloped, providing a buffer from the noise and traffic along Woodlands Avenue, to the north. Sections O, P, Q, to the west, are also green space, much of which is now leased to the neighboring college for use as tennis courts and ball fields. The earliest burial-related development occurred at the cemetery's core. Starting in 1844, Section C was laid out, largely for the purpose of accommodating churches that had purchased "allotments" or blocks of lots. Sections D, E, F soon followed, and were joined by Center Circle, I, G, and H over a fifteen-year period. These inner burial zones feature the oldest monuments and most elaborate ground plans. Their paths form allees, broad arcs, or radiating spokes that allow access to the individual graves and family plots, much as roads do to homes on a suburban street. In fact, many of the older sections are distinguished by family lots, often featuring a central monument encircled by the subordinate markers of individual family members' graves. Laid out later after the Civil War, Sections K, L, M, and N developed unevenly. M became the focus of grand, Gilded Age tomb-building only to be truncated by twentieth-century land takings. Other sparsely monumented areas were often designated for sale as modest "single graves" after World War II.

Tracing the historical development of the landscape, the first era was that of William Hamilton's occupation, ca. 1780 – 1813. William Hamilton (1745-1813) was Philadelphia's gentleman-gardener par excellence during the Early National period. While his horticultural endeavors at The Woodlands probably commenced in the mid-1760s, his first recorded intention to create a "small park" dates to 1779, and it was not until 1785 that he explicitly set out to give the grounds "some resemblance" to an English landscape garden. Within ten years, visitors believed he had achieved the desired effect: the major roads, walks and planting beds were in place. While Hamilton's gardens influenced the design of Woodlands Cemetery, we know them principally through visitors' descriptions. A ca. 1795 estate plan showing building locations and the carriage and farm roads, and the1806 sketch that Dr. Charles Drayton of South Carolina made in his diary of the area immediately surrounding the mansion, are some of the only detailed records of the pre-cemetery landscape.

The principal era of cemetery development occurred between 1839 and 1846. It commenced when surveyor and "corporator" Philip M. Price (1802-1870) designed this general plan for the site. A veteran of other rural cemetery projects, Price skillfully determined future road locations, giving Woodlands Cemetery a landscape framework that would be further articulated over time through the development of individual sections. Preliminary surveying started in 1839, yielding the first draft in the winter of 1841-1842. Price's initial plan had been lithographed as early as 1843 and included suggestions for the layout of Center Circle and Section E. Combining geometrical and naturalistic elements, it reflected the influence of English landscape gardeners Humphrey Repton and John Claudius Loudon. Hamilton's entrance drive was incorporated into the plan as were elements such as "ice house hill," now ringed by Center Circle. In 1846, Thomas Ustick Walter conceived an axial plan for Section F, establishing a narrow vista from the north front of the Hamilton Mansion as well as a series of nodes on which grand monuments would be placed. The design of individual sections generally fell to a surveyor employed by the company. Section F was an exception, created on behalf of shareholder Thomas Mitchell in order to accommodate his ground claims. In the same period, sections C, D and E were laid out by Philip Price and Edward Roberts while a major planting campaign proceeded under the direction of Eli K. Price.

By the 1850s, significant changes had taken place. Francis Lightfoot undertook the surveying and laying out of Section I in 1851-1852. In 1856, he was responsible for the final survey of Center Circle, transformed over the previous decade from its original and more curvilinear plan to a simple hub-and-spoke design. This reconfiguration occurred despite the fact that interments had occurred along the outer edges of the section while

the original plan was still on the boards. From 1843 through the mid-1850s a series of planting campaigns also helped transform the site's appearance. The 1853 sale of the "river front" tract to the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad for a rail right-of-way permanently altered the southern view shed. In 1858, Lightfoot's firm completed surveying in Section H. The year 1858 also saw the completion of architect John McArthur, Jr.'s grand Doric entrance (no longer extant), replacing the Hamilton-era lodges, and the further articulation of burial sections.

During the 1860s, the cemetery board hired "rural architect" J. C. Sidney as the master planner for Sections K, L, M, and N. Although the plans were complete by 1866, implementation occurred gradually and in some cases not at all. Section K was greatly simplified, eliminating most of the proposed paths in favor of lawn. (The section remained largely undeveloped into the twentieth century, and after 1950 much of the area was given over to inexpensive individual graves rather than the more elaborate family plots that distinguish many older sections of the cemetery. Section K still contains the bulk of available burial plots.) By the late 1860s, Section L was re-planned by Francis Lightfoot, perhaps drawing on Sidney's now-lost design. In 1878, Section M came into existence, although today, only a small portion along the cemetery's northern and western borders survives. The focal point of the truncated Section M is provided by the imposing Evans family obelisk, built in 1897. By that time, the cemetery plan was largely realized. The cemetery, with its landscaping, plantings, and numerous tombs, grave markers, and grave art is considered a contributing site.

CEMETERY MARKERS AND MONUMENTS

There are thousands of objects (monuments, statuary, gravestones, benches, vases, urns, etc.) that are landscape features and are not counted individually. They contribute to the overall significance of the site. Several monuments in the cemetery are large enough to be counted as individual resources. The oldest such resource is the Drexel Mausoleum (1863; Drexel Circle), a Roman Doric temple attributed to architects Edward Collins and Charles Autenrieth. Not for another two decades would other freestanding mausoleums crop up on the site. They include the ponderous Gothic chapel of the McDaniel family (1887; L 207-208), done in the style of Frank Furness, and the domed, vaguely Romanesque Burns-Detre tomb (ca. 1882; CC 28). Hillside vaults offered a more affordable alternative, since only their fronts stood in full view. Still, the Tudor duplex of the Suddards and Manuel families (ca. 1868; E 171, 173) is hardly a testament to thrift. Housing William Suddards, rector of a large Episcopal church that bought lots in the cemetery, the crenellated structure confronts Vault Avenue with a protruding marble head, perhaps of Father Time or of Rev. Suddards himself. The Gilded Age brought about new concentrations of wealth, apparent in city and cemetery alike, perhaps best represented by dentist, Thomas Evans' grand obelisk and the surrounding plaza (1901, M 6-15), which seem public in scale and expense; (fittingly, the same architects designed Philadelphia's Reading Terminal and Drexel University's main building). The Drexel Mausoleum, the McDaniel family Gothic chapel, the Burns-Detre tomb and the Suddards/Manuel families duplex vault are considered contributing structures. The Thomas Evans obelisk is considered a contributing object.

The vaults, statuary, gravestones, etc. that date from the beginning of the cemetery in 1843 to 1898 when the cemetery plan had been largely realized are considered contributing and reflect the period of significance for the site.

THE GATES AND FENCING

Current access to the cemetery is through two sets of gates, both facing Woodland Avenue. The larger pair to the east make up the public entrance and were designed by Paul Cret in 1936. Cret considered reusing elements of John McArthur's earlier gateway building, perhaps to appease preservationists. Ultimately, though, the

board settled on the sober update of Greco-Roman forms that stands today: two cornice-capped lodges built of limestone ashlar and flanking iron screens on bundle-column supports. The gates themselves are also in the Greco-Roman form and feature medallions with an hourglass motif. Solid as it was, this structure stayed in place for only twelve years before hospital construction forced removal to the present location. Because these gates were constructed after the national period of significance and were later moved, they are considered non-contributing buildings and structures. While these resources do not contribute to the national significance of The Woodlands, they may be determined to be of state or local significance and therefore potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The West Gate is a service entrance and far more modest. Consisting of schist-block piers and decorated iron rods, it apparently dates from the same period as the iron fencing that replaced the front wall in the 1880s and 1890s. This gate and the fencing dating from the national period of significance are considered a contributing structure.

NON-EXTANT RESOURCES

Greenhouse/Hothouse

In addition to the stable, the other major outbuilding constructed in close proximity to the house was William Hamilton's no longer extant greenhouse/hothouse (hereafter greenhouse). Prior to his trip to England, William Hamilton had already constructed a greenhouse at The Woodlands, but its form or size is not known, and there is no verified visual documentation of it beyond its footprint on a Woodlands Cemetery Company site plan of ca. 1840, and partial inclusion on a Woodlands Cemetery Company stock certificate of 1843. According to the 1798 Federal Direct Tax, Hamilton's greenhouse measured 65' x 24' and contained one-and-one-half stories. A second hothouse is present by 1806, and possibly earlier.[15] When including both of the glazed greenhouses, the entire structure measured roughly 140 feet long.[16] Interestingly, in addition to tiers of plants within, one of the hot houses included "a cistern" for raising "tropical aquatic plants."[17]

Its impressiveness and usefulness had clearly waned by the establishment of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, and in 1854, the greenhouse was demolished in order "to erect in its place very spacious octagonal sheds for the protection of horses and carriages."[18] The stone enclosure employed a double-pitched roof and was designed to accommodate funeral-goers. The original roof and three sides of the octagonal enclosure no longer exist, leaving only five walls, sections of rebuilt roof, and remnants of the sheds still standing. The extant structure is banked into the sloping landscape, and from the exterior it appears merely as partially parged, rubble stone walls. With the three sides missing, the structure is open to the stable yard located just to the northwest. Sections of wall to the west are also missing, but are replaced by mounds of earth. Some of the interior brick walls that form the sheds still exist, and having been re-roofed, are being used for storage. Other sections have been opened up to the interior yard, with only the partition walls remaining. A small brick garage

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[15] Drayton, "Diary," 59. Manasseh Cutler mentions visiting "green-house*s*" in 1803, however he could be referring generically to the greenhouse and one hothouse. Manasseh Cutler to Mrs. [Mary Culter] Torrey, 22 November 1803.

[16] Old School, 507.

[17] Drayton, "Diary," 59.

[18] The Woodlands Cemetery Company, "Annual Report," 1854, Cemetery, HSP.

with a low-pitched, gable-front roof was erected within the extant walls, to the east. A brick structure, formerly used by the cemetery as a privy, abuts the exterior wall to the northwest. The remaining portions of the original wall is considered a contributing structure. The re-roofed section is considered a non-contributing building as is the twentieth century garage and the undated privy.

Entrance Lodges

While not located in the immediate vicinity of the mansion-house, the entrance lodges were integral to experiencing The Woodlands, and provided the initial architectural experience when visiting the estate. The original entrance lodges are no longer extant. However, the early approach road is still evident in the Cemetery's northeast corner. An 1830s map showing a proposed canal scheme along the Schuylkill River shows the carriage road wending its way from the entrance lodges along Woodland Avenue to the mansion. They were included in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax listed as "2 Porter houses," constructed of stone, and measured 16' x 18' each. An 1854 engraving of Hamilton's entrance lodges depict a pair of one-story structures with blind arches facing the road; they are covered with low-pitched hip roofs with small balustrades around their tops.[19] Use of blind arches, which appear to be stuccoed, formally link the entrance lodges with the mansion-house and the stable. Stone walls extend out from the lodges and an iron fence/gate encloses the space between. Hamilton was planning construction of the entrance lodges in June 1789, along with the stable and the greenhouse; as late as August 1792 they remained unfinished.[20]

Just over a decade after the establishment of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, William Hamilton's neoclassical entrance lodges were deemed too modest for their purposes. At first the managers wished to retain them, but with an augmented street presence. A ca. 1851-1852 stockholder report notes plans for the "filling in of the space between the lodges by three ornamented arch ways."[21] The managers wanted to keep the lodges because they "seem to be in keeping [architecturally] with the mansion" and would be a cost-effective way in "making a pleasing and effective entrance."[22] No action was taken regarding the plans for reworking the original entrance lodges and they were demolished in conjunction with the construction of a colossal new entrance gateway designed by noted Philadelphia architect John McArthur, completed by 1860.

In the mid-1930s, the City of Philadelphia condemned land along the cemetery's eastern border in preparation for the construction of University Avenue, resulting in a number of significant changes to the original plan. The main entrance was effectively cut-off, forcing the company to demolish the gate designed by John McArthur, Jr. The replacement gate, designed by architect Paul Cret in 1936, was completed some six months later. Also eliminated from the original plan were the two easternmost roadways, designated as Ridge and Valley avenues, and the remnant of the Hamilton-era carriage road was also cut short (although a section remains with a row of mausoleums along it). In addition, significant portions of Section M and the northeast corner of Section N were lost, only to be further impacted in the years ahead.

By 1965, significant post-war changes were fully realized and the cemetery would appear largely as it does

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[19] S. E. Brown, "Lodge Entrance to the Hamilton Mansions," *Gleason's Pictorial Review* (April 1954): 232, as reproduced in Long, 341.

[20] Hamilton to Smith, 8 June 1789 and 3 August 1792.

[21] The Woodlands Cemetery Company, "Report of the Managers to the Stockholders," ca. 1851–1852, Cemetery, HSP.

[22] Ibid.

today. A number of significant changes occurred between the 1930s through the 1950s. The Cret gate was moved to a more central location along Woodlands Avenue in 1948. This came about following a second land condemnation that necessitated relocation of the entrance road, this time, by the federal government on behalf of Veterans Administration for the construction of a hospital. More land was ceded to the City in 1955 to accommodate a sewer line near the railroad right-of-way. In order to soften the visual effects of these changes, the cemetery commissioned landscape architects Wheelwright, Stevenson & Langran to design a new planting plan. Their scheme, conceived in 1957 and modified over the next eight years, established a dense screen of trees and hedges along the southern and eastern boundaries of the site.

Historical Archeological Resources

A preliminary archeological survey in 1993 in areas not occupied by the cemetery indicate well preserved historic archeological features and artifacts, adjacent to the Mansion, the Carriage Shed, and the Stable, including several outbuildings, a kitchen garden, the remains of one of the most influential structures at the site, William Hamilton's greenhouse and hothouse complex, as well as domestic artifacts.

While no evaluation of these resources under Criterion 6 for National Historic Landmark nomination or Criterion D for National Register listing has taken place to date, the historical archeological deposits are worth mentioning here as they include a unique and unparalleled record of the evolution and use of the landscape and gardens at this property, as well as one of the best sources of information about the people who lived and worked at the property for over 130 years.[23]

Precontact Resources

A well preserved, stratified prehistoric site dating to the Archaic period (7500-800 BC) is located beneath historic strata to the south of the mansion. In addition, evidence of occupation through the Early-Middle Woodland (through 1000 A.D.) is also evidenced at the property. Further prehistoric archeological remains can be expected in other open areas of the property.

While no evaluation of these resources under Criterion 6 for National Historic Landmark nomination or Criterion D for National Register listing has taken place to date, the evidence of Native American occupations are worth mentioning here as some of these resources appear to be the best preserved in Philadelphia county. Additionally, the precontact remains can contribute to understanding the continuum of occupation on the property as well as attest to its long landuse history.[24]

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[23] Fry, "The Woodlands: An Archeological Research and Planning Survey," 1995.

[24] Ibid.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

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

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A_ B_ C X D_
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A_ B_ C_ D X E_ F_ G_
NHL Criteria:	4
NHL Exception:	5
NHL Theme(s):	I. Peopling Places 1. family and the life cycle III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design IV. Transforming the Environment 1. manipulating the environment and its resources
Areas of Significance:	Architecture Landscape Architecture
Period(s) of Significance:	1766–ca.1898
Significant Dates:	ca. 1770, 1786–1789, 1841
Significant Person(s):	
Cultural Affiliation:	
Architect/Builder:	Mansion: William Hamilton (possible attribution to John Plaw, English architect) John Child, master builder Cemetery: Philip M. Price, Thomas U. Walter, Francis Lightfoot, John McArthur, Jr., James C. Sidney, Paul Philippe Cret
Historic Contexts:	XVI. Architecture C. Federal XVII.. Landscape Architecture

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

UPDATED DOCUMENTATION SUMMARY

The following information constitutes an addendum to the original 1974 landmark nomination for The Woodlands, and is the result of new scholarship as it relates to both the house and landscape. The core of the mansion, once thought to have been erected by Andrew Hamilton, II, ca. 1747, is now considered to be the work of his son William, ca. 1770. New insights have also been made upon the innovation and sophistication of the design of the house, particularly with regard to those areas occupied by the servants, and to patterns of circulation.[25] Likewise, prior to recent scholarship and the introduction of rural cemeteries as nationally significant landscapes, Woodlands Cemetery– its monuments, roads and paths, and related features– was considered to be a non-contributing feature of the site, although it was encompassed within the boundaries set in 1974.[26] Today, Woodlands Cemetery is considered to be a significant cultural landscape, and of merit for its role in preserving the garden context as well as the spirit of William Hamilton's Woodlands estate through its use as a rural cemetery.

SUMMARY

William Hamilton's seat at The Woodlands, formed in the late eighteenth century on the spit of land where Mill Creek once met the Schuylkill River, was recognized throughout post-Revolutionary America as a leading example of English taste in architecture and landscape gardening. As its centerpiece is Hamilton's mansion-house, which stands as one of the greatest American domestic achievements of the eighteenth-century. The house contains one of the preeminent neoclassical interiors in the United States, boasting what were likely the best-finished and most sophisticated internal service spaces created at that time in Philadelphia, and perhaps in the country as a whole. Its imported avante-garde neoclassical design presaged the formation of architectural trends in America that would dominate building design and construction for the first decades of the nineteenth century. Beyond the extreme spatial sophistication of the expansion and retrofitting in the 1780s, the monumental portico on the house's south face is notable in its own right. Included as part of the original ca. 1770 country house forming the core of the present structure, this feature was likely the first of its kind in Philadelphia and ranks among the earliest in America. From its significant beginnings around 1770, to its neoclassical reconstruction between 1786 and 1789, Hamilton's residence physically manifested or provided a stage for nearly every aspect of genteel life as it evolved late in the eighteenth century. It offered a setting for both formal and informal entertainment, the display of art, and high-style day-to-day living. Beyond its singular importance and survival as a structure, the mansion-house at The Woodlands was not conceived in an isolated manner. Its aesthetic and functional qualities were intimately related to, indeed considered inseparable from, the surrounding estate.

Eminent botanist and plant collector William Hamilton (1745-1813) made the property a New World model of contemporary English landscape gardening techniques. Employing compositional principles advanced by such landscape and garden notables as Lancelot Brown and Thomas Whately, and nurserymen such as Nathaniel Swinden**,** Hamilton created an elaborate tableau that Thomas Jefferson called "the only rival I have known in

[25] James A. Jacobs, "Addendum to: 'The Woodlands,'" Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, 2003.

[26] Ibid.; Aaron V. Wunsch, "The Woodlands Cemetery," Historic American Landscapes Survey, National Park Service, 2004; "Laurel Hill Cemetery," National Historic Landmarks Nomination, National Park Service, 1998.

America to what may be seen in England."[27] Some forty years later, the estate underwent a second transformation at the hands of the Woodlands Cemetery Company. Founded in 1840, this venture set out to remake Hamilton's estate in the form of a new metropolitan amenity known as a "rural cemetery." Aware of the property's history, dramatic topography, and proximity to the city, the company's projectors set out to create a landscape as appealing for its aristocratic associations as for its natural beauty. Hamilton's mansion and aged trees held special significance for lawyer Eli K. Price, who applied many of the same ideals tested at The Woodlands to Fairmount Park in his later role as Park Commissioner. As the driving force behind the cemetery venture, Price argued that his institution not only met the sanitary, aesthetic, and emotional needs of Philadelphians but also served as the steward of a hallowed place. Conceived as a private estate in high European style, it became widely accessible as a sort of proto-park and then helped incubate an institution that was truly public in nature. Thus, no longer an elitist pleasure ground, the landscape's reformation towards a more egalitarian rural cemetery has preserved the last vestiges of the once renown estate garden. The retention of the open space is vital to the correct perception of the house, and also provides a continuum between the Hamilton period and the present that otherwise would not exist.

It is clear that the survival of William Hamilton's magnificent house occurred on account of a desire to preserve the surrounding garden landscape and open space.[28] The centerpiece of Woodlands Cemetery remains William Hamilton's Federal-period Neoclassical mansion. While the landscape of today hardly resembles the one Hamilton knew, its rolling lawns, aged trees and eighteenth-century buildings recall the private origins of this semi-public space. The cemetery is also of interest for its collection of funerary sculpture and architecture, chronicling 150 years of American taste. Monument forms range from towering finials to simple tablets that display enormous stylistic variety; Neo-classicism, Victorian eclecticism, and various strains of modernism are all in evidence.

WILLIAM HAMILTON'S WOODLANDS ESTATE

The Woodlands can best be understood within the context of the "rural retreats" built as centerpieces to extensive estates surrounding eighteenth-century Philadelphia, and which now form a particularly impressive extant collection of both high-style and more vernacular domestic architecture. They are as well-known and often built on a scale equal to their Chesapeake and Low-country contemporaries. The earliest examples date from the 1720s with construction of them continuing well into the nineteenth century. In differing degrees, they exhibit the most up-to-date design ideas available at the time in North America and, in some cases, England, France, and elsewhere in Europe. Independent of whether the estates were large enough to include working farms, the showpiece houses and their immediate surroundings were conceived as status symbols and constructed to uphold a life of leisure and seasonal escape. Many of the dwellings included sophisticated interior and exterior spatial planning that skillfully mediated interaction between the owners, servants, guests, and visitors. Despite the survival of these country houses in a variety of areas throughout present-day Philadelphia, it is the concentration along the Schuylkill River which remains a particularly cohesive group, retaining, on account of Fairmount Park, at least a cursory understanding of their original settings. While the earliest country houses were constructed by members of the Quaker elite, including members of the Penn, Logan, and Norris families, the transfer of power to the Proprietary gentry by mid-century led to much of the

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[27] Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton, [n.d.] July 1806, in *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book 1766-1824*, ed. Edwin Morris Betts (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), 323.

[28] See HALS PA-02, "The Woodlands," for the accompanying historical report, which focuses on the landscape history of The Woodlands, particularly in reference to The Woodlands Cemetery Company.

later construction being non-Quaker.[29] Free from socio-religious strictures subduing, if not proscribing, material ostentation, the ascendant Philadelphian power brokers commissioned town and country houses meant to convey their wealth and status. This was the material environment into which William Hamilton was born in 1745 and the world in which he constructed The Woodlands on the west bank of the Schuylkill River.

Evolution of the House

Despite tradition to the contrary, the first significant "estate house" to appear at The Woodlands postdates the life span of Andrew Hamilton [II]. Evidence for this supposition comes from a variety of sources, beginning during the Andrew Hamilton period. In 1734, when Andrew Hamilton [I] worked-out purchase stipulations for the 250 acres that became the core of The Woodlands, the tract included a house in which former owner, Stephen Jackson, retained a life tenancy, remaining there until his death, in 1741.[30] (Based upon what appears on a 1752 map, the structure was undoubtedly modest.) Given that Jackson had a life tenancy on the property as part of the sales agreement and that Andrew Hamilton [I] died three months after Jackson, Hamilton probably did not make any major improvements to the acreage. Furthermore, Hamilton's resources were tied-up with the construction of his seat at Bush Hill, completed in 1740 and located just beyond the colonial city's northwestern quadrant.[31] Upon the death of Andrew Hamilton in 1741, his son Andrew Hamilton [II] inherited the acreage on the west bank of the Schuylkill. As part of the original agreement between the Hamiltons and Jackson, clear title to the land would not come until they paid-off the mortgage held by the General Loan Office. Andrew [II] does not complete this transaction until January 1745 and it is doubtful that he would have made capital improvements to the acreage before he possessed clear title. While not owning Bush Hill—it had passed to his brother James Hamilton—the elegant and spacious seat could also have been used by Andrew [II] and his family during the summer months and as a social backdrop for leisure and escape. It is not to say that Andrew [II] did not aspire to construct his own seat at what would later be called The Woodlands, but his premature death in 1747 preempted any movement in that direction. At this time, the tract of land passed to his two-year old son William.

An anecdotal source which cannot be verified through the documentary record provides, if weak, further suggestion that there was no country house on the site until after William Hamilton came of age. In his *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, Thompson Westcott quotes an episode in the life of William Hamilton as forwarded by a person named "Griswold." Mr. Griswold says: "On graduating in 1762 from the Academy of Philadelphia, he gave a fete at The Woodlands to his college friends…The beautiful edifice for which his place has since been celebrated was not then erected, and his entertainment was necessarily spread in a temporary building.'[32] If this anecdote is indeed true, it supposes that no large house existed yet at The Woodlands as late as 1762, not surprising as William Hamilton was only seventeen and had not fully come into his inheritance. It remains safe to conclude that no prominent dwelling house existed on the site until after William Hamilton reached adulthood. In 1766, William Hamilton came of age and took control of the fortune left to him by his father nearly twenty years prior. This date provides a convenient *terminus post quem* for the original

[29] For a thorough description of this transfer of power see Stephen Brobock, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Philadelphia Gentry," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (Jul 1976): 410-434.

[30] As recorded in an abstract of title in GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 4, HSP (hereafter abstract).

[31] Henry A. Boorse, "Bush Hill: An Historic Philadelphia House," *Imprint* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1984): 12, for completion date.

[32] Westcott, *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, 424. The "Griswold" to which Westcott and later historians refer (never with full name and always recounting the same tale in Hamilton's life) might be Rufus Wilmot Griswold, author of *The Republican Court; or, American Society in the Days of [George] Washington* (1864). While the Hamiltons are briefly mentioned in this book, the tale about William Hamilton's dinner at the Woodlands is not included in this particular volume.

construction; Hamilton would not have had the legal power nor the resources to accomplish anything prior to this year. A 1787 letter from William Hamilton to his Lancaster agent, Jasper Yeates, reflects that he had lived at "his favourite [sic] spot…for near 20 years."[33] This comment, however offhand and general, places Hamilton on the tract by 1768 or 1769. The former seems entirely possible as James Hamilton, William's uncle, wrote to a London banking house in April 1768: " . . .one of the Executors of my late Brother acquaints me that many years ago he remitted a sum of Money to your House to be put to interest in the publick funds on Account of my Brothers Children Andrew & William Hamilton… [they] are now of age, and desirous to draw that Money into this Country.[34] In summary, the earliest possible date for construction is 1766. Additional evidence suggests that Hamilton was already embroiled in or was planning imminent change at the estate by 1768 and the initial construction was likely completed by 1774. With a better understanding of when the house was built, its physical form and significance to the Philadelphia landscape can be more fully understood.

The dominant form of the early house is a rectangular structure contained under a gable roof that extended out over the south-facing tetra prostyle portico.[35] The crosseted window frames on the second story under the portico also survive from this early period. To the east and west were located three-sided bays positioned at the "center" of the building when taking into account the portico. With the perimeter and general form of the house established, there remains many questions regarding the disposition of rooms within a fairly tight footprint.[36] An extant east-west masonry wall extending from the basement up through the second floor bisects the house into two roughly equal spaces. When considering the portico, the first floor might be viewed in terms of thirds. Two places in the first-floor joist framing, visible from the cellar, point to the possible location of stairs or early chimneystacks; in both cases they lie along the east-west dividing wall on the south side. A narrower masonry wall extends in the cellar from the east-west wall to its south wall; whether this wall previously extended higher than the cellar is not known. Physical evidence shows the saloon's ceiling was raised during the 1780s expansion.[37] Beyond these clues, very little else can be established without demolition of the house's finished areas.

What Hamilton's house may have lacked within its somewhat narrow footprint was more than made up through its exterior articulation, particularly its portico. A common, though still impressive sight to most Americans even by the middle of the nineteenth century, open porticos of any size were scarce in the colonial period. Sources suggest that as few as three predated William Hamilton's within all the British colonies of North America. While its interpretation as an early "temple fronted" building has been debated, the Redwood Library's tetra-style Doric portico in Newport, Rhode Island (Peter Harrison, 1748-1750) (NHL, 1960) stands as the earliest known and extant example in British North America. One year later, Peter Harrison's design for King's Chapel in Boston, Massachusetts (NHL, 1960) included a three-sided Ionic colonnade around the tower,

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[33] Long, "The Woodlands," 78.

[34] James Hamilton to David and John Barclay, 19 April 1768, James Hamilton Papers, Letter Book, 1749-1783, HSP.

[35] Brumbaugh, Portico, 3-8. As initially built, the portico contained only the four outer columns.

[36] A functionally logical, but later comparison is Solitude, constructed by John Penn in 1784. A small, square-planned house, Solitude contained one large public room on the first floor, with a spacious entry hall and impressive U-shaped stair occupying the remaining third of the space. A second, smaller public room was present on the second floor as well as two heated bedchambers. Conceived of by a young bachelor, the modest, but exquisitely detailed getaway was most suited to small entertainment. Though larger than Solitude, as a young bachelor, Hamilton's purpose for The Woodlands was similar—a place for leisure and social gatherings.

[37] Reed L. Engle, "Historic Structure Report, The Saloon of the Woodlands, Woodlands Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for the University City Historical Society," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 30 September 1981, 13.

but this feature was not executed until after the Revolution.[38] As a result, the second built instance is the one affixed to the front of the impressive St. Michael's in Charleston, South Carolina (1752-1761) (NHL, 1960), again the Order is Doric and the form is tetra-style. The third building, apparently the first domestic use, employing a monumental portico is Whitehall, constructed outside Annapolis, Maryland by Governor Horatio Sharpe ca. 1764 (NHL, 1960).[39] In addition to its notability in being applied to a house, the story-and-a-half tetra-style portico was of the Corinthian Order.

Not long after the first manifestation of The Woodlands was completed, the British colonies in North America plunged into a revolution against their mother country. The Woodlands, like many other country estates in the Philadelphia area, required a great deal of rejuvenation by the Revolution's end. In addition to the need for physical repair, Hamilton was surely feeling flush from a massive inheritance from his uncle James in 1783.[40] Among the work and procured materials recorded in 1784 were: plaster, bricks, boards, nails, and payment for glazing, carpentry work, and "the laying of six hearths."[41] In addition to conventional materials, Hamilton's correspondence in that year indicates he was also testing up-to-date construction methods as practiced in England:

> I engaged a person of the name of Turner, newly arrived from England, to do some stucco work at Bush Hill. While he was at the work I frequently talk'd with him about the different compositions now so much used in England particularly that for covering floors, Roofs, & fronts of Houses. He professed to understand the method of preparing & applying it & wished me to encourage him in giving a Specimen. To this, I at length consented, and he undertook to make a variegated floor in my Green House, one for an open portico on the front of my House on the Schuylkill, and to cover the flats of two Bow Windows that have for these ten years baffled every attempt to lighten them…I am however very sanguine as to the success nor do I found my opinion mere on the account given me by Turner him-self. I have enquired of Mr. Vaughn & several other english [*sic*] gentlemen who say great things of it. I find it may be adapted to very kind of ornament can be done at any season of the year (in any weather) & as impenetrable to Water, Heat & Frost.[42]

The work and material orders also coincided with Hamilton's apparent hire of Thomas Nevell, the builder of Mt. Pleasant further up the Schuylkill River; Nevell prepared at least one "plan" for Hamilton prior to his departure for England.[43] It is clear from these sources that Hamilton was actively pursuing changes to his house and grounds at The Woodlands in 1784.

The only visible physical evidence suggesting what he may have envisioned in terms of alterations to the house is located in the north wall facing the land approach. The original house was only as wide as the portico, which on the north side included just the area between the present pilasters, part of the later 1780s construction. Between these pilasters and the later 1780s east and west "wings" are sections of wall with what appear to be filled-in window openings. If these portions of the wall were the extent of what Hamilton initially imagined,

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[38] Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785, 145.

[39] Charles Scarlett, Jr., "Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 46, no. 1 (March 1951): 12.

[40] Long, "The Woodlands," 90.

[41] "Woodlands Household Accounts," Smith, HSP.

[42] Hamilton to Washington, 20 February 1784.

[43] Hamilton to Smith, 6 October 1784, Society Collection, HSP.

then the end result would have been a slightly broader house with five bays along the north side. Using period conventions, this added breadth would have enlarged the somewhat constricted envelope and, if desired, allowed for a central passage and four flanking rooms. While not a full two-room-deep plan, Mt. Pleasant—designed by Thomas Nevell— included a wide central passage. A double-pile plan with a large central passage would have been functionally flexible; however, it would not have set the house apart from a number of other local residences. If completed on this type of plan, the enlarged house would still have had a commanding place along the Schuylkill, but would not have necessarily been known for its extreme innovation. This situation changed radically after William Hamilton's stay in England between 1784 and 1786.

The degree to which alterations to The Woodlands progressed by the time of William Hamilton's departure for England is not known. In terms of the house, it had not advanced far and ceased during his absence.[44] That Hamilton interrupted his alterations is not surprising given his impending trip to Europe and his social astuteness. Hamilton was well aware that in England he would encounter high-style and cutting-edge domestic architecture, and in turn could import these designs to Philadelphia, assuring the notability of his beloved seat. Hamilton arrived in London late in 1784, where he visited people and went sight-seeing within the city and beyond its borders: "My chief amusement is in viewing the best Houses in [&] about this metropolis."[45] Beyond merely viewing English houses and returning with ideas with which to instruct a Philadelphia house builder, Hamilton probably conferred with an English architect, John Plaw being a plausible candidate. After nearly a year in England, Hamilton voiced his continued interest in expanding the house and outbuildings at The Woodlands to Doctor Thomas Parke: "I am looking forward to the arrangements for making my situation convenient & agreeable. Some addition to the House, a stable & other offices are immediately necessary at the Woodlands and as I have most severely felt the consequences of having workmen at extravagant prices, I mean to take from hence some who will engage with me for a certain number of years on moderate terms."[46] The changes he envisioned were considerable as evidenced by his desire to hire workmen willing to contract for a lengthy period of time.

Hamilton's plans were all the more necessary as his brother died late in 1784 and he became both the family patriarch and the de facto male parent for Andrew [III]'s seven children. Hamilton saw himself living at The Woodlands full time upon his return as it seems he could not afford the upkeep of two, let alone three, residences.[47] The Woodlands needed expansion beyond its "bachelor" state if it were to function both as Hamilton's full-time residence as well as the family's seasonal retreat. William Hamilton returned to Philadelphia in July 1786 but did not reinitiate construction at The Woodlands immediately, again perhaps of

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[44] While away he moved his mother and most of his household from Bush Hill to The Woodlands on account of his desire to lease the former. In October 1784 Hamilton sent a letter to his agent instructing him to send his mother's hay and "the green chairs in the garden" to The Woodlands. (Hamilton to Smith, 6 October 1784, Society Collection, HSP. Two months later Hamilton remarked in a letter from London to his friend Doctor Thomas Parke: "I am exceedingly anxious to hear how my mother is situated at the Woodlands" (Hamilton to Parke, 1 December 1784, Society Collection, HSP).

[45] Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785, Dreer Collection, HSP. For a summary of Hamilton's travels beyond London see Long, "The Woodlands," 97-98.

[46] Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[47] It has been suggested that Hamilton might have conceived of The Woodlands as a year-round residence prior to his departure for England, and this was the impetus for planning and limited action evident in 1784. FitzGerald to Long, 9 December 2002.

continued financial shortfalls.[48] By the summer of 1787, work "on the necessary additions & repair" to the house at The Woodlands was in full throttle. Although Hamilton desired to move into the Woodlands as soon as possible, even before the house was substantially altered, in September he had to report that: "the addition to my House at the Woodlands is not yet covered in."[49] As the exterior walls of the east and west additions were completed before the interiors of the "old House" were destroyed through the construction of the new room configuration, Hamilton debated whether or not to move into the older, still-extant house during cessation of major work during the winter of 1787-1788.[50] Hamilton never vacated Bush Hill and work continued in earnest through 1788.

The year 1788 did not start out well as Hamilton's first letter to Benjamin Hays Smith complained that a number of workmen, including master builder John Child, failed to regularly appear for work.[51] Despite this situation, construction proceeded far enough to order sash for the first-floor windows as well as the three openings from the saloon onto the portico. By the summer, the niches in the saloon were being formed, high-quality doweled flooring in the public rooms was being laid, and interior plaster work on the first-floor was in process.[52] Notably, in one of these letters Hamilton alludes to the fact that the "old House" remained a recognizable entity, at least on the interior. He told Smith, "remind Child that no person whatever is to be admitted into the old House."[53] It is surprising to comprehend that very little demolition of load-bearing walls, if any, had to be accomplished in order to alter the house. The bows, which might have proven daunting when considering a new disposition of rooms and eliminated by an unimaginative architect, must have been a significant catalyst in devising the interior spaces. The bow's presence demanded a number of rooms with novel shapes, but also allowed for as compact a plan as possible and the added bonus of useful storage space. While interior partition walls were removed, the saloon was designed using the existing load-bearing wall configuration—down to the apses fitted neatly into the former bows. Doors into the southeast and southwest cabinets utilized the center window openings of the three-sided bows. The raising of the ceiling in this room accounts for the only significant structural change. The northern half of the original core contains rooms, stairs, and passages for circulation, which were also fitted within the existing load-bearing walls; only the new staircase might have required the removal of earlier floor joists. The much lauded "oval rooms" on the north and the matched square cabinets flanking the saloon are located in the additions. The rounded ends of the dining and drawing rooms fit like puzzle pieces against the original bows and extend out from the house's mass, creating new curved bows for the reconstructed Woodlands. When considering the term "old House" as used by Hamilton in 1788, it commented on the interior finish—or rather "unfinished"—of the new central spaces,

[48] For a summary of Hamilton's attempts to relieve his money troubles through the collection of ground rents and possible land sales, particularly in reference to his work being completed at the Woodlands and payments made in materials from Lancaster, see Long, "The Woodlands," 113-117, 119-122.

[49] Hamilton to Yeates, 13 September 1787, Letterbook, HSP.

[50] Hamilton to Smith, n.d., located between letters dated 6 February and 2 May 1789, for reference to the "old House" as a still-standing entity, Smith, HSP. Despite its location, this letter likely dates from the spring of 1788 as it seems to be a follow-up for another illegibly dated letter from Hamilton to Smith, tentatively held as 4 June 1788. The letter's date is suggested in Betts, 232, based on illegible writing and the construction chronology. In this report, the first mention of letters transcribed in Betts's appendix will also include his name and the page number.

[51] Hamilton to Smith, 3 January 1788, as cited in Betts, "The Woodlands," 231.

[52] Hamilton to Smith, [4 June 1788?], as cited in Betts, "The Woodlands," 232, for niches; Hamilton to Smith, 8 July 1788, as cited in Betts, "The Woodlands," 232, for floors; Hamilton to Smith, 21 [July] 1788 and 28 July 1788, as cited in Betts, "The Woodlands," 232, for plaster.

[53] Hamilton to Smith, [4 June 1788?].

which at the time were likely incoherent, caught between the interior wall divisions and treatments of old and new. By January 1789 the saloon was largely completed. It was not until the fall of 1789 that work was nearly completed in the dining room and Hamilton's attentions turned toward the drawing room. Although work on the drawing room dragged on for a number of years, the decorative finishes were not yet fully applied, Hamilton was able to move into the house by late in 1789.[54]

The reconstructed seat at the Woodlands stood, in 1790, in much the same state as it appears today. On the exterior, the portico remained a dominant feature on the south (river) front, though it was now flanked by two large stone wings featuring decorative niches and Venetian windows. Though not mentioned in eighteenth-century documents, conservation and restoration work completed in 1965 concluded that the portico's side columns (2) were added as part of the 1780s changes, possibly as an ineffectual solution to rot in the primary supports contained within the forward columns.[55] As completed, the north front on the land approach mirrored the portico with an engaged temple front bearing Ionic pilasters and entablature. Early accounts of the house note that its "rough stone" was "coated over with lime."[56] A complex enfilade of public rooms composed in dynamic shapes and proportions structured the interior, and these spaces were filled with fashionable appointments, furnishings, and artwork.

Supporting Gentility: The Service Spaces at The Woodlands

In order to better understand the manner in which the major public rooms worked in William Hamilton's reconceived residence, it is best to first comprehend how the service areas were disposed within and beyond the house. Roughly one-half of the dwelling's interior area was given over to service functions, these included: an expansive cellar, attic/third floor, and portions of the first and second stories, including a separate stairway more-or-less extending from the cellar through the third floor. When considering eighteenth-century country houses, William Hamilton's second manifestation of The Woodlands bears more in common with English prototypes than with its American counterparts. During the eighteenth century, most estate dwellings contained a symmetrical main block, assuring an impressive approach façade. In some cases—as at nearby Mt. Pleasant (1763-1764)(NHL, 1974) and Cliveden (1763-1767)(NHL, 1961)—paired dependencies forward of or behind the main block augmented the ensembles' grandiosity and provided extruded kitchen and other support areas. In surviving Philadelphia estates, a free-standing kitchen separate from the dwelling was also used at Stenton (1720s) and Solitude (1784). While a common arrangement, the detached kitchen was not standard for all eighteenth-century estate houses. In a manner not unlike period urban row house construction, service spaces were frequently contained in a long ell extending from the side opposite the house's formal approach as seen, for example, at Woodford (1750s, 1770s)(NHL, 1967). At The Woodlands, however, the kitchen and other principal service areas are contained in a raised basement, accessed by a cryptoporticus that runs under the terrace at the north elevation.

It is notable that the mansion-house at The Woodlands was equipped with rather extensive internal service rooms and passages. Even more extraordinary, these areas appear to have been very well finished from the beginning. Hamilton went through the expense of plastering cellar and attic walls and ceilings; installing paneled doors, toe molding, and in some rooms chair rails; carving architrave moldings and fireplace surrounds; and installing pine plank floors. Whether he did this on account of a generous spirit or because of a concern to fully finish the house from top to bottom, it cannot be overstated that William Hamilton's domestic staff lived

[54] Hamilton to Smith, September 1789 through January 1790.

[55] Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Restoration Report No. 1 - South Portico," 3-4.

[56] Drayton, "Diary," 52.

and worked in an environment far more refined than most of other Americans of all socioeconomic backgrounds. Given both the general and at times imprecise nature of the early censuses, it is uncertain as to what portion of the twenty-four persons listed as living at The Woodlands in 1790 were family, servants, or tenants renting the working portions of the estate. Despite this difficulty, it is possible to deduce that Hamilton had sizable household and estate staffs.

Four of the major spaces in the cellar can be assigned likely functions given both documentary and secondary information. The easiest to identify is the kitchen, which occupied the northwest corner of the cellar directly under the dining room. This spacious room contained all of the kitchen technology available for a late-eighteenth-century house and easily accommodated the preparation of the frequent dinners that Hamilton held. There was a large fireplace with a pot crane and adjacent oven. Under the center window of the western bow was a built-in sink with an exterior drain. Notably, in the northeastern corner of the room was a stove, built near a window for ventilation purposes. Very few eighteenth-century houses contained stoves. They made their appearance as French cuisine became more prevalent among English and American households. With iron grates placed over small, recessed charcoal fires, these stoves were able to provide regulated heating sources for the creation of sauces, gravies, stews, and other things requiring a low, consistent heat. That socially-minded William Hamilton had one installed at The Woodlands is not surprising given his established predilection for entertaining.

The room in the northeast corner under the drawing room was likely used as the servants' hall, which would have been the primary social space for the household staff. Meals were taken there and some light chores occurred in the room during the day. That a servants' hall existed at The Woodlands is confirmed through a 1788 letter in which Hamilton requests: "get the servants Hall tighten'd & plaister'd as I Desired." The room to the south of the servants hall, reached by a curving passage, might have functioned as the cook's room. It was relatively well-finished, contained direct access to the servants' hall, and also had a large storage closet accessed only from this room with a raised wooden floor and ventilating louvers. It's name and function is suggested by a reference to boards "for the cook's closet." The room opposite in the southwest corner probably functioned as the steward's office. This unheated room was well-protected with iron bars surviving on one exterior window and on an interior opening that provided light for an interior passage extending from the kitchen. This passage terminates in an exterior door near the office door. The office functioned as the managerial center of the estate, the place where internal and external accounts and other paperwork and records were housed. Hamilton refers to the "office shutters" in construction correspondence and he may have been speaking of this room.[57]

From the servants' vestibule in the cellar a secondary vertical service axis extends up to the attic with a break at the second-story passage. This stair allowed servants to pass throughout the house efficiently and with as little visibility as possible, and provided access to finished attic rooms, likely the sleeping chambers and storage area.[58] Given the stair's interior location, strategic placement of windows allowed for the passage of "borrowed light" from external rooms into the otherwise dim circulation space. For example, light entered the large window in the first-floor pantry (currently a bathroom) adjacent to the dining room and passed over the barrel-vaulted passage extending between the vestibule and dining room through two windows opening onto the service stair. The former pantry's current dropped ceiling is a twentieth century alteration. Additional illumination was provided by means of oval windows opening onto the barrel-vaulted passage from both the pantry and the stair. Even at times when the shutters in the pantry needed to be closed, a degree of natural light

[57] Hamilton to Smith, January 1788 through January 1789. Merlin Waterson, *The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 79.

[58] Hamilton to Parke, October 1789.

still entered through round perforations in the top panel of the window shutters. Beyond allowing servants maneuverability throughout the house, the service stair would have also provided a highly functional means of cooling the house during the hot summer months as warm air flowed upwards and out of three operable monitors originally cut through the attic ceilings (only one survives).

It is clear from the highly-finished nature of the service spaces that Hamilton intended to give a modicum of comfort to his servants. This cross-class concern was inverted in the creation of service routes on the first and, to a lesser extent, the second floors. In this conception, Hamilton sought to buffer guests from "vulgar" service areas and activities. Without ever visiting the house, a genteel guest was given visual cues through interior finishes in order to avoid doors and passages designated as service only. While most often employed for designation of important rooms and to rank-order public spaces, hierarchical systems of finish were often found in eighteenth and nineteenth century houses. At The Woodlands, simple articulation of wall and door paneling—a rectangular recess void of any molding—signified that it was usually, but not exclusively, used by servants. The passage extending between the vestibule and the dining room is flanked by the service stair on the south and, originally, a pantry on the north, both spaces are accessed by means of doors bearing this simple paneling arrangement. East of these doors there are two similarly paneled doors which, when open, fold back flush into the wall. When closed, they form an uninterrupted, though temporary, staging area for servants—giving them easy access to the cellar, the pantry, and the dining room without being seen. To guests entering the vestibule, their closed state and decidedly less-articulated form discourage entrance.

In a similar manner the doors between the dining room and the southwest cabinet, and the drawing room and the southeast cabinet were articulated to restrict access. Two sets of jib doors—one for each opening—faced onto the four rooms and were designed to reduce visibility (only the doors facing onto the drawing and dining rooms remain in place). While formal balance within a room was often the reason for employing a jib door, on account of its low profile, it was often also used for service circulation. In essence, they were rendered socially invisible, even while they were not, in physical reality, invisible. Guests would know not to use them, because they did not "see" them. A small door opens into the concealed space between the southwest cabinet and dining room doors (roughly 2'-0" x 3'-0). This door accesses a chase that extends from the basement to the second floor. Currently used to carry duct work, it was almost certainly a dumbwaiter during the Hamilton occupancy.

A final and important note regarding the service spaces within the house at The Woodlands—they were integrally tied to support areas beyond the house. While a visitor commented in 1806 that "the domestic offices are below [in the house's cellar]," kitchen gardens, privies, the stable/carriage house, the greenhouse, an ice house, a laundry and other facilities existed as landscapes and outbuildings elsewhere on the estate. Like the service circulation within the house, the connection between the well-articulated and architecturally complimentary stable building and the house was particularly impressive and sophisticated. Curving outward to the northwest from the western bow/cryptoporticus was a paved pathway. Beginning below the grade of the oval drive, the path "spreads as it ascends, into the [stable] yard." Essentially a rising service passage widened into a ground-level yard in front of the stable/carriage house. As it was mostly below-grade in regard to the entrance drive, it was rendered invisible; "loose hedges" were also employed to provide further camouflage for the passage from the surrounding garden.[59]

<u>Promoting Gentility: The Public Rooms at The Woodlands</u>

The creation of a sophisticated system of service movement throughout the house and grounds enabled William Hamilton to form—for his family, friends, and other guests—a genteel social environment in which to pursue

[59] Drayton, "Diary," 53, 60-61.

pleasurable leisure activities. During the eighteenth century, gentry houses grew in size, room number, finish quality, and furnishings. These changes directly reflected a rise in leisure among wealthy colonists, as well as an increasingly complex code of social conduct that was known to like people throughout British North America. Well-finished and furnished drawing rooms—with all daily work functions exported elsewhere—allowed for the display of expensive objects and a location for both formal and informal entertainment. Similarly conceived, the increasingly important act of dining required its own room and often provided the most impressive backdrop for genteel activity within a house. The importance of the dining room and drawing room, in particular, was underscored by restriction on access. The appearance of entryways independent of living spaces occurred early in the eighteenth century. By mid-century, large estate houses and some townhouses more often than not contained a central or offset passage running from front to back onto which all of a particular floors' rooms opened. This room arrangement allowed for increased privacy as well as flexibility in function. By the 1780s, no gentry house was complete without a plan arranged around circulation passages and containing, at the very least, two impressive public rooms. The recreated house at The Woodlands included all of the rooms necessary for high-style entertainment and these were arranged in a particularly dramatic fashion.

William Hamilton's neoclassical house departed from the by-then conventional estate house plan of a central passage flanked by four primary rooms and instead relied upon a series of intersecting axes for room arrangement. The three most important rooms were easily accessed from the domed vestibule entered on its north side: the drawing room to the east through the stairhall; the dining room to the west through a barrel-vaulted passage; and the impressive saloon ahead to the south. These rooms were the primary public rooms in the house. The two standard eighteenth-century public rooms—the drawing and dining rooms—balanced one another on the north side. Indeed, in period English examples these rooms were often paired for convenience of the entertaining ritual whereby men remained in the dining room after dinner and women retired to the drawing room. "The [dining room and drawing room] reigned as king and queen over the other rooms. The nature of the relationship was quite often underlined by putting a matching drawing room and dining room to either side of a hall or antechamber…and expressing this externally by a symmetrical façade."[60]

Despite the paramount social meanings and probable more frequent use of the dining and drawing rooms, the third major public room at The Woodlands—the saloon—stood as the house's most visually impressive. The grand room rises to a height of approximately 15'-0" and terminates on the east and west in hemicycles bearing marble-floored niches flanking doors into the southeast and southwest rooms. The south wall contains three marble-floored recesses each with French windows opening onto the portico. In terms of size, originality, and prospect, there was likely at the time no domestic space in Philadelphia rivaling William Hamilton's saloon, which mainly existed for the formal reception and entertainment of guests. Often located at the center of the house and thus receiving a great amount of air circulation, the saloon was also a place-of-refuge during the hot summer months. A memoir from the mid-nineteenth century underscores this dual function at The Woodlands: "it was a noble room for dancing, and delightfully cool in summer."[61] Use of the room was not restricted to the warm part of the year. A cannon stove—a tall and narrow enclosed stove resembling a cannon turned on end—provided heat for the saloon in the winter and was located in one of the hemicycle niches.[62] Both documentary evidence and surviving fabric attest to the widespread use of mirrored doors, window shutters, and

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[60] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 233.

[61] *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher*, 200.

[62] Hamilton to Smith, 12 October 1789, as cited in Betts, "The Woodlands," 234, for "cannon stove;" Drayton, "Diary," 55, for stove location.

panels throughout the house's public rooms. This expanse of mirrors contributed to the creation of a magical, light-filled world in which his uniquely shaped rooms appeared all the more exciting to visitors experiencing light and reflection in very extremely novel ways. It also functioned in another very important way, for the display of art; of all aspects of gentility imported by North Americans during the eighteenth century, none remained as singular as collecting art. The Hamiltons were among a small group of Americans that were serious collectors of painting and sculpture, and William Hamilton surely considered where art would be displayed when he planned the house's expansion in the 1780s.[63]

By the time of his death, William Hamilton created a domestic landscape on the banks of the Schuylkill River that was likely unsurpassed anywhere in the country when considering its overall architectural presence, exceptional room arrangement, collection of art, furniture, and other luxurious objects, and its finely laid-out grounds and outbuildings. William Hamilton constructed a domestic realm that tangibly exhibited nearly every aspect of genteel life as it evolved late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century. In his extreme interest in all things artistic and stylish, his mostly genial nature and proclivity for leisure and entertainment, and his passion for intellectual and practical pursuits, particularly in botany and horticulture, Hamilton was the definitive "gentleman" and The Woodlands embodied an Americanized ideal of country estate. The Woodlands was known up and down the Atlantic coast and became a clear destination point for visitors to Philadelphia. "I am determined to go to his House which looks very inviting and see all that is worth seeing. I daresay you have often heard of it. The Woodlands it is called—just over the Schuylkill."[64]

THE WOODLANDS LANDSCAPE

Hamilton's Estate Garden

As extensively documented by Timothy Long in his thesis "The Woodlands: 'A Matchless Place' " (1991), William Hamilton, like his other class contemporaries, was greatly influenced by English thoughts and practices regarding the entirety of an ideal country estate. The house (in its various phases) and its outlying structures were part of a larger, integrated concept of landscape design—both in terms of view and in terms of movement through the house and grounds. It is important to stress that the house's prominent siting held a dual purpose in providing Hamilton and his family, friends, and visitors with spectacular views and "circuits," while at the same time consciously marking his place among the local elite. With this in mind, in positioning his house Hamilton chose a rise above the Schuylkill River at a point where it turns ninety degrees in its course just upriver from a ferry, and later a bridge crossing. A person traveling upriver or crossing on the Lower or Gray's Ferry could not have avoided seeing William Hamilton's new house. The siting alone would not necessarily have assured an awe-inspiring view, rather, it was a combination of the house's location and its two-story monumental tetra prostyle portico, facing the river. In addition, William Hamilton first recorded plans to create a "small park" set apart from a rolling lawn date to 1779, and it was not until 1785 that he explicitly set out to remake the grounds as a horticultural showcase in the English manner. Ten years later, visitors believed Hamilton had achieved this effect; the major roads, walks, and planting beds were in place; however, the grounds remained a work in progress. Hamilton and his gardeners would continue to test the viability and placement of various plant species until the end of his life.

Born in Philadelphia's "proprietary gentry," it is hardly surprising that William Hamilton would be drawn to the trappings of 'county life.' Other members of the local elite, including his grandfather, had built villas and gardens outside the city for two generations. Members of this coterie typically familiarized themselves with

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[63] For more information about Hamilton's art collection and its display throughout the house see Jacobs, HABS report.

[64] Stoddert to Lowndes, 23 September 1799.

recent treatises on garden design– luxury goods in a budding consumer society; for example, Hamilton knew Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). While in England in 1784-1786, Hamilton toured the sites Whately described while visiting England, including gardens throughout Buckingham, Wiltshire, Oxford, Hertfordshire counties. In September of 1785, Hamilton wrote to his friend Dr. Thomas Parke: "the verdue of England is its greatest Beauty & my endeavors shall not be wanting to give the Woodlands some resemblance to it."[65] At a time when Philadelphia led the nation in cultural and scientific endeavor, Hamilton's command of horticulture, site planning, and construction led even the learned Thomas Jefferson to seek out his advice and approval. Upon his return from England, Hamilton's plans proceeded apace. Reworking his house in the latest English fashion, he used his ground to set a new standard of horticultural sophistication among provincial gentry, probably coming closest to approximating rarified country life as more commonly seen in England than in colonial or early federal America. The creation and maintenance of this lifestyle underscores the vastness of the Hamilton fortune, but it would have been impossible to live on such a grand scale without the seemingly endless lines of commercial and banking credit offered him, likely only available on account of connections made with English institutions by and the local prominence of his familial predecessors. In 1808 William Birch commented in his volume on American seats:

> This noble demesne has long been the pride of Pennsylvania. The beauties of nature and the rarities of art, not more than the hospitality of the owner, attract to it many visitors. It is charmingly situated on the winding Schuylkill, and commands one of the most superb water scenes that can be imagined. The ground is laid out in good taste. There are here a hot house and green house containing a collection in the horticultural department, unequaled perhaps in the United States. Paintings &c. of the first master embellish the interior of the house, and do credit to Mr. Wm. Hamilton, as a man of refined taste…It is about a mile from the city of Philadelphia.[66]

While this description of Hamilton's well-located country house indicates an interest in architecture, a preoccupation with aesthetic trends, and a desire to impress, the related gardens and walks attained their much lauded state through his intense interest in practical and scientific botany. While historians have tended to characterize The Woodlands landscape as the prime example of the Reptonian style outside of England, much of Hamilton's work pre-dates Repton's canonical *Sketches and Hints* (1794), and *Theory and Practice* (1803). Thus, The Woodlands must be considered 'proto Reptonian' or 'ahead of its time.' In fact, Hamilton's accomplishment might be better understood as a synthesis of recent and not-so-recent gardening ideas distilled from an array of English sources. Hamilton was introduced to the natural sciences through family-owned books and this interest was augmented by formal studies at the College of Philadelphia. Moreover, Hamilton was part of what Elizabeth McLean has called Philadelphia's "horticultural base."[67] When Hamilton boasted that "there was not a rare plant in Europe, Asia, Africa, from China and the islands in the South Sea, of which has had any account, which he had not procured," he was referring to a collection that could only have been amassed through access to a large network of botanists and nurserymen. The network's local origins lay in the endeavors of James Logan, John Bartram, and Bartram's English collaborator Peter Collinson. Procuring plants for genteel neighbors like John Penn, Jr., while abroad, and communicating with an international array of

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[65] Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785, Ferdinand Dreer Collection, HSP (hereafter Dreer Coll.), as quoted in Long, "Woodlands," 69.

[66] William Birch, *The Country Seats of the United States of North America with some Scenes connected with them* (Springland, PA: n.p., 1808), 3.

[67] Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia" in Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, eds., *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 144.

botanists at home, he commanded intellectual and natural resources on a staggering scale. Hamilton's connections to the nation's top political leaders—Washington, Madison, Jefferson—among others, their similar socioeconomic positions, and their mutual interests in botany and estate development, resulted in his successful lobby to receive seeds sent by Lewis and Clark to the government during their exploratory trip to the Pacific in 1804-1806. Hamilton's interest in and knowledge of botany was well-enough imbedded in his popular persona that his 1813 obituary noted: "The study of botany was the principal amusement of his life."[68]

The Woodlands Cemetery

Three generations of the Hamilton family were responsible for assembling the Woodlands estate as it stood in its heyday: a sprawling plantation on the west bank of the Schuylkill River that encompassed 600 acres in 1789. From his father, William Hamilton inherited the 356-acre "core tract" on which he would build his house and gardens. The area "annexed to the Mansion house" – Hamilton's grounds in a broad sense – came to about 91 acres at the time of his death in 1813. It is impossible to fully consider the importance of the mansion-house at The Woodlands without viewing it as integral to a larger estate landscape. Just a few years prior to William Hamilton's death, a visitor reflected in regard to the house's surrounding landscape: "the attention is next excited by the grounds, in the arrangement of which the hand of Taste is every where discerned."[69] Indeed, it is the celebration of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century garden landscape that led to the transformation of a portion of the estate into a rural cemetery after 1840. As stated in an 1852 annual report to The Woodlands Cemetery Company shareholders: "It is thus that the object of our care and protection acquires an interest transcending the consideration of pecuniary profit: and it will hereafter, as our Cemetery attains its destined development, become a source of congratulation to all who have aided, that they have participated in rescuing from destruction the most beautiful feature in the scenery round Philadelphia, consecrated it to the repose of the dead, and brought it, but successive acts of improvement, to be the most perfect, both as respects to convenience and impressive beauty, of any in the world.[70]

The Woodlands today is an amalgam, the product of individual and institutional ambitions. While eminent botanist and plant collector William Hamilton made the property a New World model of contemporary English landscape gardening techniques during the late eighteenth century, the estate underwent a second transformation at the hands of the Woodlands Cemetery Company. Founded in 1840, this venture set out to remake Hamilton's estate in the form of a new metropolitan amenity known as a rural cemetery. Local and national precedent existed for such as project. The Woodlands Cemetery was part of a larger national movement to develop "rural cemeteries" that began in America with Mount Auburn Cemetery, in Cambridge Massachusetts (NHL, 2003), in 1831. The movement was the culmination of a number of early to mid-nineteenth century impulses including concern about the spread of urban diseases, the development of institutions of social reform, and an interest in horticulture and landscape gardening. Predicated on the need to provide non-sectarian burial outside of crowded urban centers, The Woodlands and others would offer private burial plots to families in a lush romantic setting. As probably the most culturally refined and progressive city in America at the time, it is not surprising that Philadelphia would become home to numerous rural cemeteries, rivaling all others in this area. It began with Laurel Hill (NHL, 1998), established in 1836, and was followed by Monument (1837), Woodlands (1840), Franklin (1840), Lebanon (1849), Odd-Fellows' (1849), Glenwood

[68] William Hamilton Obituary, *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (8 June 1813): 3.

[69] Oldschool, "American Scenery," 506.

[70] "Extracts from the Annual Report of the Managers of the Woodlands Cemetery Company to the Corporators," 3 January 1852, Executive Committee Minutes, Cemetery, HSP.

(1850), American Mechanics' (1849), and Mt. Moriah (1855).[71] Still more like Philadelphia's Laurel Hill (1836), Woodlands Cemetery occupied the grounds of a Schuylkill River Villa and was administered by a business corporation.

The Woodlands made its own, distinctive contribution to the rural cemetery movement. The adaptation of a private eighteenth-century estate into a commercial cemetery required a vast array of skills: legal, political, financial, administrative, technical, and artistic. Of the original "corporators" who shouldered these burdens, it was the brothers Eli K. and Philip M. Price who were most directly responsible for refitting the grounds. Their strengths in this regard differed considerably. Aware of the property's history and dramatic topography, the company's projectors set out to create a landscape as appealing for its aristocratic associations as for its natural beauty. Lawyer Eli K. Price proved to be the driving force behind the cemetery venture, in both its establishment and its evolution. Because of his special interest in the Hamilton estate, Eli Price made an attempt to reconcile the historic integrity of the site with the needs of a modern business. In time, similar ideas would prove crucial to the establishment of Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. The picturesque landscapes proved so enticing that rural cemeteries did much to influence the development of urban parks. Given Price's central role in that undertaking as long-time park commissioner and his other contributions to public horticulture, The Woodlands emerges as the microcosm of a democratizing process at work in the American landscape. Phillip Price was responsible for the general layout, establishing the major roadways and aesthetic tone of the cemetery and setting standards for roads widths. Philip also designed the first sections of the cemetery to be developed, with the others to be more fully articulated in the years to come.

The years 1839 to 1857 form the principal era of the cemetery development. Preliminary surveying for cemetery purposes started in 1839 and apparently yielded the first "draft or plan" in the winter of 1841–1842.[72] This scheme was devised by surveyor Philip M. Price, who could rely on his earlier experience as surveyor for nearby Laurel Hill Cemetery. Price's plan identified future road locations and was lithographed repeatedly throughout the decade as new sections of burial lots were added. Serpentine avenues, generally named for trees, traversed the ground between Woodlands and Lehman streets, providing access even to the steep terrain around Middle Run. Hamilton's entrance road survived as Mansion Avenue. It led to a string of circular drives, axially aligned and broadening as they neared the river: Hamilton Avenue (the original carriage turnaround), Mansion Circle (which ringed the house), and South Circle Avenue. The former "ice house hill" became the cemetery's central node, defined by Centre Circle Avenue. Here Price located some of the first burial lots, ranging them around circular and arcuate paths in a twisting quincunx pattern. To the north, the old entrance lodges were shown further apart to accommodate Ridge Avenue. To the south, a spur designed Lake Avenue opened onto Lehman Street. In a report dated 18 February 1843, Philip Price summarized progress:

> The whole of the carriage roads designated in the plan were actually traced out upon the ground and many of them graded amounting in aggregate length to about three miles– and being in breadth twenty feet. [P]art of the grounds was also subdivided into suitable Lots with access to each by alleys or walks . . . The ground occupied by the carriage roads and drives is about seven acres, leaving about seventy one acres for lots and the walks communicating with them, from which some deduction must also be made for the buildings.[73]

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[71] Of these, Laurel Hill and Woodlands met with the greatest success and are still active and well maintained.

[72] Philip M. Price, report to Woodlands Cemetery managers, 30 December 1843, Woodlands Cemetery Company. In this letter, Price mentions that surveying stalled in 1841, then adds: "During the succeeding winter the accompanying draft or plan was prepared from our notes, and may be relied upon as strictly accurate in all its parts."

[73] Philip M. Price, report to managers, 18 February 1843, as transcribed in Managers Minutes, 25 February 1843.

After the cemetery company took title to the bulk of the Hamilton estate on June 3, 1843, significant changes occurred in the site's boundaries and planting scheme. The manager's authorized the survey of lots between Mansion, Oak, Cypress and Elm Avenues in October 1843.[74] This area corresponded to the core of the cemetery, section C – H and Center Circle. Work proceeded gradually, in part because the plan's contours were difficult to reproduce on the ground. At year's end, Philip Price reported: "Your grounds occupy a space of nearly eighty acres– and probably one third of the labor of laying out the plotting the whole, has already been performed – including the calculations of the areas of all the separate small lots, – which from the lines being curved must necessarily be very tedious."[75] In June, a plan was present for lodges and walls along Woodlands Street. Instead of new lodges, Hamilton's were renovated, and an iron fence was erected and the grounds enclosed by early 1845.[76] In March of 1844, the board directed Philip Price to realize their newly adopted plan for the plot between Magnolia, Elm, and Larch Avenues– the future Section C. This project was crucial as it established two standard path widths: 8 feet for major axes and 5 feet for secondary routes. It also yielded the first permanent scheme for burial plots.

By fall of 1845, the time came to layout a new section. As Eli Price reported in March of 1846, "I have enclosed some lots in a circle South East of the house, with the view chiefly of promoting some improvement near the house, of a neat and suitable character. There is a corresponding circle opposite, at the southwest of the house, which is to be enclosed in the same manner, to make uniform improvement. The object of this is to invite the company or any individual desirous of taking the ground to make this improvement. If no one else desires to do it, I am willing to undertake [it], but would prefer the company or someone else to do it."[77] Price was referring to two small circles immediately in front of the mansion's portico, but more significantly, he hints at the controversy that had arisen among the cemetery managers (who were also shareholders) about how they might capitalize on their individual investments in the cemetery. In the end, company land was allowed to develop through private initiative. Within three weeks of this decision, Thomas Mitchell commissioned Thomas Ustick Walter to design that part of the cemetery apportioned to him, Section F. Unlike the picturesque scheme that characterized Price's plan, Walter produced a grand axial design that stretched across the mansion's north lawn while responding to Center Circle with a group of nested crescents.

In an effort to promote burials, the cemetery company had approached church groups who might be interested in larger sections of lots, acting as defacto retailers. By the end of 1845, however, Eli Price observed wistfully: "But one Congregation, – Grace Church, – has done anything towards promoting burials in the Woodlands; although circulars have been sent to them generally. Our reliance must be mainly on individuals who may purchase lots . . ."[78] The problem of attracting lot purchasers surely was compounded by The Woodlands un-cemetery-like appearance. While Hamilton's house bore witness to a bygone age, this hardly substituted for the monuments and epitaphs of conventional commemorative landscapes. Aware of the shortcoming, Woodlands managers turned to an established cemetery strategy: they opted to dignify their grounds with the remains of local worthies. Military heros took precedence. By March, the board was planning to re-inter General Thomas

[74] Managers Minutes, 28 October 1843.

[75] Philip M. Price, Report to Woodlands Cemetery Company Managers, 30 December 1843. Their plan was to convey seventy-five acres to the corporation, the maximum allowable under its charter; although actual transfer would have to wait another three years, taking place on 3 June 1843.

[76] Managers Minutes, 3 June 1843.

[77] Eli Kirk Price to Woodlands Cemetery Company Managers, 26 March 1846, placed on Executive Committee Minutes.

[78] Leslie and Price, Report for 1845.

Robinson and Dr. John C. Otto, both of whom had family ties to the company. The remains of Commodore David Porter were also deemed desirable; he was interred in Center Circle, having the honor of becoming the cemetery's first burial. Otto, however, received the first monument. He was buried in Section E, along with Robinson. The latter was eventually accompanied by the bodies of his grandchildren and other relatives, creating that all-important fixture of rural cemeteries: the hallowed family lot.[79] Slowly, the institution was gaining momentum, performing the function it was designed to serve. Illustrious dead remained important to the cemetery's image for years to come. Hallowing unconsecrated ground with patriotic associations, they drew mourners, tourists, and potential lot-buyers who otherwise had little reason to travel outside the city. Woodlands managers acknowledged these benefits in several ways. Borrowing money for Porter's monument, they commissioned an imposing, eagle-crested column from James McClaranan at considerable expense. In time, they also offered free lots for military officers killed in the Mexican War.

Investments in relics, roads, trees, and drains turned William Hamilton's private estate into an accessible commemorative landscape and lot sales grew accordingly. In 1845, a mere twenty interments had occurred. Burials then jumped from sixty-seven in 1848 to 320 in 1851, bringing the cemetery's total deceased population to 799.[80] Even churches now showed greater confidence. Sixth Presbyterian took 15,000 feet of ground in Section I, and though St. Andrew's formally abandoned its allotment in 1852, First Reformed Presbyterian soon offset this loss by buying into Section E. Equally crucial to the cemetery's success was a series of transportation-related projects outside the walls. Woodland Street had grown into an important artery since Hamilton's day but passage along it remained rough and unpleasant into the 1840s. In the summer of 1845 the Executive Committee began lobbying other interested parties to join in a far-reaching improvement effort to grade the road in front of the cemetery. Eventually, the Delaware Turnpike, a double-track plank road, stretched from Chestnut Street to the cemetery gates. In 1850, the Market Street Bridge was redesigned to ease passage for carriages, hearses, and other vehicles. All of this helped Woodlands compete with the area's growing number of rural cemeteries. Undertakers particularly appreciated the ease of access and, by late 1852, the managers reported that Woodlands Cemetery was "now so well established and of such constant resort and use as to have become familiar and a well understood routine of business, of easy approach by plank road, and an attractive terminus held in view to solicit custom to lines of omnibuses." Other transportation initiatives were not so favorable. By design, the cemetery company did not acquire the "river front" of the Hamilton estate. This stayed in the hands of the four trustees, whose surviving members joined with the company in selling "about eleven acres" to the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad in 1853. However, by reworking a prior agreement, the sellers limited building heights and banned the most offensive, noxious, or noisy of industrial activities.

Such investments in symbolism and history went hand-in-glove with practical improvements. Upon examining the receiving tomb near the mansion, the Executive Committee deemed it "too damp" and moved to retrofit the old ice house for the purpose."[81] Other Hamilton era structures were refurbished, too, largely through the efforts of carpenter and manager James Leslie. Flowers were also integral to the wider beautification program. While little could have remained of Hamilton's beds or terrace plantings, others took their places. Beds were planted to grace the borders of the Avenue at the entrance and the area around the mansion. The key to making The Woodlands more convincing as a cemetery, however, were roads. In the summer of 1845, the Executive

[79] Executive Committee Minutes, 15 April, 3 June 1845; Managers Minutes, 7 October 1845; Leslie & Price Report for 1845. On family lots, see David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 70-71, 83-84, 94-95.

[80] Eli K. Price, Reports for 1849 and 1851.

[81] Executive Committee Minutes, 5 May 1845.

Committee "felt justified in throwing out the dirt in the Avenue through the grounds leased to Mr. Carvell [the gardner], as it is important to shew the entire plan, and in a decree [sic] incorporate the garden with the Cemetery."[82] So began a new round of road building. Immediately at issue was the construction of West Gate (or West Mansion) Avenue. Following roughly the same route as Hamilton's farm road, this straight passage effectively scuttled plans for the serpentine Birch Avenue envisioned by Philip Price. Other steps towards that goal occurred in rapid succession throughout the year. Mansion, Maple, Vault, Elm, and Cedar Avenues were all "graded, gravelled, and rolled" to various extent; Center Circle Avenue joined them. Of the major routes that would define the cemetery, only Oak Avenue awaited completion; this came two years later.[83]

While an intensive phase of cemetery road-building had spanned a year, tree planting took roughly three times as long. Planting requiring managers to balance preservation of the Hamilton legacy against the needs of modern business. As a horticulturist Eli K. Price appreciated William Hamilton's accomplishment and understood the dignity it lent the cemetery and therefore attempted to preserve the original plantings whenever possible. As Price states:

> Fine growths of these were found at the Woodlands: Some Covering the lawn as in parks, some in woods, in Clumps, groups and singly. These are pleasingly varied and produce an impressive effect. The Committee have sacredly respected these ancient occupants of the soil, whether the self sown oaks of the forest, or the pines and firs brought form our mountains, the rarer exotics; and have so Cut the avenues and walks as to space every one of material value, and to bring them into the view of visitors, and to obtain their welcome shade.[84]

While Price's attitude towards Hamilton's landscape garden was respectful, it was also pragmatic. Trees were removed due to age, or when they posed a threat to monuments. A persistent priority was to create the sense of privacy and enclosure on which rural cemeteries depended. Cedar screens went up near the junction of Elm and Schuylkill Avenues between the house and the mud that appeared during low tide, and the cemetery's wall. Gilead trees were planted behind the gate, evergreen on the newly filled marsh near the west lodge, and dogwoods and catalpas around the entrance to Schuylkill Avenue. The year 1846 witnesses the first bulk purchases of greenery for Woodlands Cemetery. First, 300 trees, 164 of which were balm of Gileads. Then came roughly 2,000 trees and shrubs, nearly all evergreens, balms, Norway pines, cypress, and hemlock.[85] Most were planted along cemetery roads "to afford shade along them, and to supply the place of old trees as they disappeared by age."[86] More plants, strategically located, would follow. Most of the early purchases were hardy evergreens used in rows along roads and boundary lines. These created a framework for later embellishments. In 1848, cedars, pines, spruces, and cypresses continued to arrive. Now, however, they were joined by an increasing variety of deciduous and ornamental trees. Price recorded purchasing 106 trees in April: "They are large growth Consisting of silver poplars, varieties of horse chestnut; dark & light sugar maples, silver and ash leaved maples, English and Turkey Oaks, American and English Lindens &c." Close on this group came over one hundred ornamental. Here Price commented: "The supply of trees is now as large as

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[82] Executive Committee Minutes, 3 June 1845.

[83] Executive Committee Minutes, 22, 30 January, 5 May, 3 June, 1 July, 1 September, 15, 28 November 1845, 31 May, 30 June, 21 August 1847; Leslie and Price Report for 1845; Eli K. Price, Report from Executive Committee to Managers for the Year 1847.

[84] Executive Committee Minutes, 30 June 1847.

[85] Executive Committee Minutes, 7, 17, 18 April, 1, 2, May 1846.

[86] Lex and Lex, Report for 1846.

will be wanted, except to increase the variety by occasional purchases, and some evergreens, to shut out the view of the Alms house. .. ."[87]

Factors such as elevation, soil type, and moisture content influenced mangers' decisions about the location of future burial lots. Low-lying areas, through less desirable, were not dismissed out of hand. Instead an extensive system of drainage was developed to improve the condition of certain sections as needed for burials. As early as the summer of 1845, the board resolved that a patch of ground just east of Elm Avenue be devoted to individual graves as opposed to the larger, more expensive family lots found in other sections. A standard feature of rural cemeteries, these diminutive parcels sold initially for $7.50. Created in 1847, Section G lay in a clay-bottomed valley between Oak and Cedar Avenues.

The 1850s were a time of intensive construction at Woodlands Cemetery, allowing the institution to refine its image and achieve high standing in Philadelphia society. With basic features such as roads and trees in place, the managers could turn their attention to visitor conveniences, greener grass, and a more impressive entrance gate. Most importantly, company profits were fast outstripping expenditures. Five years earlier, carpenter James Leslie had compiled a list of projects he believed the board should undertake when funds allowed. His inventory is significant because it advocated a kind of architectural preservation that complimented Eli Price's landscape philosophy. Leslie extorted company managers to "Improve the Old Mansion still retaining its Anteaque appearance . . . And fit up the large room for A Chapell, and Build such lodges at the Entrance Equal if not Superior to those at Laurell Hill or Monument Cemetereys, and remove Old Buildings, sheads, fences and dead trees, which only mar and Obstruct the unsurpassed natural Buties of the grounds."[88] Like Price, Leslie understood that Hamilton's architectural legacy was crucial to the rural cemetery venture.

The first of these projects to be addressed was the creation of a grander main entrance. Conceived by architect John McArthur, Jr., it would cost over $25,000.00 to execute– a staggering sum by contemporary standards. A massive triumphal arch, it embraced visitors with flanking lodges and a smooth ashlar exedra, colossal Roman Doric columns, and a simple Tuscan entablature. By the time the grand entrance reached completion, work had moved forward on other parts of James Leslie's wish list. The gardener, William Carvill, had obtained use of Hamilton's conservatory and the western halves of the mansion and stable in exchange for agreeing to repair and beautify these buildings and their environs. Although his lease excluded the saloon that the company hoped to use as a chapel, it was not until his rather hostile departure in 1853 that the company pressed forward with renovations. Demolition of the aging greenhouse complex in 1854 made way for a large octagonal carriage shed, built of stone and covered with a double-pitch roof. This was a bold stroke in favor of modern needs. Coinciding roughly with the removal of Hamilton's entrance lodges, it again suggested the malleability of the company's preservation ethic. Happily, the mansion proved better suited to adaptive reuse. In September of 1854, the company paid for "calcinning walls & ceiling of chapel" and for windows furnished by Philadelphia's leading stained glass maker, John Gibson, the following year.

The early 1850s was successful enough that managers were able to pay Francis Lightfoot to survey various sections. Starting in late 1850, Lightfoot surveyed the eastern end of Section I, yielding the first graves a year later. He surveyed section H as the decade neared to a close. Meanwhile, an old section was assuming new form. Philip Price's original plan for Center Circle called for a twisting quincunx likely meant as a shrubbery or flower garden. Drawing on conventions established by Humphrey Repton, Price had placed a similar feature in his previous cemetery designs and may have considered it a sort of signature. Little evidence survives to

[87] Executive Committee Minutes, 8, 12 April 1848.

[88] Leslie to Woodlands Cemetery Company Managers, 4 May 1847.

explain why the board abandoned this scheme, but it certainly made for difficult surveying. They made up their minds in the spring of 1855, replacing Price's convoluted paths with a simple cross-and-circle pattern.

As a subtle acknowledgment of the cemetery's growing urbanity, visitors were arriving at the Woodlands Cemetery in great numbers, prompting a string of new regulations from the board. Tickets became mandatory for Sunday admission in 1852. Lot owners received their share automatically, but the managers dolled out public allowances at their discretion and eventually extended the ticket requirements to the rest of the week. Addressing the corporation in 1853, Eli Price commented: "The thorn trees planted within the wall towards the west end should be laid and plashed so as to make a thick thorn hedge" – an added deterrent to trespassers. Omnibus operators were prohibited from bringing their vehicles onto the grounds, presumably in response to such incidents. And, in one lively five-week period, the board decided to ban refreshments and seek "police assistance" from the mayor.[89] Likewise, lot holders began to treat the site as so much urban real estate. Left to their own devices, they tended to build fences at the extremities of their plots, prompting the manager to require a six-inch setback along the narrower paths. A related trend was the growing demand for street frontage. Early in the decade, the board stepped forward to prevent buyers of multiple lots from claiming more ground along an avenue than they took "in depth therefrom." Later, managers turned the same instinct to profit, selling roadside lots at a premium.[90]

Significant changes also began to appear during the 1850s in the funerary art displayed at Woodlands Cemetery. During the early years, taste in monuments had favored simple forms. White marble tablets were common, while obelisks such as those of Thomas Mitchell (F 332-339) or Robert Smethurst (C340?) represented the high end of the consumer spectrum. Even old-fashioned slate sometimes made an appearance: When remains were remove from church yards, gravestones often came with them. All of this began to change in the 1850s. Manufacturers such as Thomas Hargrave continued to supply the standard obelisk on a rusticated base. But now those who could afford better sometimes purchased ornate reworkings of this basic form. Henry McKeen's family opted for a vaguely Romanesque version (D-2) while Hezekiah Buzby's preferred Gothic panels and a Greek key (CC 65?). New, quintessentially Victorian types also arrived: the broken column, the downward-gazing angel, and the Egyptian vault. An 1854 guidebook drew visitors' attention to "those 'Tombs in the French style,' i.e. with head and foot stones, and beautifully carved side slabs, presenting the appearance of a couch."[91]

Woodlands Cemetery's mid-century monuments were eclectic, even self-contradictory. A taste for neoclassicism held over from previous decades, and while the republican austerity of Commodore Porter's monument was on the wane, Roman iconography remained popular. Louisa Breedin Frazier's sarcophagus announced 'life extinguished' with its inverted torches (E 80). Wreaths, urns, and winged hourglasses appeared, and might end up together on a single monument (Alfred J. Austin, F 27). Moreover, there was no clear separation between pagan and Christian symbolism. Despite the efforts of aesthetes and theologians, obelisks supported crucifixes (William H. Pearson et al., F 785?) and open bibles accompanied overturned pitchers (Robert Swift, F 108?). Opulence continued to increase. A Renaissance Revival canopy for the Harris family (F 707-710) eclipsed a Greek Revival canopy for Samuel George Morton (CC 49, demolished). The Suddards and the Manuel families commissioned a sprawling Tudor mausoleum decked with marble statuary (E 171-173). Architect John Kutts supplied undertaker William H. Moore with a Gothic design in which niche-

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[89] Managers Minutes, 4 May 1855; Eli Kirk Price, Report for 1853; Managers Minutes, 5 December 1854, 2 June and July 1857.

[90] Managers Minutes, 3 June 1851; 6 October 1857; 6 April 1858; 2 September 1873.

[91] *The Strangers Guide in Philadelphia and Its Environs* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1854), 232.

bound statues of "Charity, Mercy, &c." were dwarfed by a large finial (D 36-41). Nonetheless, poorer dead found their way in under the umbrella of charitable institutions. The stratification resulting from these divergent patterns was a hallmark of the post-Civil War landscape.

As the first great monuments to nineteenth-century capitalism went up at The Woodlands, so did the first displays of philanthropy. The Preston Retreat, a lying-in hospital for indigent women, bought lots in Section I in 1866. Several year later, the board donated ground to the Lincoln Institute "for burial of inmates dying there." Of all such institutional sections, though, it was the so-called Printers' Cemetery of Philadelphia Typographical Society that intrigued the press with its architecture and social message. George W. Childs, publisher of the Public Ledger, was a proud advocate of worker welfare. When he gave the printers' union some 2,000 square feet in Section E, the act occasioned an elaborate dedication ceremony.

In the summer of 1865, managers empowered the Executive Committee to create two sections to the northwest for sale exclusively to individual purchasers. James C. Sidney soon managed to extract not two but three sections from it. A British-born cartographer, architect and civil engineer, he was one of the nation's most leading rural cemetery designers by the time that he came to the Woodlands. His suggestions for the site were commensurately bold. Reporting to the board on 5 June 1866, he called for a wholesale reworking of the grounds. Among his recommendations was the removal of the mansion, stable and carriage shed so that the prime land they occupied could be used for burials. Happily, most of his provisions went unrealized. Strapped for cash, the managers asked Sidney to redraw his plan for the area designated as Section K. Even after revision, the scheme was grand: Sidney's 1867 drawing showed many lots exceeding 1,000 square feet, a scale matched only in Center Circle. Some paths ran in straight lines, others curved gently, and still others formed rond-points along a central axis.[92] In the early 1870s, work edged forward on Section K, while new sections L and M made it onto the drawing boards. The two latter sections do not appear to have been those Sidney envisioned, however. Managers asked Francis Lightfoot to lay out a new section in the southwest end of the cemetery. Prepared in 1873, the plan had several interesting facets. A graceful road named Union Avenue designed its outer border, honoring dead soldiers in an adjacent section. At the same time, the scheme effectively erased South Circle eroding Philip Price's original design.[93]

Sections K and L were testing grounds for a new aesthetic. The first sign of change came in 1869 when the managers banned iron lot enclosures. Only granite curbstones would do, and their height was limited to twenty inches above the ground level. Maintenance was part of the explanation. In the early 1860s, the board had established an innovative "Lot Improvement Trust" which applied funds invested by lot owners for the upkeep of their property. Saddled with this responsibility, the cemetery paid new attention to the life span of materials. But the company's rules also reflected and enforced a broad shift in taste. In his annual report of 1871, Eli K. Price noted the arrival of granite and marble monuments in roughly equal numbers; Admiral Stewart's massive monument of Richmond granite still deserved special mention. Thereafter, granite became dominant, and marble and brownstone were giving way to the harder, heavier, and more durable landscape of the Gilded Age. A parallel shift occurred in planting. Lot holder's tree-removal requests rose sharply in the 1860s, prompting the first recorded refusals from the board. The driving force was a reaction to the dense foliage and picturesque busyness of previous years– a reaction compatible with the "landscape lawn" influence then sweeping

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[92] On Sections K's early design evolution, see Managers Minutes, 5 June, 3 July, 2 October (first lithograph approved), 4 December 1866, 2 April, 4 June (second lithograph approved), 1 October 1867.

[93] Managers Minutes, 4 October 1870, 2 September (lithograph), 3 November 1873.

American cemetery design. Not until the mid 1880s, however did a manager suggest abandoning lot enclosures to reveal "the unbroken green surface of the grass."[94]

The end of the cemetery's internal growth came in 1878, as Section M came into existence. As early as 1871, managers contemplated applying the name to an area between Cypress and Schuylkill Avenues. Work there staggered forward over the next six years without decisive results. Then, in 1878, railroad magnate Thomas A. Scott purchased an enormous lot on Oak Avenue. Hastily laid out to accommodate him, the surrounding ground became Section M while the incomplete section to the south was subsequently renamed N.[95]

There were 362 interments in 1870 but only 285 four years later. While these numbers were not catastrophic, they had worried the managers and reinforced their reluctance to undertake major projects. The 1880s witnessed a turnaround in gradually slipping lot sales. Several factors were involved, including administrative reforms and changes in the national economy. Just as important was the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad's decision to erect a station near the cemetery's southwest corner. This move and the accompanying extension of 42nd Street to the tracks inspired Woodlands managers to launch their largest building campaign in almost twenty years. Plans to replace the cemetery's aging wall with some sort of iron enclosure stalled long ago. Now they leapt forward, giving the ground an airier, less fortified appearance that wooed passersby. Newly "macadamized" roads were another incentive to visitors. Even the mansion was upgraded.

The jump in burials was another sign of prosperity: annual interments exceeded 400 in 1887. Continuing a trend that originated in the previous decade, great industrialists were drawn to The Woodlands, joining doctors and military officers as the institution's principal ornaments. Their lots were compounds, setting new standards in heft and permanence. Occasionally, aesthetic unity was the goal. Railroad president J. Edgar Thomson's plot was ringed by sweeping expanses of granite and featured a French-influenced sarcophagus with boldly concave sides (I 624-629). More often, though, enclosures preceded and upstaged their monuments– witness the example of Thomas Scott (M3). Outside Center Circle, where many lots had already been sold, the glories of Gilded Age wealth were best represented in Sections L and M. The former hosted a dour mausoleum for the McDaniel family (L 207-208); built in 1887, it recalled earlier banks by architect Frank Furness. A Gothic canopy for the Readings and a column for the Allisons arose nearby, crested by angels and vying for attention (L 252, 254; L 196-197). It was in Section M, however, that staggering displays occurred. Set in a plaza with benches, dentist Thomas Evans' obelisk dominated the surrounding landscape on an imperial scale (M 6-15). Relatives of steamship mogul Jacob Neafie signalized their own fortune's source by means of a nautical screw (M ?). To the north, a row of hillside vaults developed along Valley Avenue, forming the only such group in the cemetery. The 1890s were fairly uneventful at The Woodlands. Efforts continued to resurface the avenues with slag; brick was now favored for paths. In keeping with earlier landscape-lawn directives, the company enacted a complete ban on lot enclosures and launched "a crusade to secure the removal of those already constructed." More wall came down along Woodland Avenue and was replaced by iron fencing. Perhaps the greatest shift involved the form and function of Section K. For all the commercial hopes once attached to the area, lots there sold slowly. The managers thus revised Sidney's plan once again, simplifying the paths and scaling back the whole. Arcs and circles began giving way to a basic grid.[96]

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[94] J. Sargeant Price, Report from Managers to Corporators for the Year 1886, n.d. Woodlands Cemetery Company.

[95] Managers Minutes, 1 August, 5 September 1871, 1 April, 6 May 1873, 5 February 1877, 5 February, 7 May, 2 July 1878.

[96] J. Sargeant Price, Annual Report for 1896, n.d., Woodlands Cemetery Company; see 1894 bids from Albanus L. Smith & Co., Ornamental Iron Work and M. & J. B. McHugh, General Contractors, Woodlands Cemetery Company; "Section K Woodlands Cemetery," Revised October 9 1897, Woodlands Cemetery Company.

The twentieth century saw a slow transformation at The Woodlands and in the neighborhood in general. Continued urban growth brought the cemetery closer to the city's geographic center. New roads and buildings encroached from the outside while harsh maintenance policies and the natural life cycle of trees wrought changes from within. In 1936, the City of Philadelphia condemned roughly four acres along the east side of the cemetery to create University Avenue, a curvilinear corridor that facilitated access to Convention Hall. No graves lay in this precipitous area, and the cemetery acquiesced, losing its nineteenth-century gatehouse by McArthur in the bargain. The replacement gatehouse was designed by Paul Cret in 1936 and completed some six months later. A decade later, the undeveloped eastern slope again drew the attention of government officials, this time at the federal level. The War Department condemned 14.8 acres there for a Veterans Administration hospital in 1947. This second condemnation once again necessitated relocation of the entrance road and the new gate house, which was moved in 1948. Subsequent changes to the Woodlands Cemetery's boundaries have been relatively minor. In 1955, the City took a strip of ground along the railroad right-of-way to accommodate a new sewer line. Shortly thereafter, the cemetery company divested itself of two small parcels stranded east of University Avenue. Land on the site's northwestern end currently serves as athletic fields for the University of the Sciences in Philadelphia but this arrangement has been through lease rather than sale.

As the cemetery lost ground, managers artfully concealed the effects with landscaping. Landscape architects Wheelwright, Stevenson & Langran conceived a planting plan that would soften the visual effects of these changes in 1957. They revised their scheme in 1963. Still, the cemetery lost much of the density and intimacy bestowed by nineteenth century lot treatments. The campaign against "clutter" was not new. Its first forays had come in the landscape-lawn era, when managers set strict limits on new enclosures and started to remove old ones. Since then, there had been periodic sweeps. As a result, landscape features, both natural and built, such as coping, were eliminated during the 1960s. Walks throughout the grounds were paved in brick. Monument designs were changing too. Long since subject to increasing standardization, they now were flush with the ground in some areas– a concession to power mowing and to the limited budgets of less affluent lot-buyers. As lot-buyer and neighborhood demographics changed, managers grew more accepting of social diversity. Middle-class whites migrated to Philadelphia's suburbs after World War II, and the cemetery found itself surrounded by poorer and more racially mixed neighborhoods whose residents sometimes wished to buy lots. By the 1970s, economic necessity served to reverse previous racial restrictions on lot sales, and the company established new blocks of single graves in Sections K, N, and H, and opened them to anyone who could afford the price of a lot. Some patterns have even come full circle. Recreation has re-emerged as one of the landscape's main attractions as has historical tourism. Joggers, cyclists, and genealogists now cross tracks in good weather.

Today, Woodlands Cemetery is itself a source of historical interest. Long viewed as an intrusion on Hamilton's estate or as a study in Victorian eccentricity, the commemorative landscape is starting to be understood as a piece of material culture, imbued with complex social and aesthetic meanings. School children research the biographies of the interred, preservationists sit on the Board, and gentrification of the surrounding neighborhood has gained the cemetery a broad constituency of enthusiasts.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
__ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: # PA-125
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency (NPS: Historic American Buildings Survey; Historic American Landscape Survey, PA-5)
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: ca. 53 acres

UTM References:

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	18	482250	4421730
B	18	482760	4422010
C	18	482920	4421370
D	18	482500	4421270

Verbal Boundary Description:

The Woodlands Cemetery consists of approximately 50 acres in West Philadelphia southwest of the University of Pennsylvania and near the Schuylkill River. The entryway fronts onto Woodlands Avenue, which forms its northern border. The railroad tracks along the Schuylkill River forms the southern border. The Veterans Administration hospital property marks the border to the east, and the Philadelphia College of Science and Pharmacy is to the west.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary includes the property that was the original William Hamilton Estate that included a mansion, some of its ancillary buildings, formal English gardens and gently rolling land with a gradual incline towards the river. The estate was chosen for a cemetery offering both a gentile provenance and a picturesque landscape. (The Woodlands Cemetery remains the largest green space in West Philadelphia.)

Note: The 1978 nomination states that the property is approximately 90 acres. That was incorrect, even then. The cemetery when created consisted of about 90 acres. A number of sales or property condemnations occurred between its founding in the 1840s and the 1960s as follows:

26 December 1933, Woodlands Cemetery Company to City of Philadelphia
Property: 3.9891 acres along the east side of the site. The City condemned this land in order to build University Avenue. Excluding fragmentary parcels east of the avenue, the cemetery property encompassed 67.8282 acres after the taking.
Price: [?]
Source: untitled, undated plan of land taken by the City for the bed of University Avenue, brownline, WCCC [*currently in possession of Tim Long / HABS*].

1947, Woodlands Cemetery Company to [U.S. Veterans Administration]
Property: 14.8 acres along the eastern side of the site. The U.S. Government condemned this land as a site for a Veterans Administration Hospital. This taking left the cemetery with 53 acres.
Price: [?]
Source: “Veterans Administration Hospital, Philadelphia, PA, 1000 Bed G. M. Property Map,” War Department Corps of Engineers, Philadelphia District, for V.A. Project No. 2871, approved 1 Jan 1947, WCCC.

15 February 1955, Woodlands Cemetery Company to City of Philadelphia
Property: a strip of ground along cemetery's southern border, condemned as a right-of-way for a sewer line to the Southwest Sewage Treatment Works. The taking displaced graves in Sections N and L.
Price: [?]
Source: "Plan Made for the Use of the Board of Viewers Showing the Property of the Woodlands Cemetery Co. 27th Ward Philadelphia in the Matter of the Construction, Improvement, Extension and Equipment of the Southwest Sewage Treatment Works Authorized by Ordinance of Council Approved August 14, 1946," Dayton F. Stout, Surveyor and Regulator for the Seventh District, 19 May 1955; annotated blueprints of same; both sources in WCCC.

The acreage as given in the 1978 nomination did not account for the takings and had given the original acreage as the (then) current acreage.

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