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Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Countryseat, 1763-1767

When Attorney General Benjamin Chew decided to build a country house in Germantown, he was following a well-established trend. Beginning with James Logan, a good number of Philadelphians had found the neighborhood of that little town a pleasant and convenient place for a summer residence. Lying as it did on a low tract of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, Philadelphia was hot and sickly in summer, and families able to leave the crowded brick town were accustomed to move out to Frankford, the Falls of the Schuylkill, or some other comparatively rural section when the thermometer rose to uncomfortable heights.

Before leaving for England in the summer of 1763, Chief Justice William Allen, a friend of the Attorney General's, offered the Chews the use of his Germantown estate, Mount Airy, for a season. When the Chews moved out to the Allen house, the Attorney General evidently had no plan for acquiring a country place of his own in that part of the world, although he had undoubtedly been familiar with the Germantown area for some years. But the pleasures of Germantown soon won him over. In reply to what must have been a

"thank you note" for the hospitality afforded the Chews at Mount Airy, Allen commented, ". . . it gives me pleasure to hear that your abode there contributed to your health and that you are like to build and be my neighbor."[1]

Chew's first step in this direction was a £650 purchase from Edward Penington of eleven acres on the east side of the Germantown road in July, 1763. This property, later to be enlarged to some sixty acres, was situated about a mile north of the market square in Germantown and about an equal distance south of the Chief Justice's house, Mount Airy.

The neighborhood was rural, but by no means an unsettled wilderness. Down the road, at the present 6019 Germantown Avenue, was Daniel Mackinett's tavern, an informal community center as well as a popular inn favored by Philadelphians and Germantowners alike. Reuben Haines's country house, Wyck, was across the road from Mackinett's. Jacob and Peter Keyser, Jacob Knor, and Anthony Gilbert, all of whom had some share in the building of the Chew house, also owned property nearby. On the west side of the road, much of the land belonged to the Johnson family and at this time was not built upon. Directly opposite the Chew estate stood a small, old, one-and-a-half-story stone house built by Heivert Papen about 1698. Farther to the north there were several houses, those on the east side of the street being the property of Hans George Bensell. Then came St. Michael's Lutheran Church with its little parish school building, and some distance beyond lay William Allen's land.

At the time he acquired his Germantown acreage, Benjamin Chew had been a resident of Philadelphia for about ten years and was living on South Front Street in Dock Ward. Originally from Delaware, where his father, Dr. Samuel Chew, was chief justice for the Lower Counties, Chew had been trained in Andrew Hamilton's and

[1] William Allen to Benjamin Chew, London, Jan. 27, 1764, Chew Papers, Cliveden. See also an earlier letter from Allen to Chew, from Bath, Oct. 7, 1763, in which the Chief Justice remarked: "I hope you and your good family have spent your time agreeably at Mount Airy this summer."

The Chew papers at Cliveden provided the unusually complete record of the building of an eighteenth-century Philadelphia house without which the present paper could not have been written. I am most grateful to Messrs. Benjamin and Samuel Chew for making these documents available for study. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations and all illustrations are from the Chew papers at Cliveden.

his father's offices and in London, where he was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1743. By upbringing and temperament he was a supporter of the proprietors. With Richard Peters he had taken an active part in settling the Indian problems of the 1750's, and in the arrangements for the Mason-Dixon survey, had attended the Albany Congress in 1754, and as attorney general was the chief law officer of the colony. As a friend of the Penns, the Allens, the Peterses, and related by marriage to the Galloways and Turners, Chew's position in the Philadelphia of the sixties was assured.

Once he had title to his Germantown property, Chew lost no time in getting his house, which he would call Cliveden,[2] under way. Two problems confronted him: he must decide what kind of house he wanted and secure suitable plans for it; and, this done, he must purchase the needed materials and find competent workmen to execute the agreed-upon plan. This last was a prodigious undertaking but one customarily performed by the owner, judging by the extant records.[3]

Among the family papers at Cliveden is a sheaf of nine drawings, ranging in quality from a rough sketch of a house and floor plan to a well-executed wash drawing of a Palladian mansion. With these as guides, it is possible to follow with reasonable assurance the evolution of the Attorney General's ideas as he went about obtaining a solution to his first problem.

Found with the drawings is an engraving of a plate, "A View of the Palace at Kew from the Lawn," published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1763.[4] This periodical evidently reached

[2] The endorsement on the back of Philip Warner's bill, Sept. 15, 1765, "Painter & Glazier's Bill Cliffden," provides the earliest record of the use of the name Cliveden found among the bills and receipt book entries in the Chew papers.

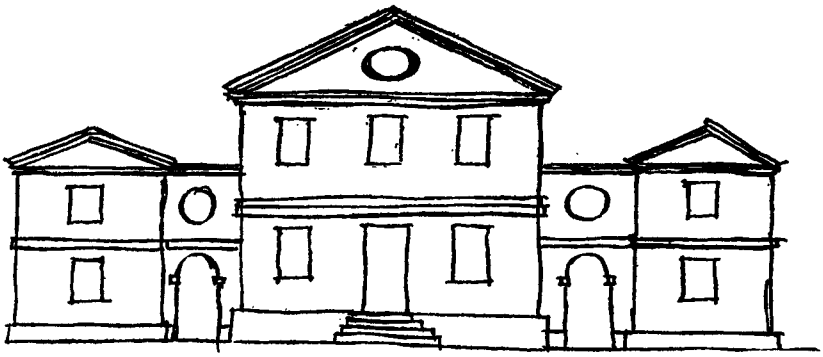
[3] On the other hand, see Robert Smith's contract with Mrs. Mary Maddox, Jan. 1, 1763, in Wallace Papers, V, 30, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Smith was to be paid a specified sum for building two houses for Mrs. Maddox and he was to furnish everything, workmen and materials, for the whole job.

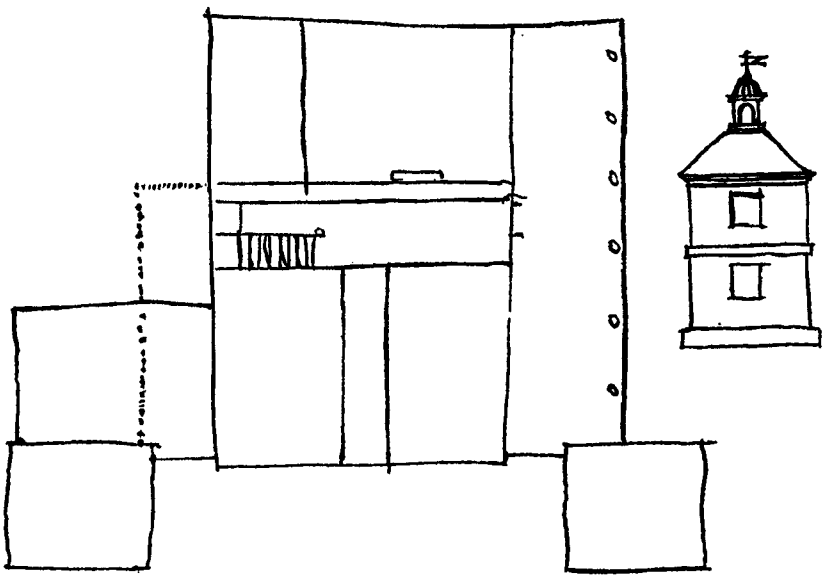
[4] See p. 21. This "View," drawn by Joseph Kirby and engraved by W. Wollett, originally appeared in William Chambers' *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surrey. The Seat of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales* (London, 1758). It is worth noting that, according to family tradition, Chew's countryseat was called Cliveden because of the Attorney General's admiration for Frederick, Prince of Wales, whose favorite country house bore this name; and that the residence of Frederick's wife, then Dowager Princess of Wales, provided the basic pattern for the plan of the Germantown Cliveden.

Chew's hands as he was pondering an appropriate design for his new house, for there seems to be a clear relationship between Kew Palace as seen in W. Wollett's engraving of Kirby's drawing and the first rough sketch of a house, with service wings linked to the main building by masonry screens, found among the Attorney General's papers. Although this sketch is not signed, it is quite possibly the work of Chew himself, roughed out, perhaps, during a discussion with a friend. The houses in both the engraving and the sketch have the gable ends of the main block and of the wings to the front; both use belt courses between the first and second stories; and both trim the gable end of the main section with a horizontal and a raking cornice. The sketch extends the use of a full cornice to the service buildings also, and further indicates that Chew toyed with the idea of topping each with a cupola. He evidently had some thoughts, too, of building a columned portico on the long south side of his house (see pages 7 and 8).

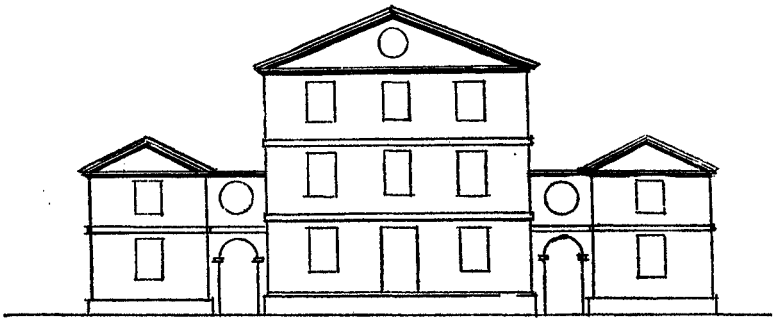
Why, after refining this plan as was done in a second, more finished drawing by adding a third story and making some changes in the floor plan (see page 8), Chew dropped it, turned his plan around, and proceeded toward the revision that produced the Cliveden we know today, it is impossible to say. Since two other floor plans—one for a principal floor and the other for a chamber floor—have notations in William Peters' handwriting,[5] it is possible that Chew discussed his architectural problem with Peters and that he received some suggestions from him. It is interesting and perhaps significant that the Peters' scheme shows a house facing as Cliveden does; that the arrangement and dimensions of the rooms are also remarkably similar to those at Cliveden; and that it shows the main hall of the first story in the shape of an inverted T with small rooms flanking the wide front section as in the completed house. The chief difference between Peters' plan for the principal floor and the one that was finally adopted is in the location of the staircase and in the fact that Peters provides for but one stairway. This he took out of the hall proper and put it in the small room to the left, about where the service staircase at Cliveden is placed. In general, as all the plans show, the hallways of the great houses of the mid-eighteenth century

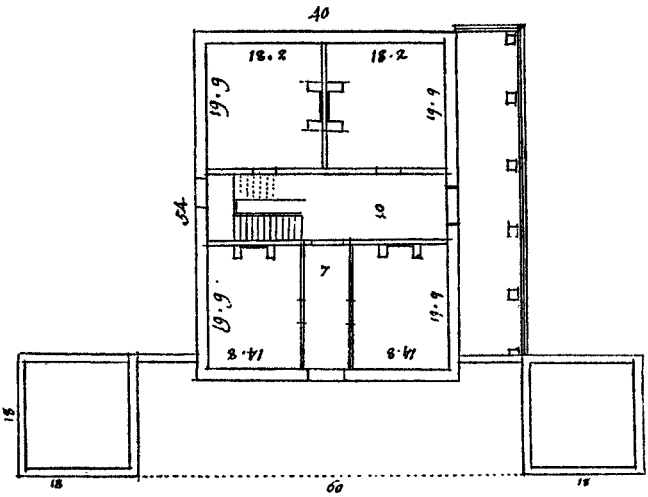
[5] See p. 11. I am grateful to Nicholas B. Wainwright for the identification of William Peters' handwriting.





BENJAMIN CHEW'S ROUGH SKETCH OF A PLAN
FOR A COUNTRY HOUSE





BENJAMIN CHEW'S PLAN FOR HIS COUNTRY HOUSE, SECOND STATE

were being designed to help the owner achieve more privacy and ease of movement. Well-planned halls permitted the family and servants to enter any room without having to cross another one, and provision for a secondary staircase allowed servants and children to carry on their work, or play, out of sight of master, mistress, and guests.[6]

Of the four separate designs for the front elevation of a country house found in the Chew papers, none is identical with Cliveden, although each contributes some element to the final plan and each shows some relation to Chew's rough sketch. One provides a variant design for the frontispiece, another adds two dormers (see page 23), a third indicates the position of the service buildings (see page 22), flanking the main house but standing with suitable deference a little to the rear of it. All three of these drawings show a typical Palladian design for a squarish house, two-and-a-half stories high and five bays wide, with a pedimented pavilion in the center. The doorway in each has columns supporting a cornice and full entablature. Belt courses separate the first and second stories. A full cornice at the eaves is shown, but without the modillions which ornament the one at Cliveden. There are a gable roof and two chimneys of comparatively simple design with an iron railing between them, a feature occasionally noted in the fire insurance surveys of the period, but one not adopted at Cliveden. The fourth and most beautifully executed drawing is rather different (see page 23). True, it is for a house of the same size and general style, but instead of one pavilion, it has three—one in the center, topped with three urns but without a pediment, and one at either end, both pedimented. Instead of a belt course, this drawing calls for a continuous cornice in line with the entablature of the frontispiece. The more usual hipped roof with a balustrade and cupola replaces the gable roof of the other drawings. The use of urns to ornament the roof, and the design of the columned, pedimented doorway, complete with tryglyphs and metopes, are its contributions to Cliveden.

All of these elevations and plans—and the finished house as well—display elements of the typical Palladian house then fashionable in England and the colonies. Many of these features appear on other houses built at about this same time, both in Philadelphia and else-

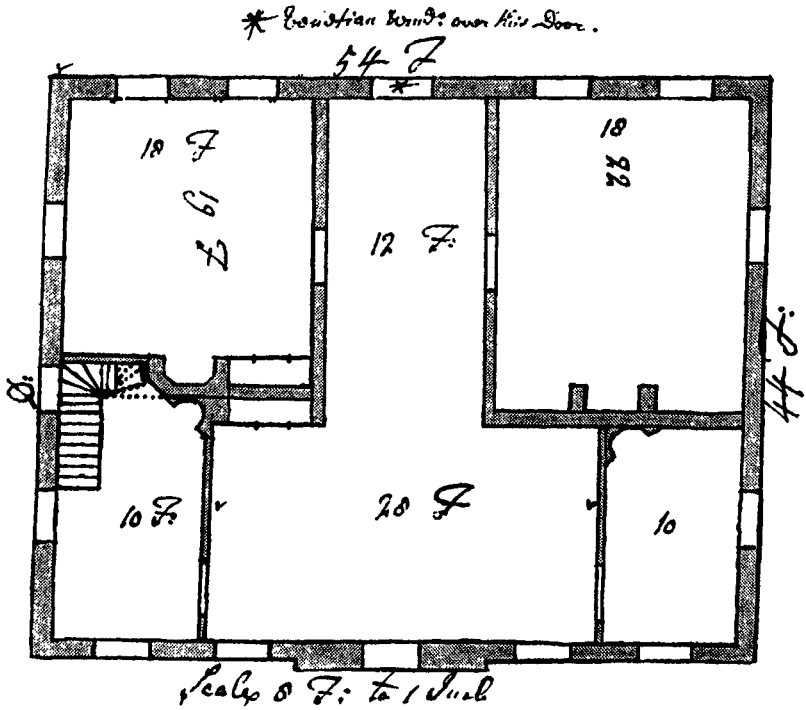
[6] See Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic* (New York, 1922), 69.

where. Woodford (1750–1771), Belmont (brick addition of Peters', *c.* 1755), and Mount Pleasant (after 1761) have shallow center pavilions crowned by a pediment. At Woodford and Mount Pleasant a heavy modillion cornice adorns this, as it does at the Chase-Lloyd house (1768–1771) and the Hammond-Harwood house (1773–1774) in Annapolis. Rusticated quoins are used at both Cliveden and Mount Pleasant. Wilton (*c.* 1753) in Henrico County, Virginia, has a pediment over the doorcase, which, like Cliveden's, employs modillions as a decorative feature. The gables at Cliveden and at Berkeley (*c.* 1776), Charles City County, Virginia, are treated similarly. Dormers with Gothic sash and console brackets are found at Cliveden, Mount Pleasant, the Powel house (*c.* 1765) and at Hampton (built twenty years later, *c.* 1783), Baltimore County, Maryland. The chimneys at Cliveden, with their pilaster strips, are reminiscent of those of the much earlier Tuckahoe (before 1730), Goochland County, Virginia;[7] and urns cap the pediment of the pavilion and the gables at Hampton, as well as at Cliveden. In Philadelphia, with the exception of Cliveden, these elegancies seem to have been reserved for public buildings,[8] notably Christ Church, Zion Lutheran Church, and the Carpenters' Company Hall. On the other hand, key blocks and stone lintels, another feature frequently found on Palladian buildings, appear both on public buildings, such as the State House, and on private houses, among them Laurel Hill (1748–1760), Mount Pleasant, and the Morris house (1784–1786) on South Eighth Street.

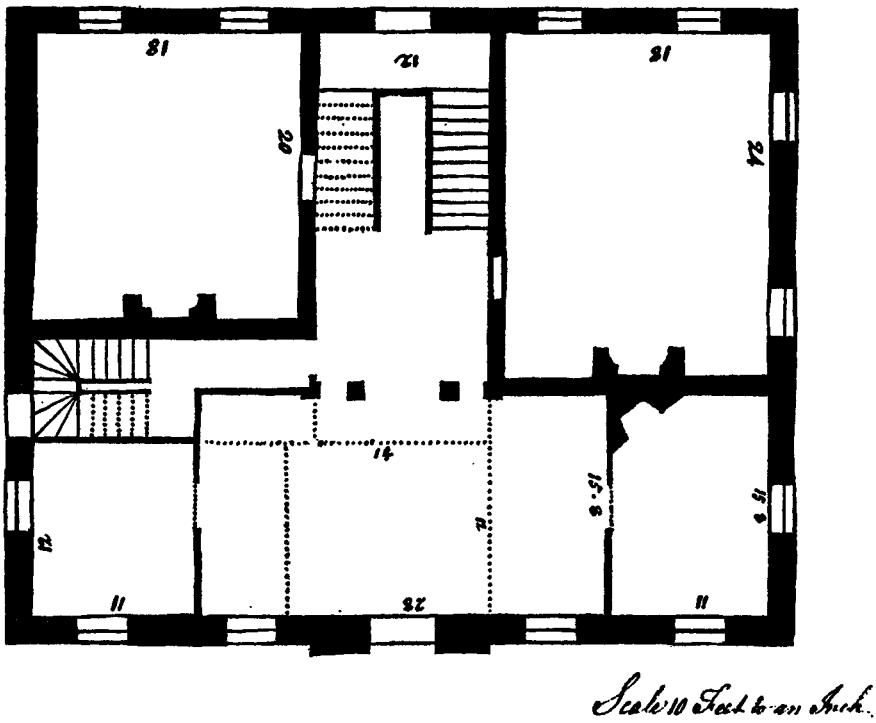
In the same sort of way, the interiors of Cliveden parallel the design and finish of some of the other great houses of the period. The broad entrance hall with the narrower stair hall behind it was used also at Carter's Grove (1751), James City County, Virginia, and Belvoir (*c.* 1757), Fairfax County, Virginia. The Chase house at Annapolis separated stair hall and entrance hall by a screen of free-standing columns with full entablature as was done at Cliveden—only these two examples of this feature are known in the pre-

[7] *Ibid.*, 109.

[8] There is a plan for a house with a pedimented gable capped with urns in the remarkable collection of architectural drawings in the Norris of Fairhill Manuscripts, Miscellaneous Volume, 65, HSP. These drawings date from the 1740's and may be the work of Samuel Rhoads.



WILLIAM PETERS' FLOOR PLAN OF A COUNTRY HOUSE



FLOOR PLAN OF CLIVEDEN, FINAL DRAFT

Revolutionary colonies.[9] The important doors at Cliveden are finished with a broken pediment as are those at Gunston Hall (1755–1758), Fairfax County, Virginia, and at the Powel house, to name but two examples. At Cliveden, the fireplace wall of the dining room is paneled, and the simple design employed is very like that used in the dining room at Mount Pleasant. The Cliveden drawing room, however, followed a newer fashion: only the projecting chimney breast was paneled, although the room was finished with a wooden cornice, chair rail, dado and skirting. The walls were plastered and left unpainted, a fashion also adopted at the Chase house and Monticello (the first house, 1771–1775).[10] The drawing room cornice could be compared with the cornice in the great chamber on the second floor at Mount Pleasant, and with that in the hall at the Powel house, while the dentil design of the hall cornices of Cliveden and Mount Pleasant is similar.

It would be tedious to continue with this sort of comparison. Enough has been said to demonstrate the similarity that existed between houses of the same pretensions and building periods, whether they were being erected in Philadelphia, in Germantown, in Virginia, Maryland, or even farther afield. None was identical with any other, but the resemblances among them suggest that each bore some relation to a common source of inspiration. That source was, of course, the design books and other architectural works which were published in England at the rate of about one a year from 1715 on. These books helped to popularize the renewed interest in Palladian design and were largely responsible for the shift in British taste, at home and in the colonies, from the baroque of Wren and Hawksmoor to the renaissance classicism of Palladio.[11]

Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the Leoni and DuBois edition of Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* issued during the first quarter of the century were influential instruments in effecting this shift in building styles. Most frequently studied of all, in

[9] Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York, 1952), 396. But see also the design for a house with center hall divided by free-standing columns in Norris of Fairhill Manuscripts, Miscellaneous Volume, 58. See p. 29 below for a view of the Cliveden hall.

[10] Kimball, 117. For the treatment of the fireplace wall at Cliveden, see p. 30 below.

[11] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1958), 187–190.

both England and the colonies, was James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*. Published in London in 1728 as a pattern book for the use of the country gentleman, Gibbs's designs were conservative and comparatively simple, so that, as he said, they could be "executed by any workman who understands lines." No wonder it was immediately successful.[12] The designer of Cliveden certainly had Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* at hand. The similarities between the Chew house and the houses depicted in plates number 63, 64, and 65 of this work are fascinating.

Supplemented by other, less pretentious pattern books, including the universally popular *Builder's Pocket Companion* (London, 1728) by William Halfpenny, *City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (London, 1740) by Batty Langley, and *British Architect* (London, 1745) by Abraham Swan, to name but three of many, the taste and knowledge of gentlemen and master carpenters were informed and expanded in a truly astonishing fashion. Fiske Kimball has called this phenomenon "one of the great artistic accomplishments of the eighteenth century."[13]

Forty-nine different books of this kind were available to Philadelphia builders before the Revolution. The Library Company of Philadelphia alone offered its members a choice among nineteen, more than were available in any other library in the mainland colonies. These included, of course, Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, Leoni's *Palladio*, and works by Langley, Halfpenny, Francis Price and others. Philadelphia booksellers advertised thirty-nine different titles between 1751 and 1773. The banner year was 1760, with advertisements for eighteen titles appearing in the newspapers during that twelve-month period.[14] Evidently, the bookmen, finding a ready market for these wares, were encouraged to import new publications regularly as they came from the London presses. Curiously enough, the Carpenters' Company recorded the purchase of but two books before 1775—William Pain's *Builder's Companion* (London, 1758) and Francis Price's *British Carpenter* (London, 1733). Apparently, the Company expected their

12 *Ibid.*, 204–210.

13 Kimball, 56.

14 These figures were compiled from material presented in Helen O'Brien Park's *List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., n.d.).

members to buy books for themselves—certainly they would have need of them, since "Drawing designs" was among the things for which a carpenter was supposed to be paid[15]—and apparently, the Company's expectations were fulfilled. Architectural books were part of the estate of both Edmund Wooley and Robert Smith, two of Philadelphia's most successful house carpenters of the eighteenth century. Of the one hundred and eighty-six subscribers to the Philadelphia edition of Abraham Swan's *British Architect* (1775), one hundred and seventy-two were listed as "master-builder" or "house carpenter."[16] Obviously, the carpenter considered books as essential to the practice of his calling as his hammers and planes. This being the case, is it any wonder that a similarity of design, both in general plan and in detail of execution, is noticeable among many pre-Revolutionary buildings?

In the case of Cliveden, it is not possible to determine positively whether the owner, the amateur architect, or the house carpenter, the working professional, was responsible for the drawings which guided the workmen. Sir John Summerson notes that gentlemen often spoke of having designed their houses when they had actually done little more than supply some ideas to which a professional added the necessary technical details.[17] Certainly, Chew seems to have supplied the ideas, beginning with his adaptation of the center section of Kew Palace and its wings to fit the much smaller, simpler establishment he was proposing to erect in Germantown. Did he make the final drawing, or was this done by his carpenter, Jacob Knor of Germantown? Although it is impossible to be dogmatic about it at this time, several points should be noted. One, the first two drawings (Chew's rough sketch and its more polished revision), the final plan, and the elevation showing the house and outbuildings appear to be drawn on the same kind of paper. This suggests that they may have had a common source, possibly Chew himself. However, the notations of dimension and scale are not in his handwriting. In fact, all of the writing on all of the drawings, except those by Peters, appears to be

15 Rules and Regulations of the Friendship Carpenters' Company (1769), manuscript in the Carpenters' Company library, Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia.

16 See photostat copy of the list of subscribers to this work, bound in with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's copy of the Philadelphia edition of 1775.

17 Summerson, 205–206.

in the same precise, rather clerkly hand, possibly Knor's. Knor was the carpenter for the school building of the Germantown Academy, but, so far, no drawing for that building has come to light to provide the needed basis for comparison of technique and ability. Without more definite evidence, the honor of making the plans for Cliveden cannot be assigned. The probability remains almost equally divided between the owner, who was an interested and intelligent amateur like William Peters, and the master carpenter, less well known but apparently as capable as his Philadelphia contemporary Robert Smith.

Whoever made the Cliveden drawings—and this includes the two ascribed to William Peters—was without doubt a competent draftsman. In view of the quality of these drawings found among the Chew papers and in view of the variety and sophistication of those, possibly by Samuel Rhoads, in the Norris papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the old dictum that the eighteenth-century builder worked from "incredibly elementary" drawings, unless he was a Peter Harrison or a John Hawks, will have to be reconsidered.[18]

These floor plans and elevations contain the elements of the design that Chew and his master craftsmen put together to create a country-seat suitable for the use of one of Philadelphia's important young men and his family. The agreed-upon solution called for the erection of a stone mansion, with two service buildings arranged to form a court at the rear of the main house, and with the kitchen connected to the house by a curving arcade. A stable and coach house were to the left of the kitchen building and well back from it. Gardens, both ornamental and kitchen gardens, completed the estate plan. Old prints and an 1859 photograph document its successful execution. The accounts of the workmen and Chew's receipt book show how this result was obtained.

While Chew was debating the design of his house, he was also looking about for workmen and building materials. By October, 1763, he had settled on his mason, a Germantown craftsman, John Hesser.[19] The latter agreed "to build a house for him the ensuing summer at Germantown" and was immediately paid £25 "towards

18 Kimball, 62.

19 Hesser is listed as a resident of Germantown in the Proprietary Tax List, 1769, in *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, XIV, 93, hereinafter referred to as *Pa. Arch.*

the sd contract & in part Pay for the work I am to do about the sd house."[20] Although the approach of cold weather would have limited the amount that could be done, Hesser went to work at once, as payments made to him show. The entries in Chew's receipt book are not specific, being merely "advance on contract" or "advance on work to do," except with regard to a sum of £8 11*s.* 4*d.* paid for scaffold poles, purchased and hauled to the Chew property on Hesser's order. Since there is no mention anywhere of payment for quarrying building stone and hauling it to the site of the house, the two £25 advances, paid October 11 and November 12, may have been for this.[21] Had the actual contract between Benjamin Chew and his mason survived, it might have provided an interesting insight into the extent of the latter's job and authority, as well as given some idea of what he might have been expected to do while waiting for the ground to thaw sufficiently to begin digging the cellars.

In April, 1764, work began in earnest. Three payments for digging the foundations are recorded, on April 17 and 26, and May 6, at a total cost of £21 13*s.* The next money Hesser received, on June 25, was for "mason work," and Cliveden was under way.[22] Thereafter, payments for stonework were entered in his receipt book at various times by Chew, the last such entry being dated November 14, 1764. The following January, Hesser's work was measured by Jacob Knor, the master carpenter on the job, and by Jacob Lewis,[23] and his bill for £357 17*s.* 9*d.* was paid. Hesser charged for ninety-two and a half perches of "Stonework for the Front of his [*Chew's*] house at Germantown" at the rate of twelve shillings a perch, and for seven hundred and forty-five and three-fourths perches of "Common wall" at eight shillings a perch.[24] The front of Cliveden is of ashlar, as was customary in the building of Germantown's finer houses, with courses of almost perfect regularity. The gable ends and the rear wall are of

20 A leather-bound book in the Chew papers is inscribed: "This End of the Book contains accounts and receits of Disbursements for Building my house at Germantown—B. Chew." See entry on p. 1. The entries in this book, hereinafter referred to as Receipt Book, run from Oct. 11, 1763, to July 14, 1767.

21 *Ibid.*, 1, 2.

22 *Ibid.*, 5, 6, 8.

23 Possibly the Lewis of the firm Jones and Lewis which sold lumber to Chew, Apr. 15, 1765. See bill of that date.

24 Bill, John Hesser to Benjamin Chew, Jan. 22, 1765.

rubble construction, "Common wall," as Hesser termed it. The whole is a witness, two hundred years later, to the mason's craftsmanship.

Hesser was responsible for the masonry, but a stonecutter, Casper Geyer, was engaged to cut the doorsills, window heads and molded window sills, the stone fascia, the cheeks and sills for the cellar doors. Geyer, a Philadelphian, was apparently a competent but high-priced workman. (He charged 10*s.* a day for his labor, a very high wage for the time, much higher than Hesser's, which was 6*s.* 6*d.* per day.) In any event, when the stonecutter's bill was presented for payment, difficulty arose. Jacob Lewis thought the account "most extortionate" and advised the Attorney General not to pay Geyer anything more than the sums already advanced for material and work, about £79. Evidently, Chew took this advice, for there are no other entries under Geyer's name in the Cliveden accounts.[25]

Meanwhile, the carpenter and his helpers had also been hard at work. Richard Fry and Michael Fisher were paid for "heart board" in November and December, 1763, and Thomas Fry and Nicholas Matlack for more lumber in February and March, 1764. No one firm seems to have supplied the lumber for Cliveden. Payments were made throughout the spring and summer to Thomas Saltar, to Brittons, Forster & Co., to Thomas Forster, to Samuel Weeks, and to Saltar, Britton & Company for lumber of various types, including scantling, cedar boards, and New England boards.[26] Much of it was delivered to Jacob Knor in Germantown by Leonard Stoneburner, who owned and operated one of the largest moving and hauling services in Germantown and Philadelphia. His bill to December 8, 1764, was for £50, no small sum.[27]

[25] Geyer was a resident of the North Ward, Philadelphia. See the Proprietary Tax List, 1769, *Pa. Arch.*, *Third Series*, XIV, 193. Whether the five loads of steps, including the six front steps and the stone sills for the "front, Back & End Doors," hauled to Germantown by John Keyser in the summer of 1765, were cut by Geyer is questionable. Both Keyser and Charles Hubbs, who supplied the stone, were paid in September, 1765, while Geyer did not receive any money after May of that year. See bill, Geyer to Chew, May 19, 1765; entry in Receipt Book, Sept. 21, 1765; and bill, Keyser to Chew, Sept. 21, 1765.

[26] Receipt Book, entries for Nov. 3 and Dec. 21, 1763; Mar. 1, Apr. 11, May 24, June 26, and July 31, 1764; and bills from Brittons, Forster & Co., Apr. 25, and from Saltar, Britton & Co., July 31 and Aug. 25, 1764.

[27] The Proprietary Tax List, 1769 (*Pa. Arch.*, *Third Series*, XIV, 92), credits Stoneburner with owning twenty-four acres of land, fourteen horses and two cows, and with employing five servants. Stoneburner's bill is recorded in Receipt Book, Dec. 8, 1764.

Among the records at Cliveden is the list of scantling, or heavy timbers—the joists and girders, the wall plates, collar beams and rafters—that Anthony Gilbert, also a Germantown resident, cut for the house framing. The joists varied in length from thirteen to nineteen feet, and in thickness from ten by three inches to thirteen by four and a half, the heaviest, as one would expect, being used to frame the first floor, the lightest, the attic. The girders were stout beams, also of different lengths, but either eighteen by twelve inches or sixteen by ten inches thick. Gilbert's bill amounted in all to £90 15*s*. for 9,829 feet of scantling for the first two floors, and 10,810 feet for the "upper floor" and roof. He was paid in seven installments, from February, 1764, to January, 1765, the bill being settled in full on January 25, 1765, some five months after the house raising entertainment on August 25, 1764, had been enjoyed and paid for.[28]

Perhaps it would be well to note here that neither the manner of paying Gilbert for his services nor the time that elapsed between the first and last payments was unusual. A glance at Benjamin Chew's receipt book shows that both the master craftsmen and the suppliers of material were paid round sums periodically as their work progressed, with a final settlement of the whole account coming after that particular job was finished and after the workman responsible for it had presented his carefully itemized bill.

The house raising mentioned above was, of course, the party customarily provided by the owner for his workmen when the girders and joists for the top floor were in place and the rafters to support the roof were raised. It was a day of rejoicing for workman and householder alike, and no doubt the Attorney General paid the £6 expenses for this celebration gladly. Work on the foundations had begun in April. Five months later, the walls were up and the house ready for its roof. Curiously enough, the Germantown Academy schoolhouse, a building of almost the same dimensions, had followed an almost identical construction schedule when it was built three years earlier. Payment for digging the cellar was made by the Trustees of the Academy on May 7, 1760, and the "entertainment" for the workmen was given on August 21, 1760.[29]

[28] See entries in Receipt Book, 10, 16; and Anthony Gilbert's bill.

[29] Joseph Jackson, *A History of the Germantown Academy* (Philadelphia, 1910), 37–38.

When the bill for ten thousand shingles, for which Chew was charged at the rate of seventy-five shillings per thousand, plus an additional sum of £10 for "dressing" them, was paid and the roof on, the shell of the house was complete. Exactly one year had elapsed from the day in October, 1763, when the Attorney General had agreed with John Hesser about the building of Cliveden. Adding up his expenditures, Chew found that, to September 20, 1764, exclusive of the price paid for his land, Cliveden had cost him £706 16*s.* 4*d.*[30]

Among these expenses was a sum of £40 paid to Jacob Knor.[31] Knor, like Hesser, was a resident of Germantown.[32] He was, as has been mentioned, the carpenter for the school building at the Germantown Academy, 1760–1761, and may have been recommended to Chew by Joseph Galloway, one of the Managers overseeing the building of that school. Knor, incidentally, had contributed £3 to the building and was evidently a man of some standing in the community. Some years later, he was himself one of the Managers of the Concord School when it was erected on part of the Upper Burying Ground property, north of Washington Lane.[33] In spite of his experience and evident reputation, Knor was not a member of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia. In fact, no Germantown carpenter was among the initiate of that guild at this time; the distance between Germantown and Philadelphia was apparently as much a reason as any other.[34] In any event, if Knor, the man, remains a shadowy figure, and he does, Knor, the carpenter, has left much fine work to speak for his skill as a craftsman, with Cliveden standing at the head of his accomplishments.

The first specific task mentioned in Knor's accounts was the building of a "Lime house," May 1, 1764, presumably for the masons' use. Thereafter, he was occupied buying the lighter scantling for

30 For cost of shingles, see Receipt Book, entries for Sept. 20 and Oct. 11, 1764; for the total cost of Cliveden to Sept. 20, 1764, see dated sheet of figures in Chew Papers.

31 Receipt Book, July 18, 1764.

32 See Proprietary Tax List, 1769, *Pa. Arch., Third Series*, XIV, 92; and Occupation Tax of 1774, manuscript in Philadelphia Municipal Archives. He is thought to have built and lived in the house at 3607 Germantown Ave., demolished in 1933.

33 Harrold E. Gillingham, "A List of the Contributors, Trustees, and Officers to the Public School of Germantown," typescript (1908), HSP.

34 Henry Fraley "of Germantown" applied for admission to the Carpenters' Company in 1775. Since there is no record of action taken on his application, Fraley may have withdrawn it. See entry for Apr. 17, 1775, in Wardens' Book (1769–1781), 105, manuscript in Carpenters' Company library.

framing the windows and doorcases and for the lintels, and, later on, he also purchased cedar boards and shingles. For this service, he charged Chew 5*s.* 6*d.* each time a trip was made to a lumber merchant's yard. The account containing these items ran from May, 1764, to November, 1767, and records Knor's extraordinary services rather than the charges he made for his work as master carpenter. It includes an accounting for a wide variety of tasks performed, among them work done on several occasions at Chew's house in Philadelphia. Other items cover what were essentially cabinetmaker's chores—the making of a "foulding tea table," a "washhand stand," a candle stand, and a "Bedsted for Mr. Chew," as well as the repairing of chairs, tables, and the like.[35]

Another record details the work done by Knor in his capacity as house carpenter of Cliveden. This is quite complete, mentioning everything but the charge for raising the frame of the house, laying the floors, and other regulation tasks. Apparently, the requirements for that kind of work were spelled out in an agreement made with Chew, the text of which has not survived.[36] In any event, by the time the winter of 1764–1765 set in, Knor had made the frames and sash for all the windows, including the dormer windows and eight which were double hung at an extra charge of 2*s.* 6*d.*, had equipped them with shutters, capped the urn pillars, made the cornices and the necessary wooden guttering. A piece of an old wooden gutter and a part of a wooden downspout found in the stable loft at Cliveden suggest that the ones installed by Knor followed the usual pattern, and were "Made of plank from 3 to 4 Inches thick & from 5 to 6 Inches wide," with trunks, or downspouts, "square as Common."[37] Wooden gutters were used only on the rear of a house as formal and elegant as Cliveden, of course. The lead gutters and "Stack pipes" for the front were made by Eden Haydock of Philadelphia, and were also in place by the fall of 1764.[38]

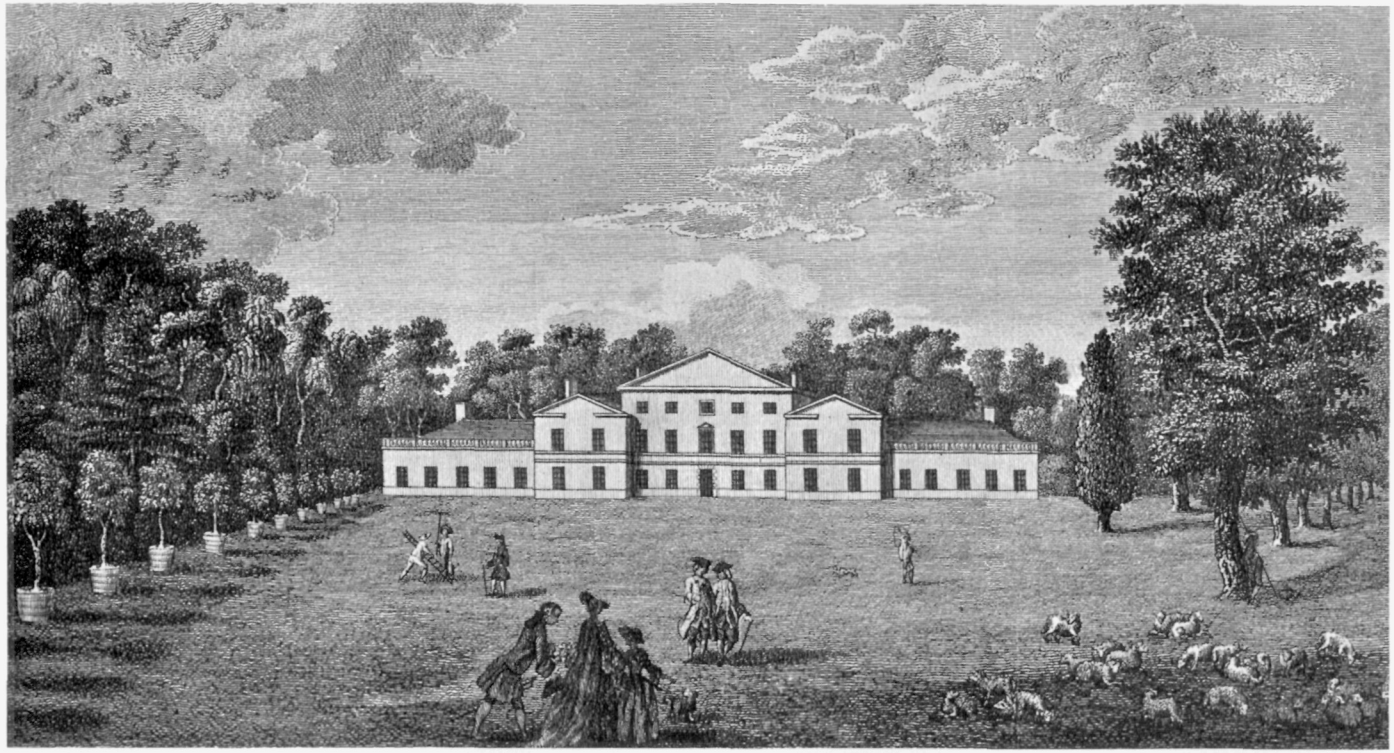
With his more routine tasks and much of his share of the exterior trim finished, Knor could turn his attention to the interior. Some of

35 See bills from Jacob Knor to Chew, Dec. 30, 1766 (there are two almost identical versions of this bill), and Nov. 14, 1767.

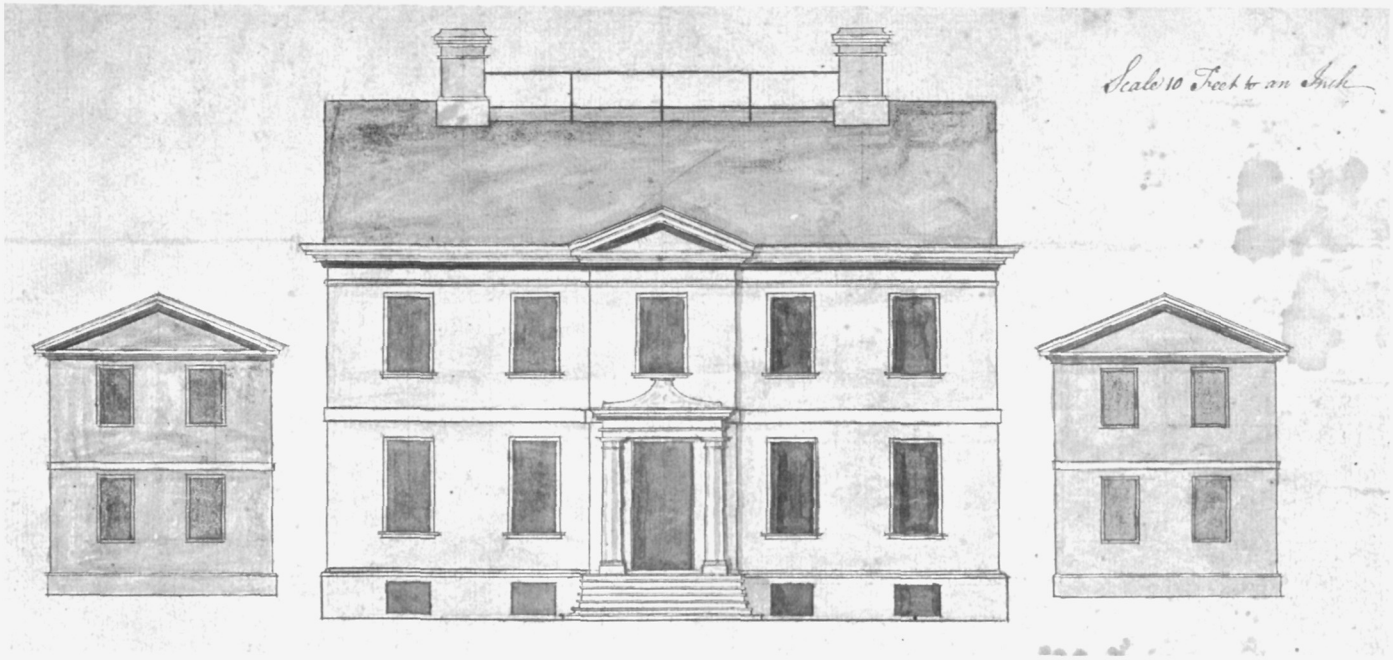
36 Two items included in the December, 1766, bill have the words "as pr. agreement" added. See Knor's bill, Dec. 30, 1766.

37 Friendship Carpenters' Company, "Rules for Measuring" (1769), 39, manuscript in Carpenters' Company library.

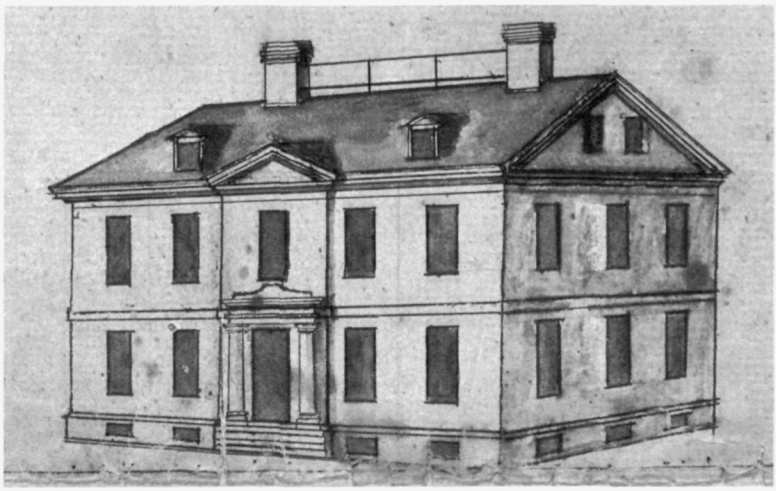
38 Bill, Haydock to Chew, and Receipt Book, Mar. 22, 1765.



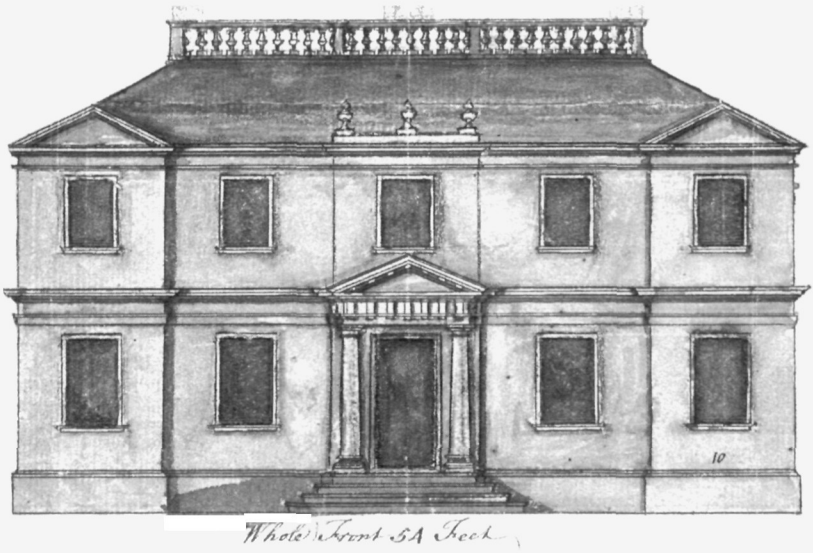
"View of the Palace at Kew from the Lawn"
from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763



WASH DRAWING, ELEVATION OF A COUNTRY HOUSE FLANKED BY SERVICE BUILDINGS



WASH DRAWING OF A COUNTRY HOUSE, SHOWING DORMERS AND GABLE WALL



UNFINISHED WASH DRAWING, ELEVATION OF A COUNTRY HOUSE SHOWING URNS AND PEDIMENTED DOORWAY

Cliveden
Photograph, 1960

the work to be done there required particular kinds of lumber which Saltar, Britton & Company were called upon to supply. On January 23 and February 12, 1765, they received an order for pine scantling, probably for the interior door and window cases, on March 6, one for four hundred feet of the "best Cedar boards," and on May 16, another for 1,573 feet more of these "for pannells."[39] Through this and the ensuing winter, Knor made fourteen "Sets of Inside Shutters, 2 pair in each set"; wainscoting; "base and Sr Base"; architraves of various sizes and knees for those, if called for by the plan; dentil cornices; five pediments and one tabernacle frame, the last to go above the drawing room mantel; "Dorick Intablature" for the hall; columns; and three "storys of stairs." Knor was evidently working on the hall in the spring of 1765, for the balusters for the stairs were sent to the turner on March 1 and May 7, and at the end of May of that year, the "4 Inside Columns" made the same trip.[40]

Shortly after the columns were set upon their bases, Knor again turned his attention to the exterior of Cliveden. On July 19, he went to find red cedar "columns for a frontice[piece]"[41] and then proceeded to his work on the kitchen, coach house, and stable.

Activity at the main house did not stop at this point, however. Philip Warner, referred to as "my Painter" by Chew, had been busy since the preceding October (1764) "painting Cornishes, window Shutters, outside Doors, Window cases & Door Cases," giving each three coats of paint. The roof received two coats. Warner had also had the glass for the window sash carted up from Philadelphia—two lights were broken somewhere along the line—and had glazed and painted the windows and dormers. For this, he was paid, on October 7, 1765, the balance of £13 14*s.* 9*d.* due him on his bill of £73 17*s.* 3*d.* This balance was paid after Knor had measured Warner's work and attested to the correctness of the bill.[42]

39 Bills from Saltar, Britton & Co. to Benjamin Chew, Jan. 23, 1765, and a second, paid Sept. 16, 1765.

40 They were brought back a month later, June 28. The charge for each trip was 7*s.* 6*d.* Bill, Knor to Chew, Dec. 30, 1766.

41 *Ibid.* Since the frontispiece was not paid for until Knor's final bill was settled, Nov. 14, 1767, it is possible that it was among the last items to be finished.

42 Receipt Book, entries October, 1764, to October, 1765; and bill, Philip Warner to Chew, Sept. 12, 1765.

Meanwhile, a blacksmith, Christopher Hergesheimer, like Warner, Knor, Gilbert and Hesser, a resident of Germantown,[43] was occupied making pins for doorcases, window weights, "eyes" for cranes and for the well; hooks of a variety of weights, bars for grates and for the cellar windows, a chain for the well, and irons for two well buckets. In addition, Hergesheimer kept the tools—the augers, picks, wedges and hoes—sharpened and in order. He also shod the horses. The greater part of the ironwork for Cliveden, however, was done by William Rush, a resident of Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia.[44] Although his itemized account has not survived, it is likely, in view of the things not mentioned in Hergesheimer's bills, that Rush did the finer, more decorative, work for Chew, leaving to Hergesheimer the tasks that a country smith could perform with ease. This supposition is partly substantiated by the comparative size of the bills of the two men, Rush's totaling £140 1*s.* 10*d.* and Hergesheimer's amounting to but £25 4*s.* 9*d.*

Four more tasks were completed during this period. A well was dug, and the well digger paid £4 for his labor; thirty-four dozen tiles, probably for the hearths, were purchased from David Rose, a Northern Liberties brickmaker; and some special carving, including the molding surrounding the marble facing of the drawing room chimney, was executed by Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez, carvers and gilders from Philadelphia.[45] Toward the end of the year, the plasterers, Samuel Hastings and David Cauthorn, both Philadelphians, began the work of finishing the interior walls. They were paid £84 6*s.* 10*d.* for "lathwork," for rendering, that is, putting on the first coat of plaster, for plastering between the joists, and for

[43] The hiring of Germantown craftsmen, mostly of German descent, must have presented Chew with a problem in communication. Judging from the slender evidence of handwriting and spelling as shown in their bills, only Knor was actually at home in English. Bills from some of the other workmen, Casper Johnson, for example, exist in two states, a German original and an English translation. Other workmen, among them Hergesheimer, apparently had bills prepared for them, since the German script of the signature is quite different from the writing in the bill itself. Finally, Hesser's spelling suggests that German was his familiar tongue, with English no more than a fair second.

[44] Proprietary Tax List, 1769, *Pa. Arch., Third Series*, XIV, 200. Rush also did smith's work for Franklin and was paid for this in June, 1765. I am indebted for this reference to William Campbell of the Independence National Historical Park.

[45] Receipt Book, Oct. 15 and Nov. 17, 1765; and bills from Rose, paid Oct. 15, 1765, and from Bernard and Jugiez, the latter dated Jan. 5, 1766.

"regulating" the ceiling. When their bill was presented for payment, it was noted that £1 10*s*. would have to be deducted for "45 yds of Ceiling which must be pulld down."[46] As usual, Knor measured the work before payment was made.

Although there is no indication on his bill to whom Leonard Stoneburner delivered the seven cords of hickory wood and the six gallons of rum he carried up to Cliveden between October, 1765, and May, 1766, it is quite possible that the wood was used to keep fires burning in the fireplaces to dry out and warm the house while the plasterers were working there. The rum was probably put to equally good use to warm the workmen.

While Cauthorn and Hastings were finishing their work, Philip Warner was proceeding with the painting of the interior. His work was measured by Knor and the bill paid on May 28, 1767.[47] During the spring, Warner had also painted for the Attorney General four bedsteads at eight shillings each, and a "Carpitt 22 yards at 2/ pr yard." Warner continued to do various small jobs for the Chews through the next several years. These included the painting, or more probably the repainting, of the gutters and spouts, the cellar doors, iron bars to the cellar windows, and the "columns & door Case at the Fronticepiece."[48]

As noted above, the plan for the Cliveden estate called for the kitchen and laundry to be placed in separate buildings to the rear of the house. The development of the courtyard at the back instead of in front, as at Mount Pleasant, may have been dictated by Chew's desire to make use of the small stone houses that were on the property when he purchased it. The one was enlarged and became the kitchen, the other, the laundry.

In April, 1765, when the weather had warmed sufficiently to make outdoor work feasible again, John Hesser returned to Cliveden to work on the kitchen, coach house, and stable. Foundations had to be dug for the stable and for the addition to the kitchen.[49] This done,

46 Bill, Hastings and Cauthorn, paid July 24, 1766.

47 The master builder in charge of the erection of a large house, as was Knor at Cliveden, earned an extra fee for measuring the work of the other craftsmen working with him. Knor was paid 40*s*. for measuring Hesser's work; 20*s*. for that of the plasterers; and 31*s*. for the painter's. See receipts in Chew Papers.

48 See Warner's bill, Dec. 21, 1769.

49 Note reference to "the new part of the Kitchen" in Warner's bill, Sept. 12, 1765.

stone was cut and hauled from the orchard, and the mason and his helpers proceeded to lay up the walls. This was thirsty work, and masons and tenders—as well, no doubt, as the carpenter and anyone else busy about the place—were refreshed with good Germantown beer. Hesser's account reports the purchase of fourteen and three-quarter barrels and three casks of beer from April to November, 1765, at a cost to Chew of £10 1*s.* 10*d.*[50] If these purchases can be taken to indicate more than times when the weather was particularly hot or the work particularly heavy, they suggest that there was considerable activity in May, June, and early July, 1765, that nothing was done in August and September, but that in October, Hesser and his men were again busy. Possibly it was at the later date that the "six load of stone for [the] Comon sewer" were hauled to Cliveden and put in place.[51]

This particular account of Hesser's gives interesting information of a sort lacking from the earlier one covering the mason's work in the big house. It is reported here, for example, that the stone for the outbuildings came from the orchard, and that a load of stone cost 4*s.* 3*d.*; that Hesser spent ten days cutting stone; that he himself plastered the kitchen, coach house, and stable; that a tender's wages were 3*s.* 9*d.* per day, while a master mason's were 6*s.* 6*d.*[52]

The walls of these outbuildings were up by September, 1765, for Jacob Knor measured the work then and reported it to contain the two hundred and sixty-two perches twelve feet that Hesser was charging for at the rate of eight shillings a perch. Curiously enough, this bill was not settled until January, 1767. As work progressed from May through November, Hesser had received advances for materials, wages, and the like, for building the coach house and the "stable and repairing his [*Chew's*] Kitchen at Germantown." These advances amounted to £126 1*s.* 10*d.*[53] and left the comparatively small balance of £15 1*s.* 10*d.* still due him, a fact which may explain his delay in presenting the requisite itemized bill. Incidentally, this is Hesser's last account with Chew. The next time Chew employed a mason—to build the north wall of the colonnade—he hired John

50 Bill, Hesser to Chew, paid Jan. 19, 1767.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*, and supplementary accounts entered in Receipt Book settled the same day.

53 See entries in Receipt Book, May through November, 1765.

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HALL, CLIVEDEN
Photograph, 1963

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Drawing Room, Cliveden
Photograph, 1963

Keyser, the mason who had erected the schoolhouse at the Germantown Academy.[54]

Knor had had his share in the completion of these outbuildings, too, but his tasks were apparently of a routine order, for his account reports a charge for "52 Sqr [*square*] of work in stables and coach house and 82 feet at 15/," for a total of £39 12*s.* 3*d.*, plus a small charge of £2 15*s.* for "Stalls & Binn," and nothing else. All of Knor's work on the big house, as well as on the outbuildings, was now finished and his bill for £655 15*s.* 8*d.* presented.[55] His work was measured by Robert Smith and John Thornhill, both members of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia. Thornhill, in fact, later wrote a book of rules for the Carpenters' Company to be used in "measuring & valuing Carpenters' work."[56] For the task of measuring Knor's carpentry, Smith and Thornhill were paid the usual three per cent, the fee being divided equally and paid jointly by the owner and the carpenter.[57]

One of the features of Cliveden that seems to have pleased Chew particularly was the colonnade which, in his accounts, he always referred to as "my colonnade" just as he always referred to the urns he imported from England to ornament the roof at Cliveden as "my urns," implying a special sort of pride in both. And, indeed, he had a right to be proud—no other Philadelphia house could boast of either, although several of the larger and more elegant country houses in other colonies used semicircular arcades to connect the big house with its service buildings, while others made use of ornamental urns. In planning the Cliveden colonnade, Chew departed from the strict academic formula. Instead of joining both dependencies, laundry and kitchen, to the dwelling house by this means, he chose to erect but one arcade and place it between kitchen and dwelling.

Workmen began to build the Attorney General's colonnade in the spring of 1766. Stone was carted in to make the curving north wall, and John Keyser laid it up. The masonry wall was rough cast, as

54 Bill, John Keyser to Chew, paid Sept. 21, 1765.

55 Bill, Knor to Chew, settled Nov. 14, 1767.

56 See record of 35*s.* paid to Joseph Thornhill "in full of an Account of his father John Thornhill for writing a book of the rules of measuring . . . Carpenters work," Minutes, Committee on Prices, June 15, 1787, Carpenters' Company library.

57 See bills, Knor to Chew, Dec. 20, 1766, and Nov. 14, 1767; and from Smith and Thornhill to Chew, Dec. 20, 1766.

were the rear and side walls of the main house and the front wall of the kitchen. This was a not uncommon practice in Philadelphia, and seems to have been done as much for warmth as for esthetic reasons.[58] Chew probably had both in mind when he decided on the rough-cast finish. Certainly, it was an effective way to bring together the new and the old at Cliveden and make of them a unified whole. While this was going on, pine boards, cedar boards, shingles, four pillars and four stone plinths for them to rest upon, arrived from Philadelphia, as did bricks for the floor and glass for the windows. When the colonnade was finished, it offered shelter from the rain and north winds to the Cliveden servants and to the Attorney General's dinner as each made the journey from kitchen to house. Open to the south, and to the prevailing breezes, the colonnade must have been a cool and pleasant place in the summer and well worth the £150 that it had cost.[59]

As noted above, the urns for Cliveden were ordered from England, and a letter, dated December 12, 1766, from Chew to William Fisher describes the way such business was carried out. Chew wrote: "I have shown the pattern of the urns sent over by Mr. Pennington to the knowing ones among us and have fixed on No. 2 only that it is to have little or no carve work as most suitable to the plainness of my building. I shall be much obliged to you therefore to forward the enclosed by the ship now sailing for London [to] Pennington & press him to use his kind endeavours [to have] them finish'd as soon as possible and sent over early in the spring when I shall want to set them up."[60] The transaction took longer than Chew hoped, for the urns were not shipped from Bristol until September, 1767.

Apparently, only five of the seven urns with their "caps for pedestals" sent to Philadelphia by William Cowles & Co. were put in place on the roof at Cliveden. No picture of Cliveden, from the earliest drawing reputedly made in 1777 to the photograph taken in 1859, before the wing was added at the back in the 1860's, shows urns on the roof at the rear of the house. Possibly the Attorney General decided that the whole number of urns was too much for the "plainness" of his house, and perhaps he decided to use the other two

58 Kimball, 68.

59 See Chew's "Estimate of the cost of my Colonade at Cliveden."

60 Chew Papers, Cliveden.

elsewhere, possibly on the lawn. If so, these may have been the "vases" mentioned among the objects damaged by the fighting during the Battle of Germantown.[61]

Chew's comment about the "plainness of his building" sounds odd to twentieth-century ears, but his contemporaries, "the knowing ones" at least, would have understood it. The whole idea of the Palladian style, of which Cliveden is a notable Pennsylvania example, was based upon the rejection of "fancy" and "enthusiasm" as exemplified in the earlier baroque architecture,[62] and, set against English country houses of the late seventeenth century when the influence of Wren and his contemporaries was at its peak, Cliveden is plain indeed.

It is not to be expected that much information regarding the establishment of a garden at Cliveden would appear in the building accounts. There is enough, however, to suggest that lawns and gardens were part of the original plan for the estate and that they were conceived on a scale suitable to a countryseat characterized by the formal elegance of Cliveden. An orchard was on the place when Chew purchased it, and part, at least, of the property was fenced, for the accounts contain a number of references to moving and repairing old fences and gates. New fencing, some of which must have been quite fine judging by the price Jacob Knor charged for making it, was put up in the spring of 1767.[63] Plant boxes, boxes for orange trees, a hotbed frame and shutters, strips for raspberry bushes, and a henhouse were added the following year—the practical as well as the ornamental and exotic had its place in Chew's scheme of things. There was a summerhouse, too, of course.[64] No countryseat would have been complete without one.

Except for the gardens, Cliveden was finished by December, 1767, although workmen continued to come and go about the place until

61 See bill, William Cowles & Co., September, 1767; and "Account of Cliveden taken from rect Book . . . to Jan. 1767 as pr. List. From Jany 1767 to June 30, 1771 taken from my cash Book as pr. List." For the damage to the lawn "vases," see Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Courtlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City, Philadelphia, 1670–1838* (Philadelphia, 1939), 334.

62 Summerson, 191.

63 Bill, Knor to Chew, Dec. 2, 1769; note particularly the entries under dates June 12 and 17, 1766, and for May 11, 29, and 30, 1767.

64 Bill, Knor to Chew, Dec. 2, 1769.

1771. It had taken four years to build and Chew estimated his total cost to be £4,718 12*s.* 3*d.* Nothing was done to alter the appearance of the house for about a hundred years. In 1867, an addition was built at the back and the old kitchen and colonnade were incorporated within it. Other changes have been made from time to time, chiefly to provide for improved lighting, heating, and plumbing, but today, two hundred years after the first stone was cut, Cliveden is essentially Benjamin Chew's house, a handsome illustration in stone and wood of an eighteenth-century gentleman's plan for pleasant country living.

When he began to build his countryseat, Chew was a member of the Provincial Council and attorney general of the province of Pennsylvania, and recorder of the city of Philadelphia. In 1765, he became register general of the province, and in 1774, he succeeded William Allen as its chief justice. As a supporter of the proprietaries and as a friend of Governor John Penn, Chew found no philosophical difficulty in associating with men like John Adams, or in signing the nonimportation agreement. The proprietors, too, were at odds with the Crown. Moreover, Chew's definition of treason, handed down in April, 1776, was one with which even the most independence-minded of Pennsylvanians could not quarrel. Chew said: ". . . an opposition by force of arms to the lawful authority of the King or his Ministry, is high treason, but in the moment when the King, or his Ministers, shall exceed the authority vested in them by the Constitution, submission to their mandate becomes treason."[65]

Nevertheless, when the British army was converging on Philadelphia in July, 1777, Congress recommended that all Crown and proprietary officers should be arrested. These officers included, of course, both Chief Justice Chew and Governor Penn. Penn and Chew were sent to the Union Iron Works in New Jersey where they lived in comparative freedom on the Allen and Turner estate. In June, 1778, the British having left Philadelphia, both men were permitted to return.

Chew came back to the city to find his property much the worse for the war and the occupation. Cliveden had been the center of the hottest fighting in the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777.

[65] Quoted in Eberlein and Hubbard, 333.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

BENJAMIN CHEW
1722–1810

Occupied by a part of the 40th Regiment of the British army under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Musgrave, it had withstood the fire of the colonial infantry and artillery. The house emerged badly scarred but without serious damage to its walls. Today, a sword found in the kitchen loft when the major alterations to the rear of the house were being made in the 1860's, bullets dug out of a bedroom wall in the 1950's, and the original, battle-battered front door, still preserved although too badly damaged ever to be used again, testify to Cliveden's ordeal. Chew declared the house "an absolute wreck, and materials are not to be had to keep out the weather."[66] No wonder the Chief Justice, discouraged by these events and probably unsure of his position in the new state of Pennsylvania, sold the house to Blair McClenachan in 1779.

McClenachan, who had come from Ireland as a young man, had amassed a considerable fortune as a merchant and, more recently, as an outfitter of privateers. Cliveden was his countryseat for eighteen years. In 1797, Chew, now president judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, arranged to repurchase his old home from

[66] Letter from Chew to Edward Tilghman, written in the summer of 1778 and quoted in *ibid.*, 336.

McClenachan. From that time on, Cliveden has remained in the Chew family.

The focus of this article has been on the building of the house. It describes Cliveden's situation in Germantown vis-à-vis the other houses in that town; the relation of its design to the architectural fashions of the eighteenth century in England and in the colonies; the official and social position in Philadelphia of its owner and builder, a position reflected in the design and finish of the house, and in its location in Germantown not far from the countryseat of that influential man, Chief Justice William Allen; and, finally, the way the building plans were executed and by whom. Another article should be written to detail the subsequent history of the house, to answer many questions left untouched here. When did the Chews move into their new country home? Did they live here for long periods of time, or, in the beginning at least, use it for occasional short visits only? Who put it in order again after its career as a British strong point in the Battle of Germantown? When was this done, and how? What did the visiting dignitaries, the most famous of whom was probably General Lafayette, entertained at Cliveden in July, 1825, think of the house, of their hosts, and of the entertainment they received there? What did the members of the Chew family, owners of Cliveden for two hundred years, think of it? How have they used it? The present account has introduced Cliveden to colonial Philadelphia; the biography of the house remains to be written.

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