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ROCKWOOD: A ROMANTIC VILLA
IN BRANDYWINE HUNDRED

by

Gilbert T. Vincent

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University
of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

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INTRODUCTION

The outstanding significance of Rockwood lies not in its individual details or objects, nor even in its architecture, but in its remarkable portrayal of an age. Constructed between the years 1851 and 1857, the estate comprised a mansion house, porter's lodge, stable, carriage-house, gardener's cottage, and 211 acres. As it exists today, it is an unusually complete and effective statement of early Victorian taste in the tradition of Andrew Jackson Downing and John Claudius Loudon. Designed in the Rural Gothic style by the architect George Williams, the mansion house is a consummate statement of both the early Victorian romanticism that led to a division of styles within the interior, and the picturesque merger of irregular architecture and naturalistic landscape. When taken in conjunction, the architecture, the plan, the garden, and the remaining furnishings depict a total physical sensibility that is fast vanishing from the American scene.

American culture is pervaded with the interrelationship of the American experience and European tradition. The Romantic movement in the United States began as a direct European import

in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It manifested itself in architecture by emphasizing the prominence of nostalgic associations. The importance of architectural forms changed from the desire for abstract beauty to the appeal of emotional response. Romanticism produced major revivals in both Greek and Gothic architecture, but, for some time, Gothic architecture had little appeal in America, a country that based its politics on classical democracies and its education on classical history.

The Gothic Revival was a substantial ingredient of the Romantic age in England. It had started in garden designs of the eighteenth century because it was so easily adaptable to the irregularity of a natural setting. Under the strength of its emotional appeal, it became a full-fledged architectural revival in the Romanticism of the early nineteenth century.

The Rural Gothic architecture identified with Rockwood did not become popular in the United States until 1841. Andrew Jackson Downing, borrowing the picturesque landscape architecture developed by Humphry Repton and John Claudius Loudon, wrote A Treatise on Landscape Gardening and revolutionized both American architecture and garden design. The picturesque architecture and naturalistic gardens of Rockwood reflect the evolving romantic naturalism that became a part of mid-century American culture. Rockwood combines the architecture, interior furnishings and

garden design of the period with a unity and quality that is unique in Delaware and rare in the United States. At a time when buildings and gardens of the mid-nineteenth century are fast disappearing, it is to be hoped that Rockwood will be preserved.

CHAPTER I

JOSEPH SHIPLEY

Joseph Shipley, the builder of Rockwood, was born into one of the leading Quaker mill-owning families of Wilmington, Delaware. By a not too unusual set of circumstances in early nineteenth-century America, he started work for a merchant in Philadelphia, but spent almost half his life in Liverpool, England, the main entrepôt of the Anglo-American trade. While in Liverpool, Shipley acquired the fortune as well as the early Victorian taste that enabled him upon his retirement to return to Delaware and build Rockwood.

Joseph Shipley, the fourth son of Joseph and Mary Shipley, was born on December 4, 1795, in the mid-eighteenth-century brick house that stood until recently on French and Sixteenth Streets in Wilmington.¹ He was directly descended from William Shipley, the virtual founder of the town of Wilmington, and his first wife, Mary Ann Tatnall.²

William Shipley, a member of the Society of Friends, was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1693. Early in 1725, he

immigrated to the province of Pennsylvania with his wife and three children--Thomas, Ann, and Elizabeth--and settled in Ridley, Pennsylvania. After the death of his first wife, he married Elizabeth Lewis of Springfield, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, a preacher in the Society of Friends. It was Elizabeth Lewis Shipley who was to be instrumental in moving the family to Wilmington. Legend and late nineteenth-century historians claim that in 1730 she had a dream. As she was riding along a road, she came to a ford which she crossed with some difficulty; she mounted a hill on the opposite side. From the top she saw a view of fields stretching into the distance that ended in a broad peninsula bordering a large river. The land was defined by a tumultuous, rocky creek on the left and a small meandering river on the right. In her dream, a guide suddenly materialized and spoke: "It is the design of Devine Providence that thou shouldst enter in thereto, thou and thy people, and ye shall be enriched even unto the seventh generation. Therefore, leave the place where thou now dwellest, and enter into and take possession of this land, even as the children of Israel took possession of the land of Canaan. . ."³ She told her husband about the dream, but nothing came of it until a year later. While riding south to preach to Quaker meetings on the Delaware peninsula, she had a recurrence of her dream when riding along the old King's Road. After fording

the Brandywine, and climbing the opposite mill, she saw the view of her dream.

Four years later, in 1735, William Shipley came to Willingtown, as Wilmington was then called, on a "visit of inquiry."⁴ On May 20, he purchased a lot of land on the east corner of Market and Second Streets. Various additional purchases soon followed, and in the fall he moved his entire family into a small brick house "about fifty feet west of the southerly side of Shipley Street, a short distance below 4th."⁵ The Shipleys had wealth and ambition, as well as being distinguished and influential members of the Society of Friends; he and his wife were soon followed by many similar families of the Quaker faith. From this period, the town began to grow rapidly.

William's eldest son, Thomas, built the first mill below the bridge across the Brandywine. The potential of such an undertaking was quickly realized and two more mills quickly followed that of the Shipleys.⁶ Thomas' son Joseph, the father of Joseph Shipley of Rockwood, was born in 1752. He married Mary Levis of Springfield, Pennsylvania, and inherited the comfortable mill property of his father along the Brandywine.⁷

Joseph Shipley's early life is largely unrecorded. He was the ninth of the ten surviving children in a close-knit family

circle that included numerous cousins. In 1809 he entered Westtown School, founded in 1799 in Westtown, Pennsylvania, by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.⁸ A number of his cousins, the Leas and the Canbys, also from Quaker mill-owning families, had attended Westtown, but from his immediate family, only Shipley and later his sister Hannah, in 1815,⁹ were sent to Westtown. It is not certain where the other Shipley children went to school,¹⁰ but a formal education was obviously required for the two youngest children. Joseph, who was later considered by the family to be the most intelligent, became his father's favorite child; he was also the most successful and contributed yearly to the family's support. His older brother Samuel, who became a cooper and was heir to the Shipley milling business, was in debt until his father's death.¹¹ Thomas, the second son, died at age thirty-three in France. John, who became a sailor, was supported by Joseph for most of his life.¹²

The choice of Westtown for Shipley may have been fortunate since in the early nineteenth century, Westtown was geared to the offspring of commercially-orientated Quaker families and was considered to be particularly strong in mathematics, a subject that proved of vital importance to his later career. Shipley also had some inclination for mathematics, judging from the meticulously maintained accounts he kept not only of his mercantile business, but also of his daily life. About the same time that he was at

Westtown, Shipley developed--despite the limited literary training at Westtown¹³--a propensity for Washington Irving or his "beloved Irvine" as a not-so-literary friend wrote.¹⁴ His belletristic inclinations were furthered by his activities with a group of friends in the Philadelphia Literary Society.¹⁵ Later, while in England, he became very fond of the early nineteenth-century English poets, and this taste for the Romantic became strongly echoed in Rockwood.

Shipley had left Westtown by 1816 for he wrote his sister Sarah late in December of that year saying that he was still boarding at 49 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, but was hoping to get into better quarters soon.¹⁶ After first working for the firm of Samuel Canby,¹⁷ by 1819 he had joined the establishment of the well-known Philadelphia merchant James Welsh.¹⁸ In May of that year, Shipley went to Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Petersburg, Virginia to buy notes for Welsh's firm on Virginian and North and South Carolinian banks. His trip was only moderately successful owing to a mild recession at this time, but while in Richmond, he wrote Welsh that "a voyage to Liverpool would be very agreeable to me."¹⁹ This voyage proved to be a major turning point in his life.

Given power of attorney by James Welsh,²⁰ Shipley sailed for Liverpool from New York on October 20, 1819.²¹ Originally,

Shipley was going to England for just a short time, but by October of the next year, he knew that he would be there indefinitely.²² In December, for example, he changed his active membership in the Philadelphia Literary Society to an honorary membership.²³ The Anglo-American trade was obviously lucrative because, although Shipley had close ties with the United States that he conscientiously maintained throughout the thirty-two years he lived in Liverpool, he only returned three times before his retirement in 1850: once in 1826,²⁴ once in 1841,²⁵ and the last time in 1847.²⁶ He often wrote home and received many letters in return; his brother Samuel wrote every month, and often twice a month. Shipley also maintained a steady correspondence with friends whom he knew in Philadelphia, although this correspondence began to wane after ten years. He sought out fellow Americans in England - this was facilitated by the fact that his main concern was the Anglo-American trade. George Peabody became a friend and later proved instrumental in solving Shipley's problems during the Panic of 1837.²⁷

Shipley was a Quaker by birth rather than by conviction. His father wrote, "earnestly exhorting [him] to be diligent on . . . attendance at Meetings,"²⁸ but once in England, Shipley abandoned his strict background. One of his first purchases was "a best super Blue cloth Coat with Velvet Collar and Gold Gilt cuffs."²⁹

He also attended a fancy dress ball, the fame of which spread even to Wilmington. His nephew Thomas S. Newlin wrote:

I received the newspaper containing the account of the Fancy dress Ball . . . You must manage these things differently in England. how do you get clear of the Strickt orthodox friends of Liverpool 'particular' meeting. why man, a young quaker on this side would not only be 'read out' for such a misdemeanor but he would be very likely to be handed over to the 'evil one' without benefit of Clergy, for such a Babylonish caper. . .³⁰

Shipley, despite his father, had little interest in religion. Newlin also sent news about the controversy between the Wilmington and Philadelphia meetings: "There is nothing transpiring here of general interest except the affairs of the church in which I am quite aware thee feels but little concern."³¹ If the reputed Quaker aesthetic determined any factor in the construction of Rockwood, it was probably unconscious.

By 1822 Shipley, as head of a firm called Shipley, Welsh and Co.,³² was responsible for all James Welsh's cargoes that reached Liverpool. He gained a reputation as a successful, honest, and enterprising merchant who was particularly knowledgeable about the American trade. In 1825 he was offered the position of a limited or non-participating partner in the firm of William and James Brown and Co.³³ After consultation with Welsh, Shipley became a partner of William Brown, and also conducted the business of Shipley, Welsh and Co. as before.³⁴

Shipley's career proceeded successfully for ten years. By 1836 the transactions of the firm had expanded to such an extent that the inclusive returns for the year reached the total of £ 10,000,000. A large part of the business was concerned with the shipment of American cotton for the Lancashire mills, and the Browns were handling seventy-five per cent or more of the trade.³⁵ As the firm had also advanced more towards that of merchant bankers "by the granting of credits and the buying and selling of foreign exchange,"³⁶ most of the business had devolved upon Shipley.

The year 1837, which proved cataclysmic to the financial and business world of England and particularly the United States also brought about a significant change in Shipley's fortunes. A series of occurrences in rapid succession added to the crisis; among these were President Jackson's veto of the bill to renew the Charter of the Bank of the United States and the suspension of specie payments between March and May.³⁷ On May 14, 1837, Shipley wrote:

I see that very few commission Houses in England can weather this storm . . . For myself it happens unfortunately that my share of the business has been increased the last few years and while my partners will be left with very large fortunes I am in a position to lose nearly all I am worth.³⁸

This amounted to a substantial sum. In the same letter, Shipley noted: "at the end of last year, I was worth upwards of 100,000 dollars (and didn't think it possible that it would all be lost."³⁹)

In the end of May, Shipley went to London to discuss the predicament of William and James Brown & Co. with Denison & Co., the London agents of the Browns' Liverpool bankers, Arthur Heywood and Sons & Co. He took with him a complete statement of the firm's assets and liabilities with the hope that aid would soon come from the Browns' American branches. On May 29, however, the packet Roscoe arrived in Liverpool with the news that only the Bank of England -- at this time refusing to aid the Anglo-American houses -- could save the Brown's firm. On June 1, Shipley submitted a long letter to the Governor and Bank of England asking for help to save the firm.

On June 2, the Bank agreed to meet the Liverpool house's obligations for a week until the next meeting of the Court of Governors. With fresh facts and figures laid before them on June 13 by Shipley, the Bank unanimously agreed to carry the firm through the year, thereby assuming an obligation for about £1,950,000. Although the risk may have seemed high and unprecedented to the Bank, the firm was able to pay off the loan by the end of the year, or within about six months.

The grant of so large a sum , the largest heretofore given to a private firm in commercial history, was a testimony to the integrity of William and James Brown and Co. It also bore considerable importance for the Lancashire cotton trade, as the failure of the Browns' would have inevitably brought ruin to a great number of manufacturers in England by the stoppage of trade. Shipley played a crucial part in the survival of the firm; James Brown wrote to him that "we all feel here your great exertions and perserverence saved the house."⁴⁰ In recognition of this service, Shipley was created a participating partner in all four of the Brown houses; in addition, the name of the English house was changed to Brown, Shipley and Co.⁴¹ It remains so today.

About 1846 Shipley purchased a country house called Wyncote that was located in the village of Allerton, four miles outside Liverpool.⁴² In the same year, he also instructed his nephew, Thomas S. Newlin "to look out for a farm in the neighborhood of Wilmington."⁴³ Shipley may have been intending to maintain two homes, but as early as 1833 he had suffered periodic attacks of gout⁴⁴ that by 1850 forced him to retire, and perhaps because of the English climate, to retire to Delaware. He had purchased a small brick house on Stidham Street in Wilmington for \$1,800 in 1834,⁴⁵ but it was probably far too modest now to indulge his taste for either the style of life which he obviously enjoyed, or his interest in horticulture. His first purchase of land for his

new country house in Brandywine Hundred is deeded March 9, 1850.⁴⁶ Over the next eleven years he made eight further purchases that finally encompassed a little over 200 acres at Rockwood as well as the neighboring farm. Shipley may have chosen Brandywine Hundred as the site for his home because his own father had a farm there and the family had spent almost all their summers in Brandywine. The land must have also appealed to Shipley's romantic sensibilities, for although the immediate grounds around the house were smoothed and turfed with an extensive garden, the rest of the land, particularly near Shellpot Creek and Turkey Run, was covered with boulders. The terrain obviously lent itself to the appellation of Rockwood.

CHAPTER II

DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

Joseph Shipley had seen the land encompassing Rockwood as early as 1847.¹ John Crosby Brown relates that on a walk in the countryside with his Bringham cousins, Shipley passed over the exact site of the mansion house and remarked to Mr. Bringham: "Edward, this is my idea of a situation for a country place. If thee can arrange to buy it I would come here to live."² On March 9, 1850, "Joseph Shipley of Liverpool in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Merchant) and a Citizen of the United States of America purchased the eighty acre farm of Thomas B. Harker for \$4,800.³ In March, 1851, Shipley, still described as resident in Liverpool, bought the "Tract of Land, called Mansion Farm" from Levi Weldin for \$4,340,⁴ and thirteen acres from Peter Phillips for \$750.⁵ On December 8, 1852, he bought a little more than twenty acres from John Beeson for \$1035.94; in this deed he is described as a resident of Brandywine Hundred in the County of New Castle, Delaware.

The exact time of Shipley's return to Delaware is unknown, but it probably dates between June, 1851, and September, 1851, as

the first of Shipley's checks drawn on the Bank of Delaware are dated September, 1851. Additional purchases of land resulted in an estate of 211 acres, and an adjoining farm that cost a total of \$17,750.94. Construction of the house had evidently begun by September 11, 1851, when Shipley paid \$200 to the contractor, Elisha Huxley. A sketch of the site had previously been sent to England, and the design was furnished by the architect, George Williams of Liverpool, England, in June 1851 for Shipley to bring to Delaware.⁶

Shipley's house outside Liverpool can be considered as a prelude to Rockwood. Edward Bringham wrote to Shipley on June 23, 1846: "I was somewhat surprised to hear of thy purchase of _____ thy country residence, whats its name?"⁷ Wyncote, as the house was called, was designed by Arthur and George Williams before January, 1840, when they made a surveyed drawing of the Wyncote site (Figure 2), and was constructed by 1844 when James McGahan painted a picture of the garden facade⁸ (Figure 3). Shipley corresponded at least once a month with his family, and in view of the fact that they did not mention Wyncote until 1846, it seems likely that he did not buy the house until 1846. The site surveyed by the Williamses in 1840 belonged to a W. Reynolds, Esq., M.D., who was probably the original owner.

It has not proved possible to verify the exact architect or architects for Wyncote. They may well have been Arthur and George Williams; however, it is certain that a George Williams alone was the architect of Rockwood. Henry-Russell Hitchcock states that George and Arthur Williams were brothers who practiced in Liverpool in the nineteenth-century.⁹ There was also a George Monier Williams, born in 1808, who probably practiced in the Liverpool area, as he had a country house in Wales.¹⁰ It has proved impossible either to identify adequately the two George Williamses, or to discover if they are indeed the same person. All that can be said at present is that George Monier Williams was a favorite pupil of Decimus Burton¹¹ and that the design of Rockwood is sufficiently accomplished to suggest that a person with professional training was the architect.

Tradition has it that Shipley was so happy with Wyncote that when he returned to Delaware he built a replica.¹² Although the two houses are not identical, there are enough features which are sufficiently similar to suggest that George Williams who was involved with the design of Wyncote was also the George Williams chosen as architect for Rockwood. Unfortunately, when Wyncote was pulled down a few years ago for the Liverpool University Sports Pavilion, no record was kept of its design; but the two surviving drawings and the plan (Figures 2, 3, and 4) illustrate the similarities between the two houses.

Wyncote was built in Allerton, a village that stood four miles outside Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century. It is now completely engulfed by the city. From about 1815, Allerton was the site of a number of villas built by Liverpool merchants and shipowners; some of these men may well have been social as well as business acquaintances of Shipley. Elmes and Waterhouse each designed houses built in Allerton, and later Norman Shaw built two houses there.

Wyncote possessed a mixture of Gothic and Italianate details that emerged as a rendition of Rural Gothic architecture in Rockwood (Figure 5). The two houses have the same basic organization; the main block of each building is a double pile with opposite entrance and garden facades bordered on one side by a conservatory and on the other by a service wing. Architecturally Wyncote is not as fully developed as Rockwood. The combination of Italianate features and Gothic details gives it an unbalanced feeling, at least on the garden facade. The house was built of stone, as was Rockwood, but the stone was cut and finished red sandstone. Rockwood displays the rough texture of dark Brandywine granite; a finished gray granite only appears in the quoins and window and door surrounds. Wyncote had casement windows, Gothic bays, and a stepped belt course on part of the facade. The garden facade also had a gable framed by heavy wooden bargeboards over one of the bays. These details form an uneasy partnership with the

overhanging Italianate eaves, hipped roof, nondescript chimneys and especially the asymmetry which somehow seems much more Italianate than Gothic. There are precedents for the Rockwood design in much of the organization of the Wyncote garden facade, but Rockwood is undoubtedly a more refined statement of picturesque Gothic architecture. Similarly, the general plan of the garden at Wyncote is expanded and more fully developed at Rockwood (Figures 2 and 6).

The similarities between Wyncote and Rockwood were not incidental. Although Shipley lived at Wyncote for five years and maintained a strong affection for the house, he had looked forward to retiring to Delaware as early as 1846. On April 26 of that year, William Brown wrote Shipley that "Newlin told me some days ago he heard you had given instruction to look out for a farm in the neighborhood of Wilmington."¹³ The gout from which Shipley had suffered since 1833¹⁴ finally forced his retirement in 1850 at the age of fifty-five; construction began at Rockwood in 1851. The completeness of the design incorporates Shipley's experience of living in a country house and reflects the culmination of five years of thought.

Shipley's cancelled checks drawn on the Bank of Delaware from 1851 to 1859, show most, if not all, of the workmen and firms which were involved with the building. (Appendix A). George

Williams' plans (Figure 5, 7, 8 and 10) are dated June 21, 1851, and Elisha Huxley received payment of \$200 on September 11, 1851 -- presumably the first payment for the construction of Rockwood. Huxley was evidently the general contractor for the main construction, for Shipley paid him \$19,870.11 of the total cost of \$36,104.27 between September, 1851, and December, 1854. The 1853 Wilmington Directory lists his name, his residence at 206 Market Street, and his carpenter shop on Walnut between Eighth and Ninth Streets. Unlike many of the other men and firms who were involved with the construction of Rockwood, Huxley, who played the major role, did not place an advertisement in any of the mid-century Wilmington directories. He must have had a fairly extensive business, however, as he handled a substantial amount of money for Shipley. He was also a director of the Farmers' Bank, Wilmington.¹⁵

An analysis of the various people or firms involved in the actual construction or supplying materials for the construction of Rockwood shows two points of interest. First, a number of firms were employed to supply the same materials. In the case of building lumber, for example, in September 1851, Thomas Walter was paid \$462; in January 1852, Jesse Lane and Company was paid \$362.27 and Joshua Simmons and Company was paid \$488.38; in January and April 1854, Jesse Lane and Company was paid \$62.35 and \$36.28 respectively. Also in April 1854, Nelson Cleland was paid \$415. He is listed as a lumber and marble merchant in the 1853 Wilmington

Directory,¹⁶ and although his payment could be for marble, Smith and Callahan, who were solely stone and marble merchants, were paid a total of \$2,383.26 from 1854 to 1856. It seems more likely that they were the source of the marble. When William Lewis became general contractor for the addition of 1856, Shipley paid a total of \$1009.57 for lumber from the firm of Craig and Tatnail.

The exact reason behind the use of different firms remains unclear. It might show a lack of the requisite materials within the stock of any one firm, and thus a necessity to obtain those materials from a number of different sources. It might also show an attempt, particularly on the part of Elisha Huxley, to get the lowest possible price, or perhaps just the quality that he wanted. The number of different firms supplying materials for the construction of Rockwood decreased under the direction of William Lewis, perhaps because he had a much smaller job to complete.

The second point of interest concerning the Wilmington firms is that many of the materials were available locally. Bricks were ordered from the local manufacturies of David C. Wilson, John S. Hilles, and Archibald Given. John A. Duncan and Thomas Garrett supplied the nails, bolts, hinges and other hardware. The molded plaster cornices were probably furnished by Everard B. McClees, who advertised in the 1853 Wilmington Directory that he had "ornaments

in the various styles and orders for interior Decoration in plaster Cornices, Center Flowers, Rosettes, Mouldings, etc., Executed in the best Manner."¹⁸ Shipley paid him \$600 in January 1853 and \$83.86 in July 1854. In considering the amount and quality of the cornices within the mansion house with the size of McClees's bill, it seems as if the plastering itself and the installation of the cornices were done by Huxley and his workmen.

The major part of the construction of the mansion house was obviously the stone work of the exterior and the brick work of the interior walls and chimneys. It is unknown if the stone for the exterior walls of all the buildings at Rockwood was purchased from a quarry or found on the estate itself. Stone was certainly readily available at Rockwood, as the name implies, but no quarries can be seen today, although they may be covered by the gardens. In the first stage of construction, from 1851 to 1855, Elisha Huxley seems to have managed a large amount of the purchasing, particularly for the rough stone of the exterior, since no one else appears in Shipley's checks who could have supplied it. The cut-stone used for quoins, window and door surrounds, and smaller details was probably supplied by Thomas Smith. On one of Shipley's checks appear the words "Thomas Smith (stonecutter)," and he paid Smith \$105.00 in 1852 and \$622.18 in 1855. The 1850 Delaware Census of Industry listed Thomas Smith as a machinist with a quarrying and stonecutting business employing ten men and supplying cut curb and building stone worth \$3,000

yearly.¹⁹ An undated bill to Samuel Francis du Pont from Thomas Smith records that "138 feet fine cut Granite" cost sixty cents a foot.²⁰ At this price, the \$767.18 paid by Shipley would have included all the cut granite used in the construction of Rockwood. The cut stone is of the simplest nature and bears no carving. The mullions of the windows are wooden, in contrast to the stone mullions of Wyncote. The finer ornamental details on the outside are also either of wood, as the barge boards, finials, and pendants, or cast iron, as the balustrades.

The cast iron was ordered from England. This is rather surprising since firms such as Robert Wood and Company existed as close as Philadelphia and could have supplied all the cast iron needed at Rockwood. Shipley, however, ordered cast iron from William Bennett and plate glass from G. S. Worthy, both of Liverpool, England.²¹

The second phase of construction, starting in 1856, is more fully documented in the checks. While Huxley seems to have kept the accounts when he was managing the construction, Shipley himself paid the individual bills when William Lewis was in charge. Huxley was paid a total of \$19,870.11 for work through August 1856, while William Lewis was paid a total of \$1,453.15 between 1856 and April 1857. Because little is known of Huxley, it is impossible to determine whether he was retiring from the

business or disagreed with Shipley about the construction. Shipley may also have been in better health by the mid-1850's and felt capable of overseeing the final construction of his house. At any rate, Shipley moved into Rockwood at this time, for in 1855 he paid \$400 to Thomas McDowell, a local mover. In 1856, Shipley started paying the firm of Smith and Callahan large sums which totalled \$2,382.26 by the end of the year. He had paid them much smaller amounts in 1854 and 1855. Also in 1856, Shipley paid \$439.10 to John G. Jackson who owned a lime business in Mill Creek Hundred.²² Before 1856 Huxley seems to have been responsible for such purchases.

The general construction as overseen by Huxley was traditional rather than innovative, but on the whole, there was a high quality of workmanship throughout the house. The massive exterior walls of stone carry the main support with the major interior walls of solid brick that extend up to the attic. The rough stone of the exterior is fitted together with extreme precision. The roof is supported by a wooden rafter system that was fairly common in the nineteenth-century; Hatfield's American House-Carpenter illustrates a system that is almost identical to the roof trusses of Rockwood.²³ The original roof was tinned and double-peaked. At some later date the interior valley was roofed over.

The quality of the interior woodwork is very fine. The first-floor doors are solidly built of oak with inset panels duplicated in form by all the interior first-floor shutters. The second-floor doors are of the same design, but the second-floor shutters all have louvers. All the rooms possess large baseboards that measure twelve inches in height; while the baseboards on the first floor have inset panels, those on the second floor are plain. Perhaps the finest interior woodwork is that around the archway that separates the stair hall from the ante-room between the two front rooms. The woodwork is mitred to fit the numerous corners and indentations in the design. The original floors were rough pine of random widths which Shipley covered with either oil-cloth or carpeting. The house was originally heated by coal-burning fireplaces, whereas the conservatory had its own separate furnace.

CHAPTER III

EXTERIOR ARCHITECTURE: RURAL GOTHIC

Rockwood is carefully integrated to express the psychology of an age that brought a profound change to the emotional and cultural traditions of the United States. One is immersed in the estate with the first view of the gate and porter's lodge, and as one progresses towards the house and finally into it, the different plants, details, views, and buildings all fall marvelously into place to create a picture that is as carefully worked out as a jig-saw puzzle. The plan of the estate as well as the architecture, was inspired by, or was coeval with, the same outlook as Thomas Webster's Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy, Loudon's The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, and Downing's A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape and Rural Cottages. In drawing up the plans of Rockwood, George Williams probably relied on Loudon's recommendation that the Rural Gothic style was well suited to the United States (Figures 7-10). We shall probably never know exactly which book or books Shipley referred to in laying out his estate, although he owned editions of Loudon, Downing, Paxton's Flower Garden, and Edward Kemp's How to Lay Out a Garden.

In 1860 Shipley purchased a second copy of Downing's Treatise for the reason that the new edition listed a number of American estates "partaking more or less of similar disposition and style of grounds and a similar fashion of planting"² as those designed by Downing. The list included Rockwood: "near Wilmington, Delaware, . . . the fine place of Mr. Shipley."³ This is the only reference to Delaware, and Shipley is justified in feeling the pride that presumably prompted him to purchase the book.

It is remarkable how closely Rockwood fits the description of the ideal villa found in contemporary books. The mansion house is designed in the Rural Gothic style. The wooden details--carved bargeboards, pendants, finials, doors, windows, and cornices-- are emphasized by being painted a darker color than the stone of the walls. The clustered, red-brick chimney tops are additional decorative elements to the gabled roof, and the entire structure is organized to give a picturesque interplay of light and shade. The style has a certain Victorian license about it, and it is as untouched by the contemporary work of Augustus Welby Pugin as it is removed from the Middle Ages. Downing illustrates a similar house,⁴ but there is no exact prototype.

Originally, visitors arrived at Rockwood by proceeding north from Wilmington on Shipley Road. Although the fields now have grown over with trees, the approach along Shipley Road never did

afford a glimpse of the house. The entrance is off a slight jog in the road so that one can go directly from Shipley Road straight through the entrance gates.

Webster, in defining the rural villa, states that "the entrance to the grounds from the public road is usually marked by a large gate and lodge for the porter, which is sometimes an ornamented building. Perhaps it is good taste not to aim at ornamenting it much."⁵ Rockwood presents this entrance to the street. The large square gate posts are very simple in character and relate to cemetery monuments of the period. They were probably ordered from Smith and Callahan of Wilmington, who produced a number of funerary monuments at this time. The porter's lodge was built at the same time as the mansion house and represents, in reduced scale, the architectural expression of the entire estate. The rough stone walls with cut-granite quoins, window and door surrounds, and water table are identical to those of the mansion house. While the large gable on the entrance front of the lodge is built of stone, like that on the mansion house, the wooden east gable has the same decorative structure as the main gable on the garden facade of the mansion house. There are no finials or pendants, and the bargeboards are uncarved and simpler in character. By the same token, the entrance is identified by a wooden porch with a gable which lacks the carved Gothic details of the main house entrance (Figure 11). The only details of the

lodge are wooden columns, derived from Gothic tracery, which form the sides of the entrance porch. The pair of equilateral arched windows in the gable above the main door is the only feature with no precedent in the mansion house. The large windows, like those on the mansion house, are all triple-paned casements made of wood.

Loudon observes that "the Approach Road, next to the house and offices, is one of the most important features of a place, not only on account of its uses, but because it is that by which an impression, favourable or unfavourable, is first made on a stranger."⁶ The approach road at Rockwood is very carefully arranged, and seems to have taken into account the directions suggested by Loudon, who goes on to note that "the expression of grandeur may be given by the increased size of the curves, and the general simplicity of the whole line."⁷ This is the pattern of the road at Rockwood as it proceeds straight past the porter's lodge, then curves to the left in a gentle sweep. After it continues straight again, one obtains the first glimpse of the mansion and can see the northeast corner and portions of the north and east facades (Figure 12). Again, this is a contrived entrance in perfect harmony with mid-nineteenth-century theory. Webster points out that:

at present it is thought to be more agreeable and picturesque to avoid such formality [as a straight approach road] and to have the first view of the house on an angle so as to see two of its sides; the road being made winding, that it may present greater variety than when perfectly straight.⁸

The road at Rockwood then curves to the right, passes the north or entrance front of the house at right angles, and continues curving to the right to lead down a small slope to the stable and other outbuildings. The introductory view of the house is accentuated architecturally by including chevron molding on the horizontal cornices of the north and east facades. The cornices on the other sides omit this detail.

The entrance front of the house is symmetrical in its general outline but not in its detail (Figure 13). The two large, projecting, gabled bays on the ends frame the two-bayed center section. The gabled bay on the left has an end chimney with only a blind, round-arched window in the chimney. The other gabled bay has a large triple casement window on the second floor, and a small round-arched window in the gable. Although asymmetrical, the facade has been carefully balanced and somewhat contrived: the triple casement window was originally divided between two minor rooms in the interior. The center section has a projecting entrance porch in the right bay and a

double casement window in the left. The second floor has two similar casement windows.

The ornamental decoration of the north facade of the house is concentrated about the entrance porch (Figure 14). The front of the porch is entirely cut-granite framing double Gothic doors. The overhanging gable is composed of wood supported by heavy, scrolled Gothic brackets and narrow Gothic columns, and is framed by bargeboards bordered with chevron molding similar to that on the cornice of the facade. A finial rises from the apex.

The projecting gables that flank the entrance front have bargeboards but these are carved with a flat, floral vine motif (Figure 15). Again, there are pendants and a crowning finial. The chimneys are intentionally decorative. They are of a type described by Loudon as "a plain Gothic chimney".⁹ This type with Elizabethan shafts was very popular in England by the 1830's. Loudon prescribes that such chimneys "must be tall and not inelegant . . . have plinth and base moldings," and should not have any panels below the shafts. All these characteristics, except for the base moldings, are found at Rockwood. Although the decoration is found within the form of the chimneys themselves, the vertical shafts, in groups of three or four, help to interrupt the outline of the roof and give the house a large measure of its

Gothic character. This is particularly evident in pictures of the house taken in 1861 before the trees had matured (Figures 19 and 20).

The east front of the house is purely functional. The room in the east gable, originally designed as a breakfast room, has three full-length glass doors that open out into the garden. Beside the doors and leading off from the drawing room projects the conservatory. It is a long rectangle facing south with a five-sided bay on the east and center pavilions which extend several feet from the center. On the south side, the pavilion contains the only exterior door which opens onto stone steps and a path leading into the garden. The conservatory is supported by cast-iron columns on pedestals of tall, slender Gothic proportions. The remainder of the conservatory is largely built of wood with iron supports encased within the wooden piers that frame the windows. A small balustrade surmounts the exterior wall; it is composed of square newels framing pierced cast-iron plaques. The cast-iron finials atop the newels divide the balustrade into three groups. The two bays on either side of the center projection have tall finials on either end and a short one in between. The center projection has a tall finial mounted on a high base and balls on a support and base on either end. The finials of the projection are further emphasized by an iron rail that connects them; there are pierced iron scrolls between the middle post and the rail. The balls have spear-heads projecting

from three sides and the top. In general, the nine different types of finials defy stylistic categorization; the finials are nevertheless important ingredients in the picturesque architecture of the house.

The conservatory, because it is joined to the main block, has a strong architectural character. In fact, it is probably more Gothic than the house itself, particularly in the interior variation of a hammer beam roof. Kemp, in How to Plant a Garden, warns against attaching an iron conservatory--then only newly developed--to a house. Williams showed his agreement with Kemp when he designed the conservatory chiefly of wood, which when painted dark green, blended well with the architecture of the house.

The garden front is really the main facade of the house (Figure 5). Although it is strictly symmetrical with a central projecting and gabled pavilion, it illustrates the picturesque aversion to a blank wall. Windows with large panes, a veranda, finials, gables, and a balustrade break up the form of the facade and cast shadows that de-emphasize the mass of the building itself. The effect is unusual in that the details are symmetrically arranged in the manner of classical architecture, yet their form and color deny its regularity and unity. The single-story veranda spanning the entire front is a common American feature included in Downing's architectural tenets.¹¹ The seven bays are organized

into a 3:1:3 grouping. The side groups of three bays are further divided so that the central bay has three full-length glass doors on the ground floor flanked by two similar doors. This is repeated in a diminished fashion on the second floor where a double casement window lies between single casement windows. Further emphasis is added to this grouping by the small gable which tops the middle bay and echoes the shape of the large gable of the central pavilion.

The pavilion is the main axis of the garden facade. The extension is outlined by cut-stone quoins and crowned by an ornate wooden gable. The gable is designed with a medial supporting post, two smaller uprights, and two struts attaching the base of the central upright to the top of the two smaller ones. The base of the gable has brackets extending down either side of the doorway that opens onto the roof of the veranda. The pendants on either end are separated from the brackets by arches. Further emphasis is placed on the pavilion by cast-iron plaques which appear in the balustrade before it. The plaques appear as well at the ends of the balustrade; wooden newels and a simple iron rail connect the solid sections. This gives the two south bedrooms an uninterrupted view of the gardens. Identical to this balustrade is that of the conservatory; in this manner the conservatory is integrated into the overall design.

The west wing, or servants' quarters, includes part of the original house built from 1851 to 1855 as well as the addition designed by Williams in 1856. The construction is consistently the same rough dark granite accentuated by the lighter cut-granite quoins and window surrounds. The original extension, partially hidden by the slope of the land, presented a gabled roof line (Figure 9). In 1856 the lean-to was raised one story, and a small square tower was added. The tower has a second-story window placed in a bay that extends above the flat roof and terminates in a Jacobean arched gable (Figure 16). Although the stonework and color of the wing match the main body of the house, the 1856 addition offsets the tentative balance created between the smaller wing and the conservatory. It also changed the peaked-roof Rural Gothic character of the house and added some of the organic sense of growth that is often found in true Gothic buildings. Williams may have intentionally attempted to give such an impression; with the balance of the original design disrupted, he added an extension in a subdued Jacobean style -- a later chronological development than the Gothic style that was an inspiration for the main part of the house.

Originally the servants' wing presented an impressive bulk with its irregular outline and Gothic chimneys that matched those of the main block. Now that the trees have grown, it can barely

be seen from any distance. The house, as planned, seems to nestle its west end into a bank of different types of trees.

The stables and other outbuildings lie to the northwest, across the approach road from the servants' wing. George Williams provided a plan for a stable (Figure 17), but Shipley evidently decided that it was not going to be large enough. Instead, he used a new design and built a stable and separate carriage-house facing onto a small courtyard. Although the stone used in the construction is the same as that of the mansion house, the cornice is composed of elongated Italianate brackets that are somewhat out of character with the Rural Gothic style, but wholly within the picturesque ideology which considered variety indispensable. Williams had designed a nondescript building without a cornice, but Shipley wanted a building more in keeping with the general concept of the estate. The gardener's cottage lies further to the north beyond the kitchen garden and orchard. (Figure 18). It is also built of Brandywine granite and has a hipped roof, an entrance porch, and casement windows surmounted by wooden, Elizabethan drip molding.¹²

Shipley had his new house photographed in 1861 (Figures 19 and 20).¹³ He sent copies to George Williams, who wrote back:

The photographs of your house have arrived safely. . . So far as these representations enable me to judge, the Builder has I think,

carried out the work in a very satisfactory manner, I am much pleased with his treatment of the garden front in particular, he has evidently entered into the spirit of the Style and understood the design. The garden itself appears to be laid out with great taste.¹⁴

Although Rockwood is the first example of the Rural Gothic style in Delaware, this high praise from the architect attests to Huxley's ability as a builder.

CHAPTER IV

INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE: ROMANTIC MIXTURE

The interior decoration of Rockwood presents as complete an illustration of mid-century aestheticism as does the exterior. Each room is given definable masculine or feminine characteristics, and is decorated with a distinct combination of stylistic details that define the function of the room by evoking a specific emotion. The interior parallels the exterior in its picturesque interplay of the Gothic and classical traditions in architecture. The fusion of the two traditions can be seen in the floor plans drawn by George Williams (Figures 7 and 8). There were a few minor changes carried out during the construction of the building, and some done at a later date, but the design is basically the same as that planned by Williams.

The plan is organized with a central axis starting at the entrance door, crossing the stair hall, bisecting the small ante-room between the two front rooms, and continuing out the door into the garden. As shown in the plan, the lateral axis is broken by the asymmetrical arrangement of rooms. In fact, except for the placement of the drawing room, dining room, and intervening anteroom,

which reflects the symmetrical garden facade, the room arrangement follows the irregular pattern of the exterior. Both Downing and Loudon recommend an asymmetrical design for houses situated in an irregular rural setting. Such a design also allowed a location of rooms determined solely by their function and the best available view.

At Rockwood the entrance doors lead into a small porch where one is immediately struck by the integration of the house and the garden. In fact, concern with the garden seems to dictate much of the organization of the house. The porch is separated from the stair hall by a pair of oak doors with large, single panes of glass; the result is that one enters the house visually before actually stepping inside. Once inside, however, one's attention is deliberately drawn towards the garden. Directly on the opposite side of the stair hall, on axis with the entrance, is a large ornately detailed arch, which frames a recessed doorway with a semi-circular fanlight over a pair of oak doors also with large, single panes of glass (Figure 21). The eye is led through the archway, and, hardly seeing the contents of the anteroom, passes through the French doors into the garden on the other side of the house. The interior glass doors permit the exterior doors to remain open throughout the year, so one may continually see the garden through both doorways.

The porch serves another function: it brings the Gothic details of the exterior into the house before they are dissipated in the moods of the various rooms. The exterior entrance doors have long Gothic panels; indeed, they are the only Gothic doors on the entire estate. The porch has a black and white marble floor, plain plaster walls, and a plaster groin vault resting on a Gothic leaf cornice. Gothic detail does not reappear on the interior except in conjunction with other stylistic motifs in six of the ten main rooms.

The interior doors are derived from the Greek Revival style with their broad flat surfaces and recessed panels. The doorway between the porch and stair hall, with its overblown classical architrave and paneled sides of Greek Revival form, is the model for all the doorways in the house. Even the interior shutters and cupboard doors are composed of the same Grecian planes and recessed panels.

The stair hall displays much of the mixture found in the architectural detail throughout Rockwood: the archway is composed of a combination of Jacobean, Georgian, and Greek Revival motifs; the staircase is Jacobean and classical; the cornice is Roman Revival. In size and proportion the stair hall is the most impressive room in the house. The ceiling rises two full stories and has a heavy Corinthian proportionate to its height. The room

is girded on two sides by the oak staircase and on the other two by the second floor balcony (Figure 22). The staircase epitomizes the duality of the interior decoration in that the first rise and landing have large square newel posts and a heavy Jacobean balustrade. Simple classical balusters start at the second level and continue up the stairs and around the gallery without newel posts. All the first-floor rooms have varnished oak doors, the same finish as the staircase. Webster suggests that "if a mansion be large, a spacious entrance hall . . . has a good effect."¹ This is certainly true at Rockwood.

According to Downing, "the hall, and all entries, staircases and passages should be of a cool and sober colour - grey, stone colour or drab,"² in order to enhance the effect of the richer and livelier colors of the principal rooms by the contrast. The hall at Rockwood was originally painted light brown with white trim. It was also sparsely furnished according to the inventory taken at Shipley's death in 1867 (Appendix B). Unfortunately, none of the original contents of the room has survived at Rockwood.

To the left of the stair hall is the "breakfast room" of Williams' plan. Shipley used the room as a library, probably because it was inconvenient to bring food the length of the house. However, in laying out the room, Williams planned its position with

regard to the usual situation of a breakfast room, rather than of a library. As Webster says:

except in large houses, there is seldom a separate breakfast room, the dining-room being generally used for this purpose. But if there be space, a breakfast room, looking to the east, will be found agreeable; it should, if possible, communicate by glass doors with the garden, conservatory or lawn.³

This aptly fits the description of the room at Rockwood. It faces east to catch the early morning light and has its own glass doors giving access to, and view of, an expanse of lawn. As ornamentation this room has only a simple cove cornice bordered by an egg-and-dart and a small, gilded, half-round molding around the bottom, and a half-round molding on the top. The walls have always been papered, and although the present wallpaper depicting Gothic ruins is old, it is not original.⁴ The fireplace has a white marble hearthstone, while the mantle is wood with plaster decoration, painted to resemble marble. The round arched opening has an iron grate with a mixture of Gothic and classical details. In the center of the ceiling there is a small rosette with radiating acanthus leaves.

The original furniture that remains here is quite plain in style and decoration, as befitted a library. (See Appendix B). The large oak bookcase described in the inventory may be the one that is now dismantled and in the barn. The mahogany bookcase is

probably that still in Rockwood (Figure 23). It is plain mahogany veneer in the same later Regency style as some of the furniture in the bedrooms, and was brought over from Wyncote. The original paintings included a map of Liverpool, a print of George Washington, and the watercolor of Wyncote painted in 1844 by James McGahan (Figure 3). The room differed from the hall not only in the utilization of wallpaper instead of paint, but also in the substitution of oil cloth for a carpet.

The drawing room lies to the south of the breakfast room and forms, with the dining room, the symmetrical pair of major rooms on the garden front. Webster notes that the drawing room

is usually . . . fitted up with greater elegance than any other in the building. The windows are generally made to come down to the floor, with French sashes, and the walls are ornamented in a tasteful manner with painting or rich ornamental papering. The style of the whole should be lively and cheerful . . . Few drawing rooms are without some ornaments of sculpture or painting.⁵

Downing paraphrases this idea, adding that "the colors of the wall should be light so that their brilliancy is not lost in the evening."⁶ The drawing room at Rockwood seems to have been taken directly from these descriptions. The walls have always been papered, although the pattern of the original paper is unknown. The cornice and center rosette are carried out in a mid-nineteenth-century Baroque revival decoration.

Although Downing recommends that the drawing rooms of town houses be painted "white, relieved by gold," and those in country houses use more color and less gold,⁷ the color scheme of the drawing room at Rockwood was conceived in white and gold. Downing also suggests that

a very fine effect is always produced . . .
by placing a large mirror over its chimney-piece,
with its frame designed so that the former and
the latter form one composition.⁸

Shipley went one better than Downing by placing two large identical gold and white mirrors in his drawing room: one over the gold and white mantle piece, forming, as Downing suggested, "one composition,"⁹ and the other one over a marble-top pier table on the opposite wall (Figure 24 and 25). The mirrors and mantle continue the same decorative pattern and color scheme found in the cornice. The rosette in the center of the ceiling, also decorated in gold and white, picks up the same Baroque feeling of the room. It consists of an eight-sided star surrounded by four cartouches composed of acanthus leaves with trailing extensions of roses that point towards the two mirrors at either end of the room. The original furniture completes the Baroque feeling of the architectural decoration in its curvilinear outlines and Baroque details of the Louis XIV and Revival style, as it was introduced by Phillip and Benjamin Dean Wyatt in 1827.¹⁰

The new style was popularized by Loudon in his Encyclopedia, and much of the original furniture of Rockwood has prototypes there. The large mahogany pier table (Figure 26), probably made in Philadelphia,¹¹ is one of the most impressive pieces of furniture in the house and is closely related to one illustrated in Loudon.¹² The inlaid table (Figure 27) and bookcase (seen to the left of the fireplace, Figure 24) are both extravagant English nineteenth-century copies of French furniture of the Louis XV period, a style which quickly followed the Louis XIV revival. Their curving lines and delicate proportions would place them within the feminine aura. During the 1830's the furnishings of rooms associated with women, such as drawing rooms and boudoirs, were markedly curvilinear. The carpet added emphasis to the room, as did the curtains, the most valuable items in the room after the pair of large mirrors. Curtain design was very important in early Victorian interiors and many of the furniture books contained numerous suggestions for arranging the curtains with elaborate folds, tassels, and cornices. Finally, as recommended by Downing, candelabra were placed on the mantle and statues on the pier table.

Williams' plan shows a conservatory opening off the east side of the drawing room. It is accessible through a pair of double glass doors. By definition, this room is actually a greenhouse, as the plants are not grown in beds but are placed in pots

on a solid sandstone floor. When attached to a house, however, a greenhouse became a "conservatory." Downing states that

nothing can be more gratifying than a vista in winter through a glass door down the walk of a conservatory, bordered and overhung with the fine forms of tropical vegetation, golden oranges glowing through the dark green foliage, and gay corollas lighting up the branches of Camellias, and other favorites.¹³

Though he preferred a conservatory to a greenhouse Downing was obliged to admit that a greenhouse has the double advantage of accommodating more plants and of facilitating their rearrangement or renewal at any time. A conservatory of this type was more adaptable at Rockwood, for there were two other greenhouses in the kitchen garden that would have provided an almost endless variety of plants that could be brought into the drawing-room conservatory when they were in bloom.

The conservatory has the shape of a long rectangle with one end attached to the house and the other a five-sided bay that contains a small pool. The three walls and roof are entirely glazed and supported by eight interior cast-iron columns bearing the wooden framing. The piers are cast-iron but encased in wood to support the wooden sash windows used on the sides. The exterior also has cast-iron columns that have no function except to match those of the interior.

The original heating plant of the conservatory included hot water pipes under the sandstone floor, with fifteen cast-iron grates to conduct the heat into the room. The furnace is self-contained and is placed in the cellar under the drawing room. It is accessible by either the main cellar stairs located in the service wing, or by the stairs in the arched enclosure which separates the drawing room from the greenhouse. The use of Gothic details and proportions that unite the conservatory so successfully with the architecture of the house, is also well adapted to the requirement of light supporting members that afford the maximum exposure of sunlight to the plants within. The conservatory is one of the most outstanding decorative features of Rockwood. It repeated the general form of the conservatory at Wyncote and was obviously an important part of Shipley's conception of his country house.

The anteroom lying between the drawing room and the dining room on the garden front of the mansion has more of a visual function than a physical one. It forms the major part of the cross-axis of the plan and affords passage between the entrance and the garden. Though it is surprisingly small it nevertheless has a fireplace with a Tudor arch of white marble and a rather elaborate Gothic leaf-cornice. Shipley furnished the room with a settee (Figure 28) - very similar to one in Loudon¹⁴ - and two matching chairs, as well as six pictures, a stuffed owl, and two statues of Bacchus and Baccante.

In contrast to the drawing room, the dining room is Gothic in character. The white marble fireplace is composed of short Gothic side panels and an opening in the form of a Tudor arch with Gothic leaf carving in the spandrels (Figure 29). The cornice consists of a series of large quarter and half-round beads as well as a cyma reversa and cyma recta of leaf patterns. The central rosette is Gothic, with eight projections ending in trefoils.

The original color scheme of the dining room was a noteworthy example of early Victorian taste. Downing says: "the dining-room should be rich and warm in its colouring, and more of contrast and stronger colours may be introduced here than in the drawing-room."¹⁵ The dining room at Rockwood originally had walls painted a deep, flat red. Combined with the white woodwork, mahogany furniture, and heavy gilt frames of the pictures, the room must have been very rich and warm.

Downing goes on to say that "the furniture [of the dining room] should be substantial, without being clumsy, but much simpler in decoration than that of the drawing-room."¹⁶ A comparison of the drawing-room pier table (Figure 26) and the sideboard (Figure 30) illustrates this difference. Much of the original dining room furniture has survived. It is mahogany, massive in form, and skillfully built. Because a dining room was considered

a masculine enclave, it was appropriate for Shipley to have heavy and linear furniture there. The masculine character of the dining room furnishings is in marked contrast to the curves of the drawing-room furniture. The chairs (Figure 31) and the table (Figure 32) are simple in form; while the chairs maintain the standard early Victorian style developed from Regency furniture, the table ventures towards the Gothic and is more in keeping with Williams' concept of the room. More definitely Gothic is the flap-case used to hold the extensions of the dining table. It was originally placed in the dining room and the flat top allowed its alternative use as a side table.¹⁷

The dining room is also organized for function. Webster suggests that

the dining room should be placed so that the way to it from the kitchen is easy, and yet so that it is not in the least annoyed by noise or odour from the latter. If possible, there should be an adjoining room for servants, and to collect dishes and dining apparatus in, that time may not be lost in bringing them in.¹⁸

The plan (Figure 7) points out the harmony between Webster's ideas and the design of Rockwood. The dining room is placed next to the kitchen, but the rooms are connected by a half-flight of stairs and a hallway. The stair hall and the servants' wing include a "shelf for serving dinner."¹⁹ The sideboard is located in the recession of the wall immediately to the right of the serving-hall entry.

This conforms to Webster's dictum that "the situation of the side-board . . . be judiciously fixed."²⁰

The bedrooms at Rockwood correspond largely to the shape and position of the first floor rooms (Figure 8). All the rooms have fireplaces of white marble that are generally plainer in character than those on the first floor. The cornices are also simpler. Although the walls of the bedrooms were originally papered, the designs are not known.

The furniture of the bedrooms was unpretentious if substantial. The three main bedrooms contained mahogany furniture of high quality, though somewhat retardataire in form (Figures 35 and 37). It is, however, very much in the style of furniture shown by Loudon; indeed, the gentleman's wardrobe (Figure 34) and a matching wardrobe have direct counterparts in Loudon.²¹ The Empire sofa and butler's table (Figures 33 and 37) are the most elaborate pieces of furniture in these rooms. The other bedrooms had typical "cottage furniture." Shipley's choice of furniture is concurrent with the style of the house and the gardens, but the relative lack of decoration is probably more a result of the prevailing taste than a reflection of Shipley's Quaker background. Both Downing and Loudon recommend simple, unornamented bedroom furnishings.²²

The most unusual features of the second floor are the bathroom and W.C. These were ~~probably~~ of absolute necessity to an invalid such as Joseph Shipley, who, suffering from gout, was confined to the house for weeks on end. The plumbing fixtures are evidently replacements since they are identical to those in the downstairs toilet-originally the butler's bedroom - and the sink covers part of the area that once included a fireplace. The original fixtures were probably supplied by Allen Gawthrop.²³

The interiors of Rockwood are almost textbook renditions of early Victorian preferences. The remaining pieces of furniture and Shipley's inventory offer a fairly complete illustration of the taste that largely brought an end to the classical tradition rooted in the Italian Renaissance; they show in material terms the Romantic revolution that was taking place in America during the 1830's and 1840's.

CHAPTER V

THE GARDENS: A PICTURESQUE SETTING

The gardens and the site of the entire Rockwood estate were as carefully conceived as the architecture of the mansion house (Figure 6). Bounded to a large extent by Turkey Run and Shellpot Creek, the land develops in increasing degrees of cultivation, culminating in the area immediately around the house, particularly on the garden facade (Figure 38). The planting is carefully designed according to the standards of landscape architecture prescribed by Loudon, Kemp, and Downing, as a complement and in many ways, a partner to the architecture of the mansion house. The plan is derived from the gardenesque school of landscape gardening that was reaching its zenith of popularity in the 1840's and 1850's.

The gardenesque style developed from the eighteenth-century theories of the Sublime, Beautiful, and Picturesque that were evolved by Edmund Burke, Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price. By the 1830's the philosophy of the Beautiful¹ in landscape gardening was exemplified by gradual and curving outlines produced by rounded surfaces and a rich and luxuriant growth of grass, trees and shrubs.¹

Trees with rounded tops - oaks, elms, beech -- would thus necessarily dominate the Beautiful landscape and they were planted singly or in groups to allow a rich and free growth. All the walks and roads were laid out in graceful, flowing curves without any sharp angles or abrupt turns. The Beautiful garden was maintained with scrupulous care - smoothly mown lawns, edged walks, and vigorous, well-kept plants and shrubs.

At the same time, the philosophy of the Picturesque had been somewhat subdued from the precepts of Alison and Payne Knight, but it still had clearly definable features. The outlines of a Picturesque garden were to emphasize a definite irregularity with rough, broken surfaces. Instead of rounded tops; pines, larches, cedars, and other trees with irregular and angular growth were the mainstays of the Picturesque. Walks often had abrupt turns and endings, and while carefully maintained near the house, they degenerated into footpaths the farther they wandered from the house. The lawn was mown but not as frequently as a Beautiful lawn, and often merged with a meadow near the extremities of the garden.

The gardenesque was a style which evolved directly from Humphry Repton and was developed by John Claudius Loudon. It borrowed from both the Picturesque and Beautiful while adding garden ornaments and flower beds to its repertory. The gardenesque

focused attention on the individual plant; foreign species were introduced and developed as a major element of the garden. The overriding philosophy behind gardenesque landscape architecture was the belief in reproducing a natural landscape, albeit more beautiful than nature's, with a combination of Beautiful and Picturesque themes. Loudon seems to have fulfilled the middle-class Victorian penchant for neatness by reducing the extremes of the Picturesque and by adapting the natural school of landscape gardening to the smaller size of suburban villas and moderate estates. At a time of increasing industrialization, when many forests and uncultivated areas were being destroyed, a garden which harked back to nature was necessarily popular. And of course, this renewed interest in natural scenery was an integral part of the Romantic movement.

Gardenesque ideas were brought to the United States largely through the publications of Andrew Jackson Downing which gained immediate popularity. The gardens as designed at Rockwood, while not a product of Downing, stemmed from the same source ; and thus are as relevant to America as the gardens actually designed or inspired by Downing.

Joseph Shipley and his gardener, Robert Salisbury, were probably responsible for the gardens at Rockwood. This is not at all unusual. There were few professional landscape "architects"

before the 1860's, and Downing himself states that most of the grounds of the best country houses were laid out by the owners themselves. Shipley was familiar with the gardenesque style not only through his long residence in England and his relatively easy access to the country houses there, but also through his ownership of Wyncote. The plan of Wyncote's garden survives (Figure 2), and despite its much smaller size, bears a distinct resemblance to Rockwood's, particularly in the large, oval walk on the garden front lawn and in the presence of a ha-ha. In developing the grounds of Rockwood, Shipley was aided by the publications of Kemp, Paxton, and Loudon. Although he owned a copy of Downing's Treatise, it was not purchased until 1860.² The plan is entirely within the scope of the gardenesque style with its curving walks, carefully designed views, and judicious planting of exotic and indigenous plants. The trees and shrubs are grouped with regard to the species and size. Different forms -- round, oblong and spiry topped trees -- were placed to achieve the desired effect. Various colors and types of leaves were arranged so as to produce complementary patterns throughout the seasons.

As related above, Shipley's choice of the site of his country residence was not arbitrary. The land lent itself quite naturally to the gardenesque requirements although it demanded a great deal of work to carry out all the details. The mansion

house is situated on a slope that is protected on the north and northwest sides by a long ridge. The land continues to fall away from the house on the south side and gives the building not only a heightened position, but also a view of the distant Delaware River and New Jersey shore.³ Downing says to select a site with a few mature trees. Some trees existed at the time of construction that were integrated into the plan, but the vast majority were planted by Shipley. A wooded area of native trees protects the garden from the road. In addition, a steep, rocky cliff between Shipley Road and the north end of the garden offered privacy as well as a picturesque walk with extensive views.

The plan commences at the entrance gates -- an entrance in perfect accord with gardenesque theory.⁴ Shipley Road leads directly up to the gates and then branches off to the right while the straight line proceeds through the gates and on up the approach road. The land bordering the drive was planted with oaks, cedars, hemlocks and fir trees. To the south, the fields were visible through an open iron fence.

Repton first stated that there were two principles which governed the construction of approach roads: "the first, that the curves should never be so great, or lead over surfaces so unequal, as to make it disagreeable to drive upon them; and the second, that the road should never curve without some reason, either real

or apparent."⁵ Shipley followed these two stipulations quite closely. First, the two curves are very gradual as they progress up the slight grade to the house. Secondly, the road curves first to avoid the cliff, then must curve again to pass in front of the entrance. A service road breaks off to the right, but does not interrupt the flow of the main road.

As the road approaches the house, the planting becomes more exotic and open. The lawn begins on the left, and a ha-ha replaces the iron fence so that the view is totally uninterrupted. Downing, Webster, Loudon and Kemp all mention the ha-ha, or sunk fence, as the best solution to an "unsightly and offensive" problem;⁶ the ha-ha united the gardens around the house with the park or open country in the least obtrusive manner. Although such a fence is quite common in England, it was apparently unique in Delaware. Shipley adopted the idea from Wyncote where a ha-ha enclosed the grounds in much the same manner as the one at Rockwood.

The strongest and most striking effects of the gardenesque were achieved through what was termed variety.⁷ This meant an intermingling of different plants, often of rare species, without sacrificing unity,⁸ or the overall effect of the general theme of the garden. Points of particular or special interest could be added by a selection of unusual plants. Along the second curve that led directly to the house, Shipley planted a ginko tree, an

exotic specie with a unique type of foliage. Beyond it, a weeping beech bordered the drive framing the first view of the house. It now overhangs the road to such an extent that the house is not visible until one has passed through the tunnel cut in its branches. Although the north lawn is relatively large, any sense of a vista was prohibited by the planting of trees and shrubs, most probably in an attempt to preserve the impact of the main garden on the south side of the house. As the road curves on down a slight slope to the stables and other out-buildings, the plantings change to evergreens, such as Canadian cedar and white pine, which provided a verdant screen against the work areas of the estate throughout the seasons.

The area to the east of the house originally had flower beds laid out in a semi-circular pattern that followed the path leading from the approach road to the garden front. The view of this area from the house is quite contained and ended at the small grove of trees planted near the edge of the ha-ha. A vista does not open up until the garden facade.

On the south or garden front, the house sits upon a raised and turfed terrace. The terrace was a common feature of the day that created a transition between the hard lines of the architecture and the irregularity of the garden, and gave added height to the main front. From the house, it hides the walk that passes directly below it; from the garden front rooms, one looked

across a large smooth expanse of lawn and pasture with no interruption except for an urn and circular flower beds planted on the edges of the terrace. There were also flower beds bordering the walk below.

The garden was organized as much for the views from the house as for the sights of the garden itself. The library faced directly onto flower beds with a backdrop of nearby trees, while the drawing room had a completely different perspective. From the drawing room windows, one could see beyond the lawn and pastures to the Delaware River several miles distant. The trees and shrubs were carefully arranged to enhance this perspective. A long, ivy-covered mound of four or five feet in height, bordering the view on the left was planted by Shipley with a number of chestnut trees in 1855.⁹ Near the bottom of the lawn, a Canadian cedar and a beech were planted to frame the view on the right. These two trees also directed the view from the dining room.

Although on the same facade as the drawing room, the dining room has a southwestern orientation; the view resolves itself on a small hillock beyond the ha-ha where a few oaks were allowed to remain. The area on the western edge of the south lawn was planted with various evergreens, spaced so that each could attain a full growth, yet close enough to conceal the servants' wing.

The walks were an integral part of the plan and were executed in much the same way as those at Wyncote. They were designed in easily flowing curves on the garden front and were wide enough to allow the passage of Shipley's invalid chair. The large circular walk, passing on the eastern side of the mound of chestnut trees, provides an area concealed from the house. Such a walk was an inherent part of the mid-century garden plan.¹⁰ It would offer a setting not visible from the house and veiled the walker from the "prying and scrutinizing gaze"¹¹ of eyes from the house.

Shipley also developed a woodland promenade of a more Picturesque nature. The actual walk is more in the character of a footpath than a carefully edged and gravelled walk. It connects with the walk leading from the front door to the gardener's cottage and the approach road. The path ascends the cliff which occasioned the first curve in the approach road, and wanders among the rocky ledges at the top where a garden seat was placed. A few evergreens are scattered among the indigenous trees to enhance the Picturesque character. The ledge is high enough that one can obtain a panoramic view from the summit.

The kitchen garden lay north of the kitchen entrance to the mansion house and west of the north lawn. Following the ideas

endorsed by Kemp,¹² it was laid out for convenience on strictly geometric lines. Except on the south side, it is enclosed by a high stone wall which provided greater warmth and protection for the plants as well as hid the greenhouses and the regularity of the vegetable rows. The wall also formed a space to attach lean-to work sheds and to plant fruit trees. Adjoining the kitchen garden on the west are the stables and carriage house. Their proximity allows easy transfer of the manure from the stables to the garden; the position to the north of the house provides the most protection from the prevailing winds and the attendant stable smells.

Across the service road to the north of the kitchen garden lies the orchard behind a privet hedge. The hedge, again functioning as the kitchen garden wall, conceals the regularity of the orchard rows from the irregularity of the garden. The straight lines of both the kitchen garden wall (Figure 39) and the orchard hedge are softened by prudent planting of ivy and shrubs. The gardener's cottage is located beyond the orchard and cannot be seen from the house.

Shipley employed a hired man, Daniel Haggerty, as well as his gardener, Robert Salisbury, to maintain the gardens. Although a sick man often confined to bed, Shipley obviously took great interest in his garden. He was elected second vice-president of the Delaware Horticultural Society in 1852,¹³ and was in frequent

correspondence with his neighbors about plants. Though the beauty of the Rockwood gardens impressed a number of Shipley's compatriots, perhaps the finest compliment came from Richard Price of Philadelphia

I was struck with the application of the name 'Rockwood' to the reality of thy purchases, before the art of improvement had so changed its natural appearance, more like to a fairyland; and the elegant tasteful skill, which has so changed its appearance, should now give it a name more appropriate to its beautiful and delightful appearance.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

When regarded as a total concept, Rockwood is particularly illustrative of mid-century America. It can be viewed in terms of the insights it gives into the practical skills, technological processes, or aesthetic interests found in Delaware in 1850. The practical skills appear to be conservative in nature but of high quality. The technological processes are seen as somewhat limited in Delaware; some items, such as plate glass and cast iron, were ordered from other areas. In the final analysis, however, Rockwood constitutes a vivid illustration of the visual tenets of the Romantic Age and denies the full involvement of Delaware in the aesthetic interests of that Age. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of factors, particularly the romances of Sir Walter Scott, inspired a great deal of nostalgia for the Middle Ages and reawakened a total appreciation of Gothic material culture. The Gothic aspect of Rockwood -- its exterior details and asymmetry--represents a distinct part of this history as well as it reflects the sensibilities of the owner. Joseph Shipley's library attests to the fact that he was a great admirer of nineteenth-century literature (Appendix B) and suggests that he was a well-versed proponent of the Romantic aesthetic. Romantic structures, originally conceived in historical terms, came to

reflect a dominant and increasing interest in natural forms and to develop more fully under the aegis of a picturesque sense of form within a natural setting. Such buildings are more difficult to understand today than those that refer directly to Gothic prototypes; but such structures became dominant at mid-century when picturesque qualities were viewed as ends in themselves.

The theories of the Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime gained cohesive expression in England only after one hundred years of development. Finally, J. C. Loudon reduced these theories to the scale of the rural villa and synthesized them into the style now generally termed the gardenesque. Borrowing heavily from Loudon, A. J. Downing imported Loudon's ideas to America as a developed concept. In the United States, the picturesque landscape was often adopted in bits and pieces; only rarely was its full potential realized in the coordination of an entire estate--an irregular house that harmonized with its carefully designed, naturalistic surroundings.

Such coordination renders Rockwood an excellent example of the romantic villa. Although Rockwood typifies the profound revolution in American architecture that changed the simplicity, regularity and symmetry of classical American architecture, at the same time it stands unique in Delaware. No other estate of

the time was planned on such a comprehensive scale of romantic naturalism.

Two factors may account for Rockwood's unique position; both seem to hinge on indigenous American tastes and values. First, perhaps native Delawareans were ill-equipped to comprehend the theoretical basis of a domain of Rockwood's breadth. The picturesque estate had become American only by adoption; Shipley himself certainly owed his taste for such an extensive country house to his English experience. Although Shipley was wealthy, it was well within the means of some of his neighbors, such as Samuel du Pont, to erect similar residences. But they chose not to. Second, Rockwood is designed and constructed in the Rural Gothic style--a style foreign to the socio-political fabric of the United States. Americans found few natural associations with Gothic architecture, which remained largely an ecclesiastical style until well into the nineteenth century. It gained a degree of acceptance in secular architecture in the 1830's and 40's after the construction of such mansions as Lyndhurst and Glen Elen, but never reached the popularity of the Greek Revival. Rockwood itself is the only major Gothic house built in Delaware in the mid-nineteenth century, and apparently it did not have any impact on local architecture. Rockwood, then, is not the creation of Delaware--or American--culture. It is the inspiration of a man schooled in the most sophisticated aesthetic tenets of a great age.

Admired but little understood, Rockwood lies isolated in Brandywine Hundred.

Shipley continued to live at Rockwood until his death on May 9, 1867. He was buried in the Friend's Burying Ground in Wilmington without ceremony. He willed Rockwood to his three sisters, Elizabeth, Sarah and Hannah in trust for their lives. At their death, the estate was to be divided into sevenths and given to Sarah Bringhurst, Mary Ann Paschall, Emma Bayard, Samuel H. Dixon, Thomas Shipley (to Sarah Bringhurst in trust for), Thomas S. Dixon, Joseph Dixon, or their descendants.

After the death of Hannah Shipley in 1892, a public auction was held and Rockwood and some of the contents were purchased by Edward and Sarah Bringhurst. They added a large number of family heirlooms as well as a fine collection of English and American furniture of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. An addition of about ten rooms was added onto the servants' wing by Elizabeth Shipley Galt Smith about 1895, Rockwood is owned today by direct descendants, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hargraves.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹For a complete history of the house, see Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "The House of Thomas Shipley 'Miller at the Tide' on the Brandywine Creek," Winterthur Portfolio II, Winterthur, Delaware: Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1965.

²J. Thomas Scharf, History of Delaware, 1609-1888, Philadelphia: L. J. Richards & Co., 1888, II, p. 631. The following history of the Shipley family is derived from Scharf, and from an unpublished notebook by Benjamin Ferris, My Kith and Kin, begun 1838 and continued until at least 1841; see especially pp. 87-102. There is also Our Shipley Family by Walton E. Shipley, which makes reference to The Wandering Heir by Charles Reade.

³Ibid., p. 632. Scharf states that he obtained the story of Elizabeth Shipley's dream directly from one of her ancestors, Howard Pyle. Benjamin Ferris (see above) has much the same story with no direct quotations or mention of a mysterious guide. He was told the story by Elizabeth Shipley's great grandson, Samuel Canby, a contemporary of Joseph Shipley. Reade's account (see above) is very similar to Scharf's.

⁴Benjamin Ferris, A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware from its Discovery by Hudson to the Colonization under William Penn, Wilmington: Wilson & Heald, 1846, p. 203.

⁵Ibid., p. 210. A photograph of William Shipley's later house, to which the first became the kitchen ell, survives in the collection of the Delaware Historical Society.

⁶Elizabeth Montgomery, Reminiscences of Wilmington: in Familiar Village Tales, Ancient and New, Philadelphia: T. K. Collins, Jr., 1851, p. 14.

⁷Scharf, op. cit., p. 632-33.

⁸Susanna Smedley, Catalogue of Westtown Through the Years, Officers, Students, and Others, Westtown, Pa.: Westtown Alumni Ass., 1945, p. 28.

⁹Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰Records for the Friends School, Wilmington, do not exist for the eighteenth century.

¹¹State of Delaware, Registry of Wills, Vols. 1, p. 542.

¹²M. S., Delaware Historical Society, uncatalogued collection of Joseph Shipley's cancelled checks drawn on the Bank of Delaware, 1851-1859; also, numerous letters contained in The Farnum, acc.# 1267, and Hargraves, acc.# 1266, Collections of Joseph Shipley's papers (hereafter Farnum or Hargraves plus manuscript number) at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library (hereafter EMHL).

¹³In 1810 the Library had books on morals, religion, mathematics, history and science; there was no fiction, some biographies and a few books of poetry.

¹⁴Farnum #15, Thomas Yardley to Joseph Shipley (hereafter J.S.), Nov. 9, 1819.

¹⁵The Philadelphia Literary Society, founded in 1813, is often referred to as "The Club" in Shipley's correspondence. It was a group of young business men in Philadelphia who met once or twice a month to read original essays. By 1819, it was composed of John A. Warrington, Henry Troth, Thomas Yardley, Jacob Howell, Watson Jenks, Benj. Hollinshead, Richard Price, Andrew Underhill, Thomas M. Longstreth and Issac Starr.

¹⁶Farnum #10, J. S. to Sarah Shipley, Dec. 26, 1816.

¹⁷Scharf, op. cit., II, p. 633.

¹⁸Hargraves #12, J. S. to Joseph Shipley, Sr., May 15, 1819.

¹⁹Hargraves #16, notebook copy of letter from J.S. to James Welsh, Sept. 20, 1819.

²⁰Hargraves #13, James Welsh to J.S., Oct. 8, 1819.

²¹Hargraves #432, Microfilm of Shipley's journal of the voyage.

²²Hargraves #52, Sarah Shipley to J.S., Oct. 20, 1820.

²³Hargraves #56, Thomas Yardley to J.S., Dec. 20, 1820.

²⁴Hargraves #188, Mary Dixon to J.S., Apr. 4, 1826.

²⁵Farnum #173, J. S. to Samuel Shipley, Dec. 19, 1841.

²⁶John Crosby Brown, A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking, New York: Privately printed, 1909, p. 312.

²⁷Aytoun Ellis, Heir of Adventure, London: Burrup Mathieson Co., Ltd., n.d., p. 36-37.

²⁸Hargraves #96, Joseph Shipley, Sr., to J. S., Apr. 13, 1822.

²⁹Hargraves #25, Bill from John Cash, Tailor, Liverpool.

³⁰Hargraves #218, T.S. Newlin to J. S., Feb. 18, 1828.

³¹Farnum #41, T. S. Newlin to J. S., May 19, 1827.

³²Hargraves #124, Charles Green to J. S., Nov. 9, 1822.

³³Ellis, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁴For a complete history of Wm. and Jas. Brown & Co., see Ellis, Heir to Adventure. For a complete history of the Brown family and all their business, see Brown, A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking; and Kouwenhoven, Partners in Banking, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968.

³⁵Ellis, op. cit., p. 27.

³⁶Ibid., p. 35.

³⁷For a complete history of the Panic of 1837 and the part of Joseph Shipley, see Brown, A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking. Shipley kept a complete account of the entire affair which Brown uses at length and from which the following brief account is derived.

³⁸Hargraves #321, J. S. to T. S. Newlin, May 14, 1837.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Farnum #154, James Brown to J. S., Sept. 6, 1837.

⁴¹Ellis, op. cit., p. 51.

⁴²Farnum #186, Edward Bringham to J. S., June 23, 1846.

⁴³Hargraves #376, William E. Brown to J. S., Apr. 29, 1846.

⁴⁴Hargraves #272, Mary S. Newlin to J. S., Feb. 18, 1833.

⁴⁵State of Delaware, Registry of Deeds, Vol. S4, p. 75,
1834.

⁴⁶Ibid., Vol. E6, p. 20, 1850.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

¹Brown, op. cit., p. 312.

²Ibid.

³State of Delaware, Registry of Deeds, V. E 6, p. 20.

⁴Ibid., V.I 6, p. 192.

⁵Ibid., V.I 6, p. 189.

⁶Brown, op. cit., p. 312.

⁷Farnum #186, Edward Bringhurst to J. S., June 23, 1846.

⁸This is probably the picture listed in Shipley's inventory and still at Rockwood that E. Bringhurst wrote to Shipley about on August 15, 1846: "A view of thy house and grounds which thee proposes to send will no doubt be very acceptable to thy Sisters -- indeed I had intended to mention it myself and feel quite desirous to see it." Hargraves #384.

⁹H-R Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1958, p. 234.

¹⁰Letter Anne Britton to author, Sept. 29, 1971.

¹¹The Builder, V.LXXIV, No. 2880, Apr. 16, 1898, p. 376.

¹²Liverpool Post and Mercury, July 4, 1931.

¹³Hargraves# 272 Mary S. Newlin to J. S., Feb. 18, 1833.

¹⁴Hargraves #376 W. E. Brown to J. S., Apr. 26, 1846.

¹⁵Wilmington Directory for the year 1853, Wilmington, Delaware: Joshua T. Heald, 1853, p. 81.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁷Wilmington Directory for the year 1845, Wilmington, Delaware: Joshua T. Heald, 1845, p. 126.

¹⁸Wilmington Directory, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁹Delaware Census of Industry, n.p., 1850, p. 40.

²⁰EMHL, Henry F. duPont Collection of Winterthur Manuscripts, Group 9, Samuel F. du Pont, Series B In File, Box 30, #W9-5555.

²¹Farnum #197, Brown, Shipley and Company accounts.

²²Delaware Census, op. cit., p. 41.

²³Robert Griffith Hatfield, The American House - Carpenter, New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1844, p. 161-163.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

¹Farnum #241 - Hazard (Philadelphia bookseller) to J. S. April 24, 1860.

²Andrew Jackson Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America, New York: A. O. Moore and Co., 1859, p. 546.

³Ibid., p. 556.

⁴Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses: Including Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas, Design XXVIII, Fig. 148, p. 322.

⁵Thomas Webster, An Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845, p. 46.

⁶John Claudius Loudon, The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, London: printed for the author, 1838, p. 422.

⁷Ibid., p. 424.

⁸Webster, op. cit., p. 45.

⁹Loudon, The Architectural Magazine, and Journal of Improvement in Architecture, Building and Furnishing, London: Longman, Rees, Orne, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1834, V. I., p. 162.

¹⁰Edward Kemp, How to Lay Out a Garden, New York: Wiley and Halsted, 1858, p. 316.

¹¹Downing, Treatise, op. cit., p. 326.

¹²A small architectural sketch of one elevation of the gardener's cottage may offer an answer as to why the stable, carriage-house, and gardener's cottage lack the unity and sophistication of detail that exists between the porter's lodge and the

main house. The paper is watermarked, "J. Whatman, Turkey Run, 1852." As Whatman was a local paper manufacturer and as this is the only drawing of the gardener's cottage that survives, the cottage, stable and carriage-house were probably designed by Shipley or his contractor, Elisha Huxley.

¹³Figures 19 and 20 are copies of two of the photographs.

¹⁴Farnum #265. George Williams to J. S., Nov. 26, 1861.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹Webster, op. cit., p. 42.

²Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses; Including Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850, p. 403.

³Webster, op. cit., p. 42.

⁴A photograph album, c. 1900, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hargraves shows a plain wallpaper with decorated borders.

⁵Webster, op. cit., p. 42.

⁶Downing, Country Houses, p. 403.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 397.

⁹Peter Floud, "The Early Victorian Period: Furniture," The Connoisseur's Complete Period Guide, New York: Bonanza Books 1968, p. 1320.

¹⁰John Claudius Loudon, Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture. (London: Longman, Orne, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1839), p. 1066, Fig. 1943. See also Henry Wood, Designs for Furniture, London: n.p., 183?.

¹¹Ibid., p. 1059, Figs. 1917 and 1918.

¹²Downing, Treatise, p. 450.

¹³Loudon, Encyclopedia, p. 1058, Fig. 1915.

¹⁴Downing, Country Houses, p. 404.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Loudon, Encyclopedia, p. 1047.

¹⁷Webster, op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁸See Williams plan.

¹⁹Webster, op. cit., p. 42.

²⁰Loudon, Encyclopedia, p. 304, Figs. 589 and 590.

²¹Much of the simpler furniture was purchased from John G. Jackson of Wilmington. Shipley paid \$540.40 to Jackson between 1854 and 1857.

²²EMHL. Henry Francis duPont Collection of Winterthur Manuscripts, Group 9 - Samuel F. duPont, Series B - In File, Box 68 - Nov. 19, 1863 - Feb., 1864, #W9-16040. Bill from A Gawthrop to Samuel F. duPont. The letterhead reads: "Gawthrop and Brother/ Plumbers and Gas and Steam Fitters, /have constantly on Hand./Rams, Pumps, Wind-Mills/Hydrants, Water Closets, Bath Tubs, Sinks/Basins/ Washstands and Hose."

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

¹The following description of the Picturesque and the Beautiful is taken from Downing's Treatise, p. 58-64.

²Farnum #241, Bill from Hazard (Philadelphia bookseller) to J. S., Apr. 24, 1860. See Shipley's inventory, Appendix I, for a list of the books at Rockwood.

³Today, the fields have become so overgrown that the river is only visible from the roof.

⁴Downing, Treatise, p. 291.

⁵Ibid., p. 289.

⁶Ibid., p. 295.

⁷Kemp, op. cit., p. 87.

⁸Ibid.

⁹EMHL, Samuel F. duPont Papers #446. #7545, J. S. to Samuel F. duPont, n.d.

¹⁰Kemp, op. cit., p. 56.

¹¹Ibid.,

¹²Ibid., p. 323.

¹³Delaware Gazette, Jan. 30, 1852, p. 3.

¹⁴Farnum #271, Richard Price to J. S., Feb. 24, 1862.
See also Hargraves #406, F. A. Hamilton to J. S., May 11, 1856.

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APPENDIX A.

Joseph Shipley's Canceled Checks, 1851-1859;

With Page References to Check Recipients in

the Wilmington Directory of 1853

DATE	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT (in Dollars)	MATERIAL OR OCCUPATION
<u>1851</u>			
Sept. 11	Elisha Huxley	200.00	carpenter, p. 33
Sept. 26	Thomas Walter	462.00	lumber, p. 66
Oct. 2	E. Huxley	100.00	
Oct. 18	E. Huxley	900.00	
Oct. 31	E. Huxley	300.00	
Nov. 26	E. Huxley	400.00	
Dec. 12	E. Huxley	160.31	
<u>1852</u>			
Jan. 1	E. Huxley	206.26	
Jan. 2	Jesse Lane & Co.	362.27	lumber, p. 38
Jan. 2	E. Huxley	533.03	
Jan. 2	David C. Wilson	168.87	bricks
Jan. 2	Joshua Simmons & Co.	488.38	lumber, p. 58
Jan. 2	John S. Hilles	100.63	bricks, p. 102
Jan. 9	Thomas Smith	105.00	cut stone ¹
Jan. 26	E. Huxley	200.00	
Feb. 17	Joseph A. Brown	124.00	bricks, p. 12
Mar. 18	E. Huxley	300.00	
Apr. 6	E. Huxley	569.77	
Apr. 6	E. Huxley	986.69	
Apr. 20	E. Huxley	300.00	
May 12	E. Huxley	300.00	
May 18	E. Huxley	500.00	
June 5	William Robinson	57.40	carpenter, p. 55
June 17	E. Huxley	300.00	
July 5	E. Huxley	985.13	

DATE	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT (in Dollars)	MATERIAL OR OCCUPATION
<u>1852</u>			
July 5	E. Huxley	2,140.00	
July 5	John A. Duncan	43.16	hardware, p. 22
July 7	Thomas Garrett	66.28	iron and hardware, p. 26
July 16	E. Huxley	300.00	
Aug. 12	E. Huxley	300.00	
Sept. 22	E. Huxley	400.00	
Sept. 24	Allen Gawthrop	464.14	plumber ²
Oct. 8	E. Huxley	2,737.49	
Oct. 18	E. Huxley	200.00	
Oct. 19	T. Mather	8.02	plumber, p. 41
Nov. 16	E. Huxley	200.00	
Dec. 15	Benj. Morris	31.37	carter, p. 43

1853

Jan. 7	E. Huxley	1,229.57	
Jan. 8	C. B. Miller	27.66	boltmaker, p. 41
Jan. 10	E. Huxley	1,301.82	
Jan. 10	Carlisle & Lansdale	346.25	painters and glaziers, p. 14
Jan. 10	Bradford & Stephens	80.84	paints, oils and glass, p. 11
Jan. 17	Thomas Garrett	48.07	iron and hardware, p. 26
Jan. 19	E. B. McClees	600.00	Plaster, p. 45
Jan. 21	Smyth & Peterson	1,000.00	tin smiths. ³
Mar. 24	Smyth & Peterson	246.44	"
Apr. 19	E. Huxley	1,282.25	
May 13	William Robinson	143.41	carpenter, p. 55
June 13	Carlisle & Lansdale	343.75	painters and glaziers p. 14
July 15	J. Morton Poole	358.88	machinists, p. 51
July 22	William Robinson	140.94	carpenter, p. 55
Aug. 3	Pinkerton & Given	159.05	bricklayers, p. 51 and 26
Aug. 6	Bradford & Stephens	88.00	Paints, p. 11
Oct. 12	E. Huxley	350.00	

1854

Jan. 5	Smith & Callahan	96.80	stone and marble cutters, p. 59 and p. 131
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<u>1854</u>	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT (in Dollars)	MATERIAL OR OCCUPATION
Jan. 6	Haddon & Peterson	158.47	tin, copper, tools, cutlery, p. 126, 1845 <u>Directory</u>
Jan. 7	E. Huxley	830.47	
Jan. 9	Betts, Pusey & Co.	139.44	founders and machinists, p. 141
Jan. 9	John A. Duncan	198.56	hardware, p. 22
Jan. 18	John G. Jackson	89.94	furniture, p. 34
Jan. 26	Jesse Lane & Co.	62.35	lumber, p. 38
Jan. 26	Nelson Cleland	415.00	marble and lumber, p. 16
Jan. 27	C. & J. Stroud	14.00	plaster,
Feb. 17	Macnichols & Clark	296.07	upholsterers and paper-hangers, p. 40
Apr. 4	W. B. Massey & Bro.	13.50	painter, p. 41
Apr. 11	Joseph C. Seeds	26.82	carpenter, p. 57
Apr. 11	E. Huxley	629.00	
Apr. 11	Jesse Lane & Co.	36.28	lumber, p. 28
Apr. 11	Nelson Cleland	138.97	marble and lumber, p. 16
June 9	William Robinson	272.36	carpenter, p. 55
June 22	W. B. Massey & Bro	63.68	painter, p. 41
July 7	John G. Jackson	16.00	furniture, p. 34
July 24	E. B. McClees	83.86	plaster, p. 45
Aug. 12	Bradford & Stephens	105.47	paints, p. 11
Sept. 22	E. Huxley	360.00	
Nov. 8	Thomas McCorkle	22.55	brickmaker, p. 45
Nov. 8	J. S. Phillips	53.35	laborer, p. 50
Dec. 11	E. Huxley	168.32	
Dec. 14	W. B. Massey	63.68	painter, p. 41
Dec. 14	John and Anthony Flinn	28.14	bricklayers, p. 24
Dec. 20	Joseph Lock	178.26	stonemason, p. 39
Dec. 26	Archibald Given	20.31	bricklayer, p. 26

1855

Jan. 9	Smith & Gallahan	9.00	stone and marble cutters, p. 59 and p. 131
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DATE	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT(in Dollars)	MATERIAL OR OCCUPATION
<u>1855</u>			
Jan. 9	Joshua Simmons & Co.	16.56	lumber, p. 58
Jan. 10	John A. Duncan	76.20	hardward, p. 22
Jan. 17	William Carr	40.35	laborer, p. 15
Feb. 9	William Robinson	60.00	carpenter, p. 55
Apr. 9	James MacNicol	79.00	upholsterer and paper hanger, p. 40
Apr. 10	Thomas Smith	662.18	cut stone
Apr. 16	Patrick Donnelly	16.87	laborer, p. 21
May 3	William Robinson	85.84	carpenter, p. 55
May 15	Joseph Martin	265.00	carpenter, p. 40
Aug. 6	John A. Duncan	58.65	hardware, p. 22
Aug. 17	Thomas Walter	73.19	lumber, p. 66
Dec. 22	Thomas McDowell	400.00	mover, p. 46
<u>1856</u>			
Jan. 3	W. B. Massey	11.37	painter, p. 41
Jan. 14	S. & T. McClary	8.25	cabinetmakers, p. 45
Jan. 22	Bradford & Stephens	15.89	paints, p. 11
Apr. 11	William Lewis	100.00	carpenter, p. 39
May 16	Smith & Callahan	500.00	stone and marble cutters, p. 59 and p. 131
May 24	William McCall	60.00	painter, p. 44
June 5	William Lewis	200.00	
June 19	Smith & Callahan	500.00	
June 26	Smith & Callahan	300.00	
June 25	John G. Jackson	193.00	furniture, p. 34
June 30	William Lewis	200.00	
July 3	Smith & Callahan	100.00	
July 15	John A. Duncan	60.66	hardware, p. 22
July 18	William McCall	150.00	painter, p. 44
July 31	Haddon & Peterson	296.96	tin, copper, tools, cutlery 1845 <u>Directory</u> , p. 126
Aug. 1	Smith & Callahan	876.46	
Aug. 11	William Lewis	500.00	
Sept. 5	James E. Speakman	66.11	plasterer, p. 60
Sept. 19	William Lewis	500.00	
Sept. 26	John G. Jackson	141.10	furniture, p. 34

DATE	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT(in Dollars)	MATERIAL OR OCCUPATION
<u>1856</u>			
Oct. 3	Thomas McCorkle	30.80	brickmaker, p. 45
Oct. 3	William McCall	250.00	painter, p. 44
Oct. 18	William Lewis	250.00	
Nov. 17	William McCall	319.52	painter, p. 44
Dec. 10	John Taylor	55.25	plasterer, p. 63
Dec. 16	Jacob Zebbley	15.00	for sand
Dec. 16	George W. Talley	8.43	for hauling sand
<u>1857</u>			
Jan. 1	Bradford & Stephens	9.40	paints, p. 11
Jan. 2	Craig & Tatnall	348.21	lumber and plaster, p. 18 and p. 143
Jan. 3	Thomas McCorkle	9.90	brickmaker, p. 45
Jan. 5	Archibald Given	56.98	bricklayer, p. 26
Jan. 6	James Fox	15.50	contractor, p. 24
Jan. 6	John A. Duncan	63.38	hardware, p. 22
Jan. 10	Murphy & Russell	25.00	cabinetmakers, p. 44
Jan. 10	Betts, Pusey & Co.	9.93	founders and machinists, p. 9 and p. 141
Jan. 14	Thomas McCorkle	144.55	brickmaker, p. 45
Jan. 17	Joel Greenman	12.35	paperhanger, p. 27
Apr. 21	William Lewis	156.48	
June 29	John G. Jackson	85.00	furniture, p. 34
July 11	John G. Jackson	15.00	"
July 16	Craig & Tatnall	544.40	lumber and plaster, p. 18 and p. 143
Sept. 21	William Carr	51.75	laborer, p. 15
Oct. 28	Thomas McCorkle	6.60	brickmaker, p. 45
Nov. 17	W. B. Massey	147.83	painter, p. 41
Nov. 21	Passmore H. Mitchell	252.91	carpenter, p. 42
Dec. 1	Craig & Tatnall	116.96	lumber and plaster, p. 18 and p. 143
Dec. 25	William Carr	25.00	laborer, p. 15
<u>1858</u>			
Jan. 2	John A. Duncan	29.68	hardware, p. 22
Jan. 21	Michael B. Meany	24.37	stonemason ⁵
May 6	Michael B. Meany	26.25	"

UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENTS

DATE	RECIPIENT OF CHECK	AMOUNT(in Dollars)
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1851

Oct. 16	F. Putnam	45.00
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1852

Jan. 2	M. L. Daniel & Harvey	137.70
Jan. 10	James Conley	100.00
May 15	James Conley	189.70

1853

Jan. 10	George Richardson	94.75
Oct. 14	John Burnett	298.81
Nov. 18	Jesse Chalfont	100.00
Dec. 2	D. H. Forwood	48.90

1856

Jan. 2	Countiss & Lewis	115.23
Apr. 9	D. Shaw	64.00
May 16	Taylor Pierce	100.00
Nov. 13	Ferris & Garrett	360.02
Dec. 22	Daniel Travis	180.71

1857

Mar. 10	Gregg & Bowe	113.54
Mar. 11	Taylor Pierce	356.87
Apr. 13	G. W. Pierce	36.00

The checks also show that Shipley contributed to such local charities as the House of Industry, the Dorcas Society, and the Charitable Fund. Shipley's physicians were Drs. Bush and Heyward. Coal was purchased from H. W. Bartram and William Mogee & Co., and food was supplied by Grubb & Palmer of Brandywine Village. The lawn mowers listed in the inventory were probably purchased from Urmy & Manz who sold mowing and reaping equipment; the coaches listed in the inventory were probably purchased from Alexander Jamieson, a coachmaker in Wilmington. Shipley paid a total of \$126.00 in monthly wages to his housekeeper, Mrs. Douglass, (who came back from England with him), his gardener, Robert Salisbury; his coachman, David Shaw; his housemaid, Margaret Welsh, his cook, Anne Caroline Dawson; and general workman, Daniel Haggerty. He also gave his brother John, \$300.00 a month, and various amounts to his nieces and nephews. Shipley himself usually cashed \$400.00 or more each month.

FOOTNOTES

APPENDIX A

¹EMHL, Henry Francis duPont Collection of Winterthur Manuscripts, Group 9, Samuel F. duPont, Series B - In file, Box 34 #W9 - 7226.

²Ibid., Series E - In File, Box 148 - July - Dec. 1880. #W9 - 16090.

³EMHL, Delaware Census of Industry, 1850, p. 14.

⁴EMHL, Henry Francis duPont Collection of Winterthur Manuscripts, Group 9 -- Samuel F. duPont, Series B -- In File, Box 38, #W9-8063.

⁵"stonemason" is written on the check.

APPENDIX B

Inventory of the Goods, Chattels and money of Joseph Shipley, dec.

Library Room

90 volumes	Monthly Magazine	67.50
4 "	Life of Columbus (Irving)	5.00
2 "	Conquest of Granada "	2.50
2 "	Alhambra "	2.50
10 "	Popes Work	12.50
8 "	Roman Empire Gibbons	10.00
3 "	Gil, bas	5.00
2 "	Life of Goldsmith	1.50
4 "	Works of "	3.00
26 "	Quarterly Review to to 86	19.50
48 "	Waverly Novels	24.00
38 "	British Essays	15.70
7 "	Life of Scott (Lockhart)	3.50
12 "	Poems of Scott "	4.80
12 "	Reeds - Shakespear	4.00
8 "	Plutarch Lives	1.20
1 "	History of New York Irving	.50
10 "	Life of John (Boswel)	5.00
2 "	Tacitus	1.50
1 "	Guide for travellers	.10
1 "	Recollections of the Stage (Wood)	.25
1 "	Cesar (literally translated)	.50
1 "	Thackerays - Samuel Telmarsh	.20
1 "	Diehem Battle of Life	.20
1 "	" Heart of Man	.20
1 "	The Chimes	.20
1 "	The Snow Storm (Mr. Gore)	.20
1 "	Murrays handbook of Switzerland	.25
1 "	The Horse by Youatt	.25
1 "	Werters Wreath	.25
5 "	Keepsake	2.50
2 "	Heaths Annual	1.00
1 "	Vestiges of Creation	.50
2 "	Frank Forrester	1.50

Library Room (continued)

8	"	Prescotts Works	10.00
4	"	Don Quixotte	8.00
1	"	Smith Wealth of Nations	.50
1	"	History of Cotton Manufacturing (Baine)	.50
1	"	Catalogue of Williams Library	.05
1	"	Dombey + Son	1.00
1	"	Martin Chuzzlewit	1.00
2	"	Pendennis	1.00
1	"	Downings landscape gardening	.75
1	"	American Anglers Book	1.00
1	"	Country Life (Copeland)	.75
1	"	Macaullys History of England	2.50
2	"	Prescotts, Phillip the 2nd	2.00
4	"	Washington Irving	4.00
8	"	Bancrofts History of the United States	4.00
1	"	Poetical Works of Thomas Moore	2.00
1	"	Vicar of Wakefield (illustrated)	1.25
7	"	Audubons Birds of America	70.00
2	"	Views in Canada	10.00
1	"	Horticulturist	1.00
1	"	Comic Alburn	.50
6	"	Bridges Milton	3.00
3	"	Cowpers Task	.75
4	"	Byrons Works	1.00
1	"	Cameos from the Antique	.25
1	"	Burns s Poems	.50
1	"	Burns s Songs	.50
1	"	Scriptural & Historical Pictures	.75
1	"	Poetical Primer	.15
1	"	Leighs guide to Wales	.10
2	"	Bryants poems	.50
2	"	Portrait gallery	2.00
3	"	Master Humphreys clock	1.50
3	"	Bacons Works	3.75
2	"	Heath's book of beauty	1.50
1	"	Contributions to American History	1.00
2	"	Free Trade Advocate	.20
2	"	Central America	3.00
1	"	Vanity Fair	.75
45	"	Edinburgh Review	13.50
2	"	Handbook of Spain	1.25
3	"	Cabinet Cyclopedia (Lardner)	.60

Library Room (continued)

2	"	Times of George the 4th	.40
2	"	Year in Spain	.40
2	"	France in 1829 and 1830	.50
1	"	Poinsetts Mexico	.25
2	"	Fiction	.20
1	"	Visit to Greece	.10
1	"	France as it is	.10
1	"	Talba	.03
1	"	Life of Paul Jones	.10
1	"	Library of Entertaining Knowledge	.10
1	"	Steam Engine	.10
1	"	Cockburns Review	.10
1	"	Discourses (by Morris)	.10
1	"	Murray's Library	.05
1	"	Monthly Magazine	.02
2	"	Entertaining Knowledge	.20
1	"	Greenhows California & Oregon	.20
1	"	Syria and the Holy Land	.75
2	"	Court of Charles the First	.75
2	"	Hungary and Transylvania	1.00
5	"	Life of Wilberforce	2.00
2	"	Life of W. Roscoe	.40
1	"	Elegant Extracts	.25
1	"	Works of Lady Montague	1.00
1	"	Hardys Mexico	.25
3	"	Commercial Tariff	.50
1	"	Survey of Wisconsin	1.00
1	"	Penny Magazine	.50
1	"	Prouts Relics	.10
1	"	Thompsons Seasons	.50
6	"	Lewis Topographical Atlas of England	6.00
2	"	Gallery of Arts	4.00
3	"	Homers Iliad and Odissy	6.00
2	"	Websters Dictionary	10.00
21	"	Encyclopedia of Brittanica	21.00
1	"	Tour of the English Lakes	1.50
1	"	Agriculturist 1861	.25
1	"	Baronial Halls	10.00
1	"	Coltons Atlas	4.00
1	"	London and Birmingham Railway	5.00
1	"	Sheffield Sketches	5.00
1	"	Windsor Castle	5.00
1	"	Settlements on the Delaware	1.00
1	"	Travels in the Alps	1.00
1	"	Fanny Butler	.25

Library Room (continued)

2	"	Conflict (by Greeley)	3.00
1	"	Expectations	.50
1	"	Our Old Home	.25
1	"	Dictionary (Walkers)	.25
1	"	Bible	.50
1	"	Prayers	.50
1	"	Life of A. Lincoln	1.00
1	"	Bible	1.75
1	"	Sketches for rustic work	1.00
6	"	Walpoles letters	1.80
1	"	Sales Journal	.25
2	"	Coleridges Remains	.50
12	"	Grotts History of Greece	2.40
2	"	Lambs works	.50
2	"	Mrs. Stowe's Memoirs of foreign lands	.75
1	"	David Copperfield	.50
1	"	Wilmington (by E. Montgomery)	.25
1	"	Nicholas Nickelby	.50
1	"	Cabool (Byrnes)	.50
2	"	Mitchells Expedition to Australia	1.00
2	"	Life of Sir I. Mackintosh	.50
7	"	Littells Liveing Age	2.10
1	"	Fort Duquesne	.50
2	"	Memoirs of H. Walpole	.60
1	"	Downings Gardening	.50
2	"	Uncle Tom's Cabin	.40
2	"	Gas Works	.30
4	"	Life of Washington Irving	1.20
1	"	Wolferts Roost by "	.25
1	"	Autocrat of the Breakfast Table	.25
1	"	Seven Gables	.25
1	"	Rural Homes	.40
1	"	Fall of Granada	.25
1	"	Life and Works of Burns	.75
1	"	English Literature	.25
1	"	Professor at the Breakfast Table	.25
2	"	Robbs tour on the Continent	.40
2	"	My Novel	.30
1	"	The Caxtons	.15
1	"	Ingliss ^s Ramples in the steps of Don Quixotte	.25
1	"	Lives of Madison and Munroe	.25
1	"	Downings Fruit Trees	.40
1	"	Beautys of the Country	.15
1	"	American Farmer in England	.25

Library Room (continued)

1	"	Life of Lorenzo de Medici	.25
1	"	Life of A. Bede	.25
2	"	Mutual Friend	.50
2	"	Rambler in North America	.50
2	"	Visits to remarkable places	.50
2	"	Rural Life in England	.50
8	"	Cowpers Works	2.10
1	"	Scarlett Letter	.25
1	"	Hillyards 6 mos. in Italy	.30
1	"	Complete Angler	.40
1	"	Things as they are in America	.25
1	"	Rogers Table Talk	.30
2	"	Kanes Artic Expedition	2.00
1	"	The Newcomes	.40
2	"	Bracebridge Hall	.80
1	"	Hunter Naturalist (odd vol)	.75
1	"	Trees of America	.50
1	"	Records of the Court of Upland	.75
3	"	Quadrupeds of North America	10.00
6	"	North American Sylva	12.00
2	"	Pickwick Papers	1.00
1	"	Rawlinsons Evidences	.25
1 lot		Littels Liveing Age (unbound)	3.00
53	"	Quarterly Review "	13.25
55	"	Edinburgh " "	13.75
54	"	North American " "	13.50
		lot Envelopes-pens etc.	2.00
		lot volume constitution	.15
1	"	The Circle (Naseby)	.20
1	"	Grays Poems	.20
1	"	Gullivers Travels	1.50
1	"	Views of Philadelphia	.75
1	"	Wire Fencing	1.00
1	"	Pictures from Sicily	1.50
1	"	Jerusalem revisited	1.00
1	"	Footsteps of our Lord and Apostles	1.00
1	"	Gleanings of the Overland Route	1.00
1	"	Forty Days in the desert	1.00
1	"	Childe Harold	2.00
2	"	American Scenery	4.00
1	"	Drawing Room Scrap Book	1.00
1	"	" " " "	1.00
1	"	Sketch Book	1.25
1	"	Thomas Jefferson (by Lee)	.25
1	"	Self Help	.25
1	"	Nicholsons Poems	.25

Library Rooms. (continued)

1	"	Kemps Gardening	.40
1	"	Campbells Poems	.50
2	"	Life of W. Irving	1.00
1	"	Forget me Not	.20
1	"	Loudon's Flower Garden	3.00
1	"	Grays Elegy	.75
1	"	New America (Dixon)	.75
1	"	Book of Beauty	.25
2	"	" " " (Heaths)	.80
1	"	Naseby	.40
1	"	Comic History	1.00
1	"	Letter Bag (Great Western)	.20
1	"	Nile Boat	.75
1	"	Conway in the Stereoscope	.60
1	"	Bancrofts Miscellany	.50
1	"	Abencerrages	.50
1	"	Butler in New Orleans	.75
4	"	France Illustrated	8.00
1	"	History of the United States	1.50
1	"	Pilgrim Fathers	1.50
1	"	Tudor Architecture (Hunt)	1.50
1	"	Gems of Beauty	1.25
1	"	Paxtons Flower Garden (odd)	1.50
2	"	Drawing Room Scrap Books	3.00
1	"	Gallery of Pictures (first masters)	6.00
1	"	Gems of British Art	4.00
1	"	Vernon Gallery	2.00

Library

*1	Book Case	large oaken	120.00
*1	" "	mahogany	35.00
6	chairs	"	18.00
1	"	Recumbent	25.00
a	carpet		25.00
a	rug		5.00
	curtains, rods etc.		16.00
2	lamps		7.00
a	stereoscope		10.00
a	table mat		.50
8	pictures		

*Furniture still at Rockwood

Parlor

*2 large Mirrors	200.00
*a book case	100.00
*a pier table marble top	112.00
*a sofa + pillows	85.00
a centre table	39.00
3 arm chairs	135.00
*a pier table inlaid	15.00
4 chairs rosewood	32.00
4 " fancy	25.00
a carpet	112.00
a music stand - & a candle stand	15.00
a music box	40.00
a clock	50.00
candelabra on mantle	12.00
statuary and covers, with Cologue Bottle, on Pier	45.00
1 opera glass	5.00
1 flower glass	3.00
curtains	145.00

Large Hall

a picture stand, and portfolio, with pictures	200.00
a pier table	12.00
3 chairs	9.00
4 mats	4.00
oil cloth on floor and passages	25.00
a lamp	3.00

Lesser Hall

*A settee by cushion and 2 chairs	10.00
an owl and stand	12.00
6 pictures	200.00
2 statues and Pedestals	800.00
a lamp	6.00

Store Rooms

contents of Store Room	15.00
contents of Butlers pantry	245.00
contents of Butlers chamber	25.00

*Furniture still at Rockwood

Large Dining Room

*an extension dining table and flap case	53.00
*a side board table	48.00
*a side table	12.00
a Butlers Stand	3.00
a writing desk	10.00
*a lounge and tidy	25.00
2 arm chairs	28.00
*11 common chairs	44.00
a carpet	120.00
a rug	4.00
sundrys on mantle	12.00
knife case and contents	20.00
a portable desk	5.00
thermometer	2.00
7 pictures	1950.00

Smaller Dining Room

a table and cover	6.00
a lot of chairs, one w/arm	7.50
a clock	5.00
oilcloth	45.00
2 lamps, and glasses	1.25

Pitcher Closet

ware in pitcher closet	65.00
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Kitchens

contents of 2 kitchens	15.00
------------------------	-------

Garretts

a bedstead, mattress and pillow	8.00
old carpet, awning etc.	20.00
carpeting for stairs and gallery	84.00
" for Mrs. Douglass ^s Chamber	18.00
Trunk	12.00
a stove - chairs etc.	9.00
Contents of hall, at head of kitchen stair	5.00

*Furniture still at Rockwood

Lizzie's Room

a piano and chair	50.00
a bureau	4.00
matting	2.00

House Maids Room

a bedstead, mattress etc.	22.00
a bureau	4.00
a basin stand, looking glass, rug, 2 chairs etc.	9.50

Cooks Chamber

a bedstead, 2 mattresses and bedding	35.00
a bureau	4.00
a basin stand etc.	7.50
2 Buffalos	36.00
a large chest	5.00

Mrs. Douglass^SRoom

a bedstead	45.00
cottage furniture (a lot)	21.00
matting	4.00

Bath Room

contents of bathroom	11.00
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Oak Room

a lot of ash furniture	43.00
2 mattresses and bedding	44.00
mantle ornaments and chair	5.00
carpet	25.00
curtains	20.00

Red Room

a bedstead	30.00
a bed or bedding	45.00
a dressing stand	22.00
*a wash stand	24.00
a towell rack and stand	7.00
a Bureau	12.00

*Furniture still at Rockwood

Red Room (continued)

4 chairs	3.00
mantle ornaments	2.50
a carpet	18.00
bed and window curtains	20.00
11 table cloths	44.00
2 lay overs	12.00
24 napkins	7.00
12 " (small)	3.50
14 damask towells	7.00
36 Doyleys	3.60
14 large towells	7.00
14 " " Huckabak	7.20
10 coarse towells	2.50
12 pillow cases	6.00
2 dressing table covers	2.00
5 pairs of linen sheets	25.00
2 bolster cases	3.00
4 pairs of linen sheets (worn)	2.00
8 " " muslin " "	16.00
4 Bolster cases (muslin)	.80
12 pillow cases "	2.50
6 towells	1.25
4 small Bolster cases	1.00
5 pillow cases (worn)	.50
12 towells (servants)	1.20
12 " (pantry)	1.20
12 " (kitchen)	1.20
5 roller towells	1.25
5 table cloths	10.00
3 dish cloths	.30
2 table towells	.20
bowl, pitcher and sundrys	14.00

J. Shipleys Room

2 Gold watches	155.00
*a bedstead and comice	40.00
a table	22.00
a bureau	12.00
*a wardrobe	24.00
a chamber stand	5.00
1 arm + 3 sitting chairs	21.00
*a travelling box	5.00

*Furniture still at Rockwood

J. Shipleys Room (continued)

a medicine case	18.00
mantle ornaments and thermometer	3.00
bedding and mattresses	125.00
window and bed curtains	50.00
2 tables	30.00
a bowl, pitcher etc.	9.00
a shaving glass	3.00
a medicine stand	5.00
a chair, stool and towel stand	6.00
carpeting on chamber and dressing room	75.00

Passage Room

2 pictures	150.00
2 chairs	5.00
carpet	6.00

Green Room

a bedstead	80.00
3 tables and a shaving glass	50.00
*a wardrobe	45.00
*a lounge	25.00
1 arm and 6 sitting chairs	36.00
a chamber stand	5.00
bowls, pitcher etc. (double sett)	12.00
a towel rack and stool	3.00
andirons - fender & mantle ornaments	5.00
bed and window curtain	50.00
carpeting	94.00
a picture	30.00

Gallery and Hall Stairs

24 yards of matting	11.00
*1 elevating side table	6.00
a butlers side table	2.00

Portico

chairs, mats etc. on portico	21.00
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Wine Cellar

64 bottles Madeira per \$3.00	192.00
3 " milk punch 1.50	4.50
14 " Sherry wine 3.00	42.00

*Furniture still at Rockwood

Wine Cellar (continued)

14 Bottles Champagne wine	\$2.50	35.00
43 " Claret	1.50	64.50
23 " assorted	3.00	69.00
12 " Old Port	3.00	36.00
14 " " "	2.00	28.00
1 Box " "	2.00	24.00
a lot Sherry		40.00
a " " cooking		16.50
a " whiskey		10.00
20 gallons of vinegar		6.00

Meat Cellar

18 hams and shoulders	43.00
2 pieces of dry beef	6.00
2 touns	1.50
a lot of bacon	19.00

Storage Cellar

a wine press	30.00
tubs	10.00
matting (parlour)	30.00

Milk Cellar

tubs, buckets, etc.	2.50
remainder of contents of cellar	30.00

Vinery

contents thereof, plants included	50.00
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Tool House

a grass cutter (by hand)	35.00
a vice, tools and implements	25.00
a gun, with case and fixtures	30.00

Vegetable Garden

a grind stone	4.00
a watering machine	8.00
-garden crop of produce	20.00
40 chickens	20.00
7 turkeys	7.00
2 pigs	14.00

Carriage House

a large grass cutter	100.00
a sleigh	30.00
an invalid chair (on wheels)	20.00
a Brougham (carriage)	100.00
a carriage	300.00
a Dearborn	200.00
a carriage (watson)	200.00
2 horses	450.00
1 horse (old)	35.00
a saddle, harness, bridles etc.	119.00
11 9/10 tons of hay	238.00
7 cows	700.00
2 heifers	50.00
1 bull calf	30.00
7 acres wheat	140.00
1 barometer	10.00
	<u>12,290.82</u>

Addendum

1. The final settlement of Shipley's estate lists a total value of \$527,404.31
2. Objects owned by Shipley that are still at Rockwood but unidentified in the inventory:

Bristol vase
 inkstand
 rosewood tea caddy
 miniature of Joseph Shipley
 silhouette of Joseph Shipley
 court dress and sword
 travel box
 1 pr. of Sheffield candlesticks
 10 fruit dishes
 sterling silver-24 forks
 and 24 spoons
 silver watch
 paintings: Horse Branker
 and Dog Toby, 1845

Swiss Mountains
 by George Bright

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1. Joseph Shipley, from a miniature painted in Liverpool in 1821. All photographs are from the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hargraves.
- Figure 2. Garden plan of Wyncote, signed: "A & G Williams, Liverpool, 1840."
- Figure 3. Watercolor of Wyncote painted in 1844 by James McGahan.
- Figure 4. Wyncote, date of photograph unknown.
- Figure 5. Rockwood, garden elevation of main house, signed: "George Williams Architect/Liverpool June 21, 1851."
- Figure 6. Conjectural plan of Rockwood gardens, c. 1865.
- Figure 7. Rockwood, working drawing of ground floor plan of main house, signed: "George Williams Architect/Liverpool June 21, 1851."
- Figure 8. Rockwood, working drawing of second floor plan of main house, signed: "George Williams Architect/Liverpool June 21, 1851."
- Figure 9. Rockwood, plan of addition signed: "George Williams Arc^t., Febr 19, 1856/12 Cases Street, Liverpool."
- Figure 10. Rockwood, working drawing of roof construction of main house, signed: "George Williams Architect/Liverpool June 21, 1851."
- Figure 11. Porter's lodge entrance porch, September 1971.
- Figure 12. Rockwood, northeast corner of main house, c. 1900.
- Figure 13. Rockwood, north front of main house, September 1971.
- Figure 14. Detail of entrance porch of main house, September 1971.

- Figure 15. Detail of barge boards of main house.
- Figure 16. 1856 addition, September 1971.
- Figure 17. Rockwood, ~~working~~ drawing of stable, signed:
"George Williams Arc^t. / Liverpool June 21, 1851."
- Figure 18. Rockwood, gardener's cottage, c. 1900.
- Figure 19. Rockwood, north front of main house, c. 1861.
- Figure 20. Rockwood, north front of main house, c. 1861.
- Figure 21. Archway between stair hall and anteroom, c. 1900.
- Figure 22. Stairhall, c. 1900.
- Figure 23. Desk and bookcase.
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneers.
Dimensions: height 92 3/4"; width 49"; depth 22 1/4".
Place of origin: England
- Figure 24. Drawing room fireplace, c. 1900. A marble mantle
in the Adamesque style is now in the room.
- Figure 25. Drawing room. The table and mirror opposite the
fireplace, c. 1900.
- Figure 26. Pier table.
Primary wood: mahogany
marble top.
Dimensions: height 37 1/2"; width 76", depth 24".
Place of origin: probably Philadelphia
- Figure 27. Table
Primary woods: ebony; rosewood, ebony and other
veneers.
Dimensions: height 31 3/4"; width 48"; depth 24 1/4".
Place of origin: England.
- Figure 28. cane settee
Primary wood: Mahogany.
Dimensions: height 35"; length 77 1/2"; depth 22"
Place of origin: Wilmington or Philadelphia.
- Figure 29. Dining room fireplace.

- Figure 30. Sideboard
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneer.
Dimensions: height 46 1/2"; width 87"; depth 28 1/4".
Place of origin: Philadelphia.
- Figure 31. Chair, one of eleven
Primary wood: mahogany.
Dimensions: height 34"; width 19"; depth 21 1/2".
Place of origin: England or America.
- Figure 32. Dining table
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneer.
Dimensions: height 28"; top, 56 x 57 1/2".
Place of origin: England or America.
- Figure 33. Wardrobe.
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneer.
Dimensions: height 88 1/2"; width 53 1/4"; depth 24".
Place of origin: Wilmington or Philadelphia.
- Figure 34. Gentlemen's Wardrobe.
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneer.
Dimensions: height 55 1/4"; width 72"; depth 22".
Place of origin: England or America.
- Figure 35. Sofa.
Primary wood: mahogany.
Dimensions: height 41"; length 54 1/2"; depth 19 1/4".
Place of origin: Wilmington or Philadelphia.
- Figure 36. Dressing glass.
Primary wood: mahogany.
Dimensions: height 27 1/2"; width 24 3/4"; depth 12 3/4".
Place of origin: Wilmington.
- Figure 37. Butler's table.
Primary wood: mahogany and mahogany veneer.
Dimensions: height 41"; width 54"; depth 19."
- Figure 38. Rockwood, garden front of main house before 1892.
Hannah Shipley is sitting on the porch.
- Figure 39. East entrance of kitchen garden, c. 1900.
- Figure 40. Rockwood estate, c. 1940.

FIGURE 1

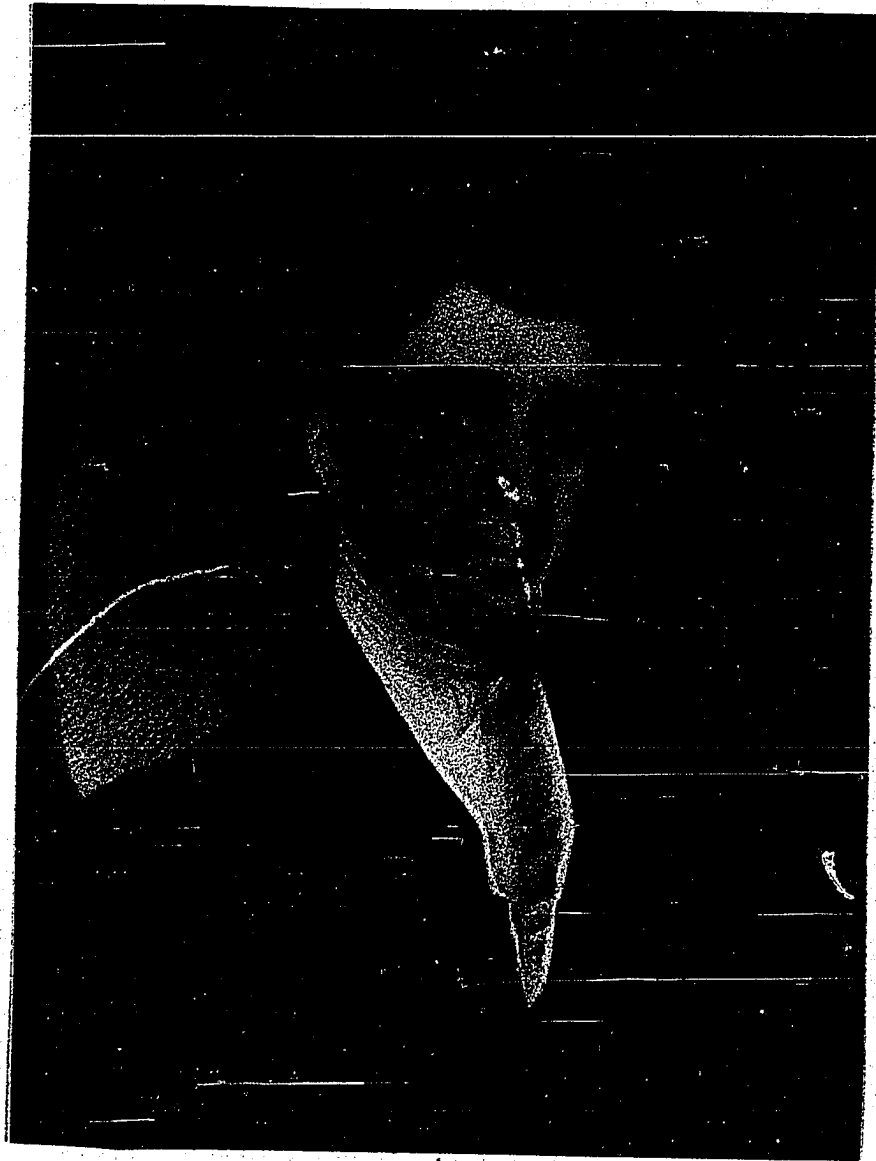


FIGURE 3

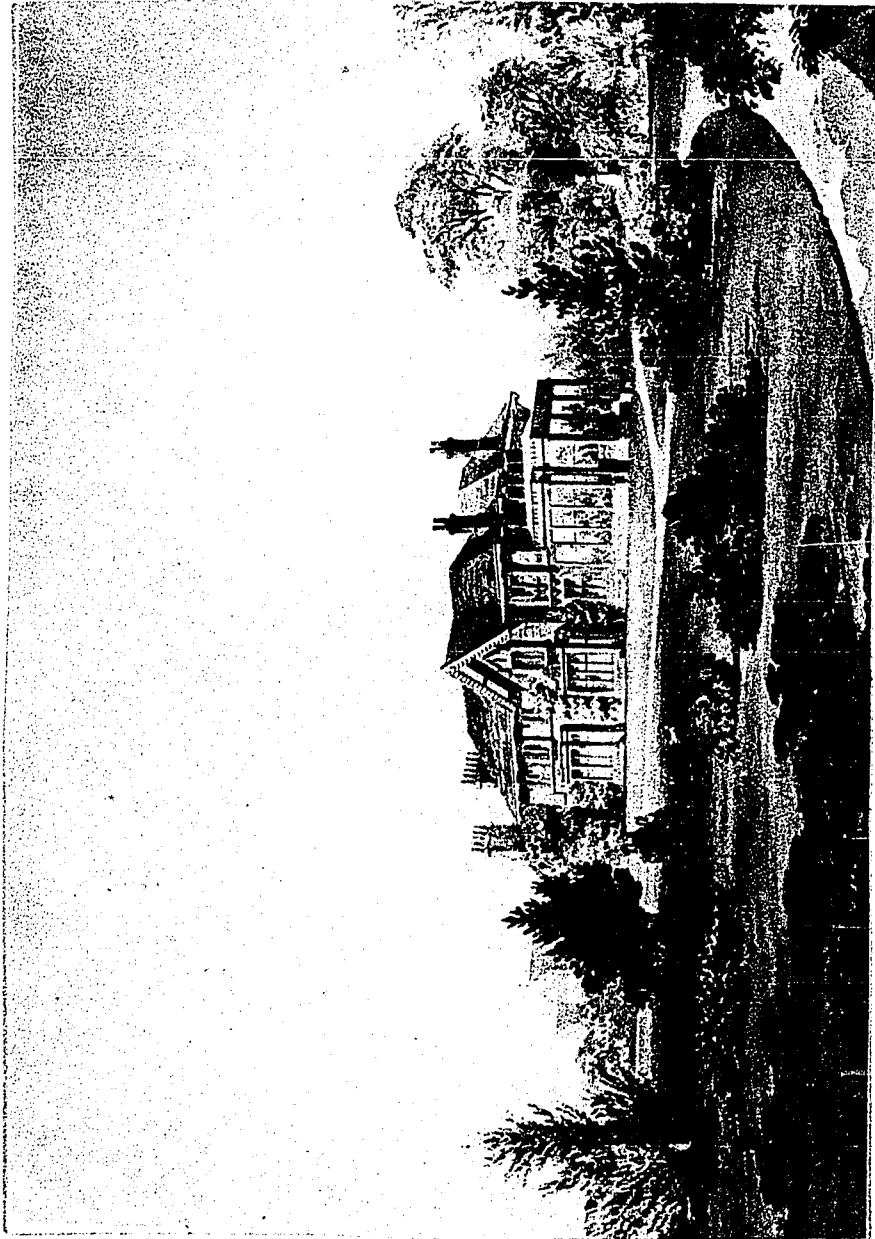


FIGURE 4

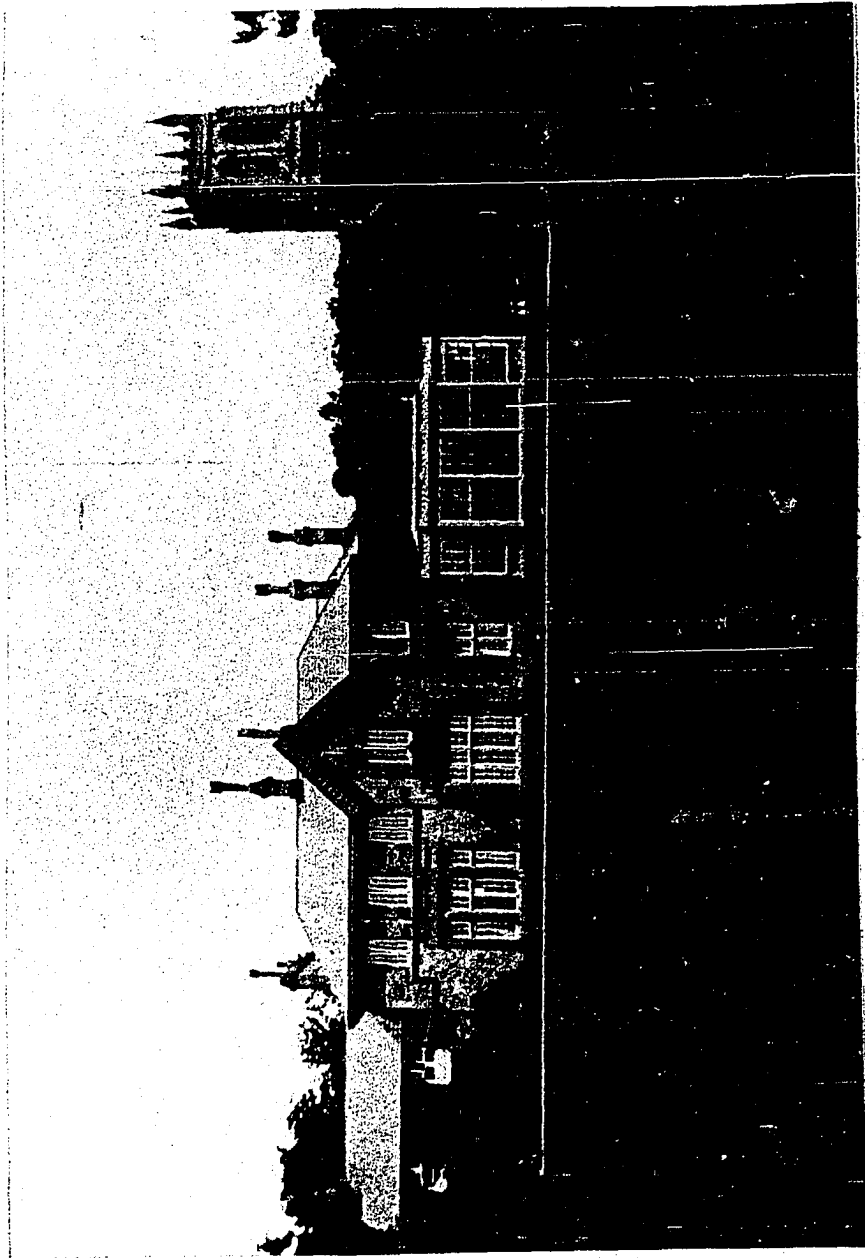
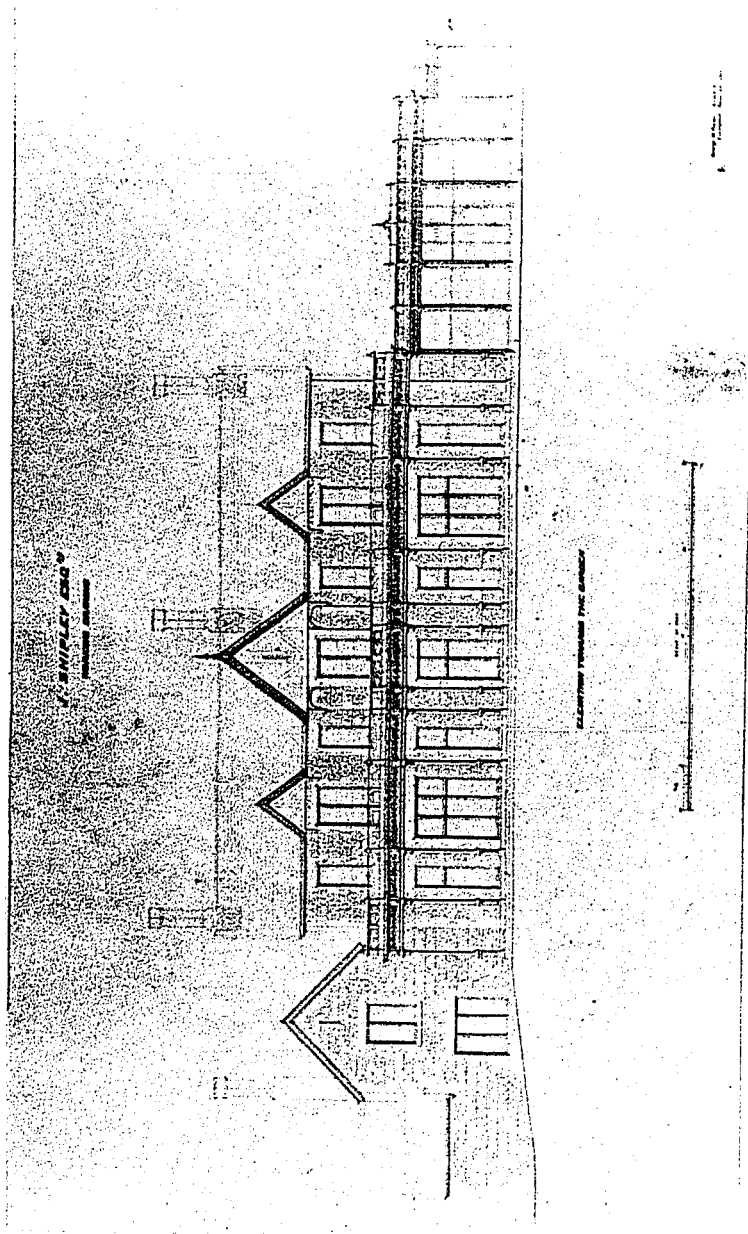
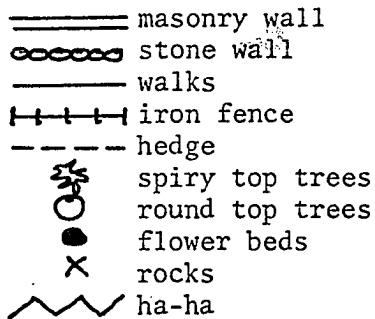


FIGURE 5



LEGEND

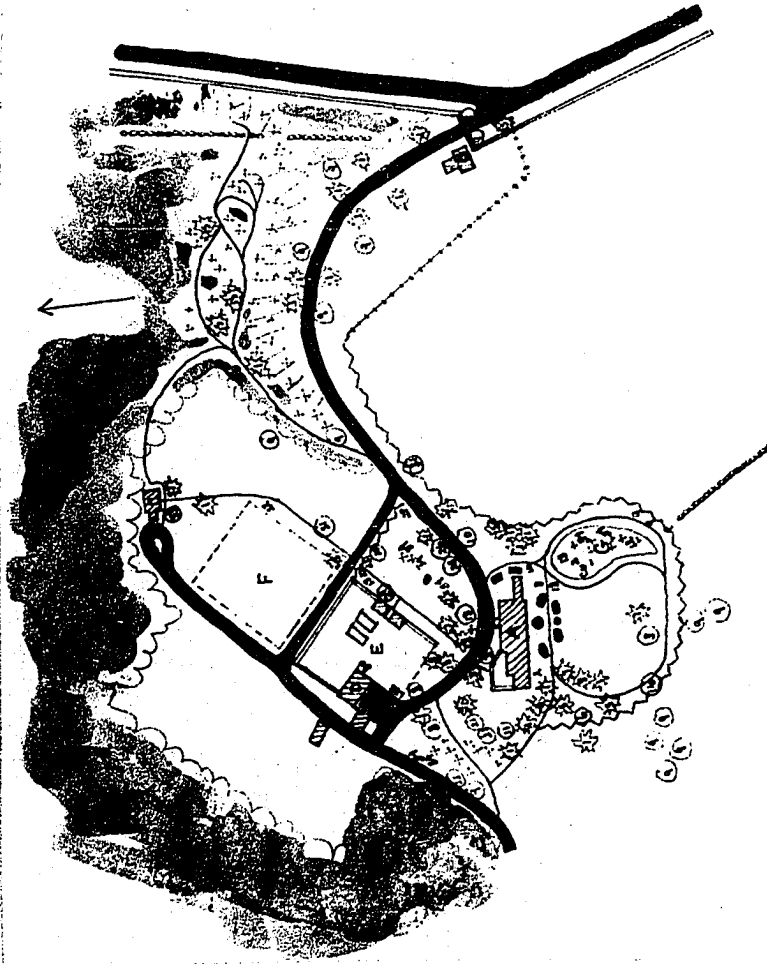
For Conjectural Plan of the Gardens



1. Canadian Hemlock
2. Yew
3. Beech
4. Cherry
5. Blue Atlas Cedar
6. Elm
7. Golden Larch
8. Spruce
9. White Oak
10. Maple
11. Japanese Maple
12. Sourwood
13. Holly
14. Mountain Laurel
15. White Pine
16. Weeping Larch
17. Fir
18. Copper Beech
19. American Beech
20. Carpinus
21. Tulip Poplar
22. Crab Apple

23. Box
24. Rhododendron
25. Ginko
26. Weeping Beech
27. Dogwood
28. Magnolia Macrofilia
29. Lombardy Poplar
30. Fig
31. Pin Oak
32. Linden
33. Weeping Willow

FIGURE 6



CONJECTURAL PLAN OF ROCKWOOD c.1865

FIGURE 7

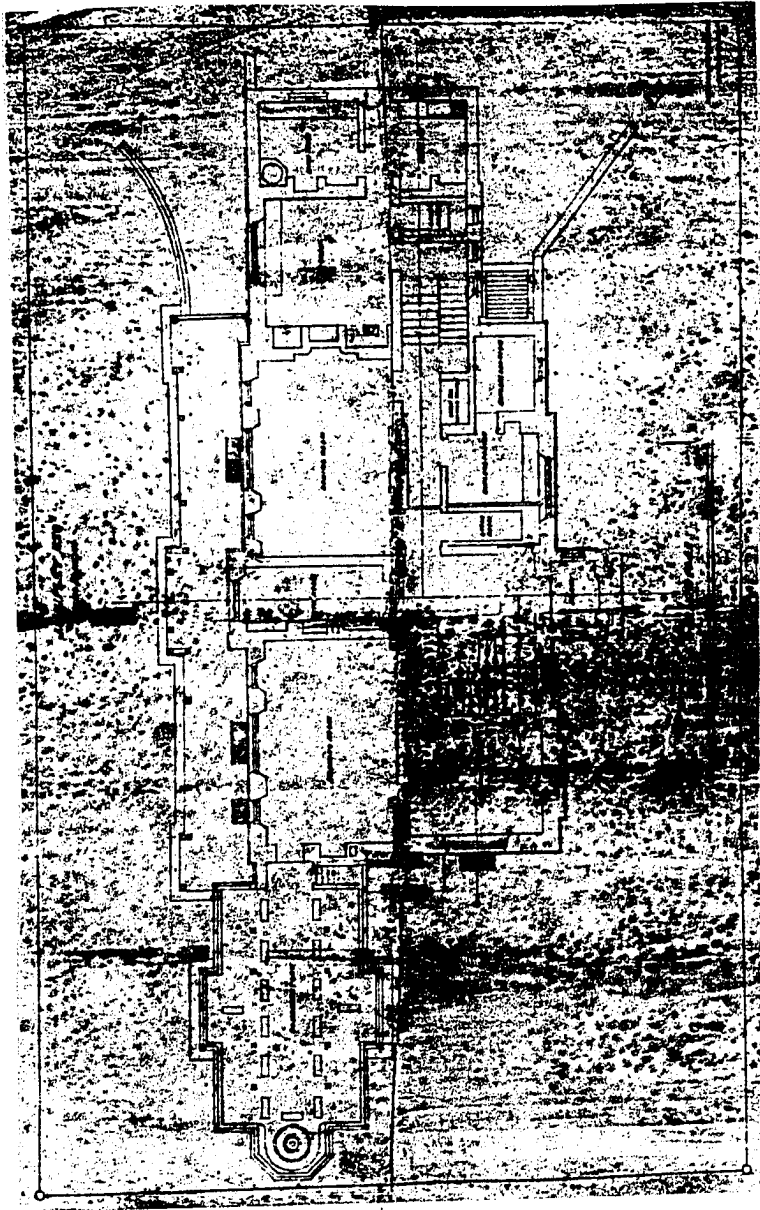


FIGURE 8

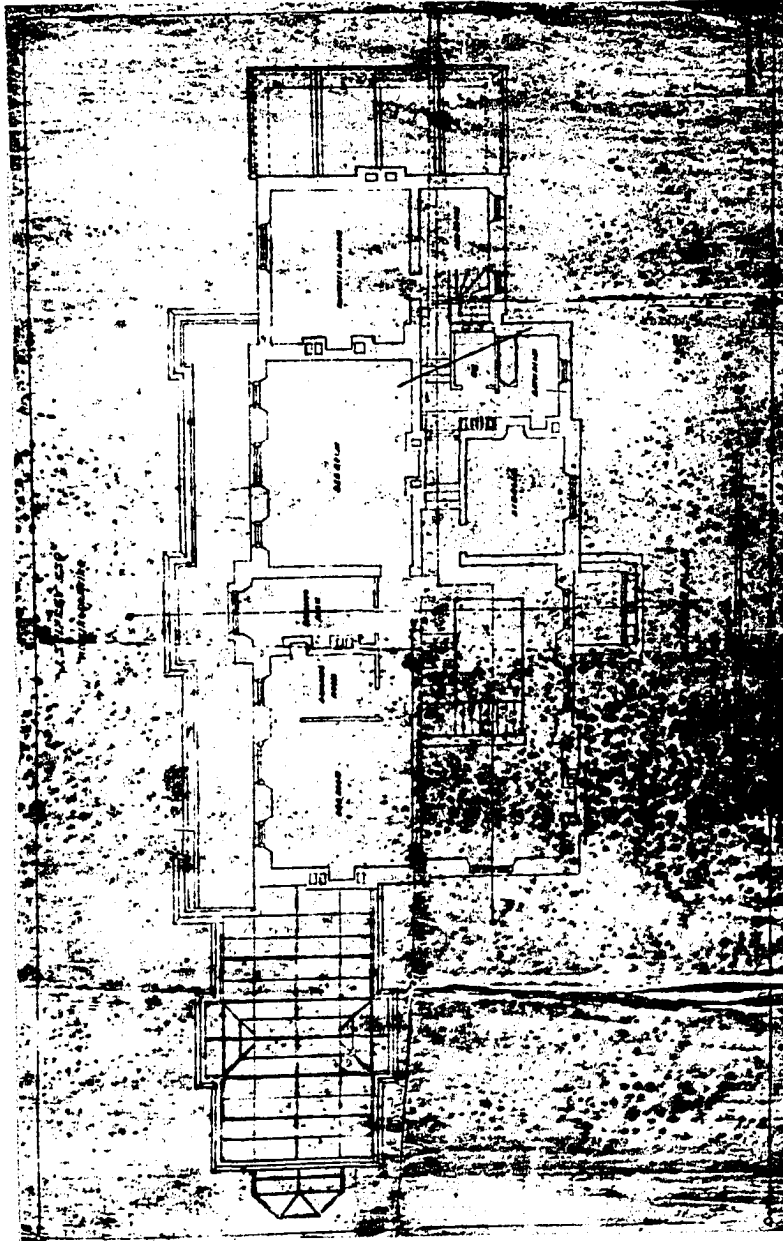


FIGURE 10

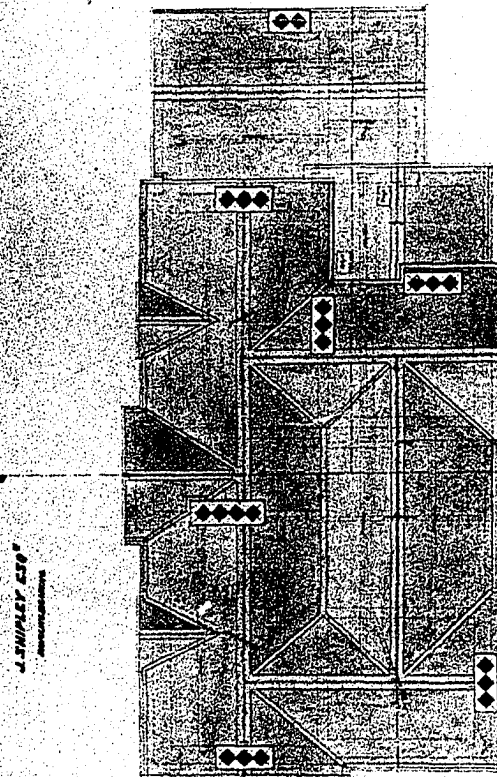


FIGURE 11



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FIGURE 12



FIGURE 13



• APR 72

FIGURE 14

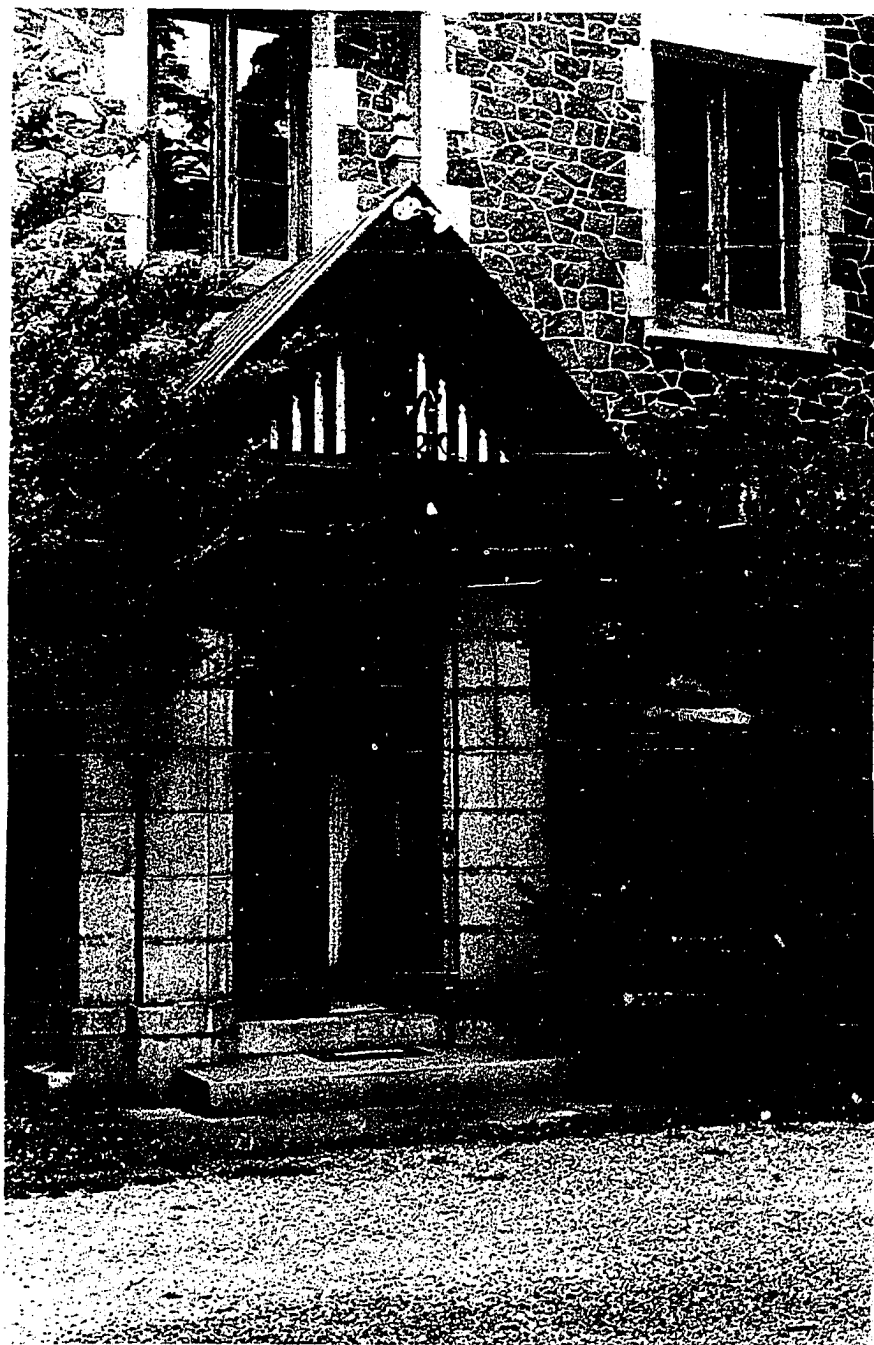
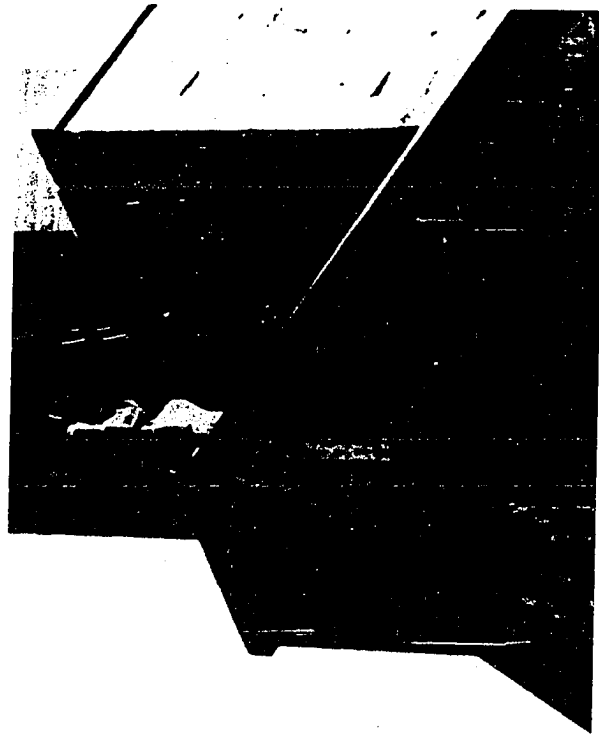


FIGURE 15



• APP • 11

FIGURE 16

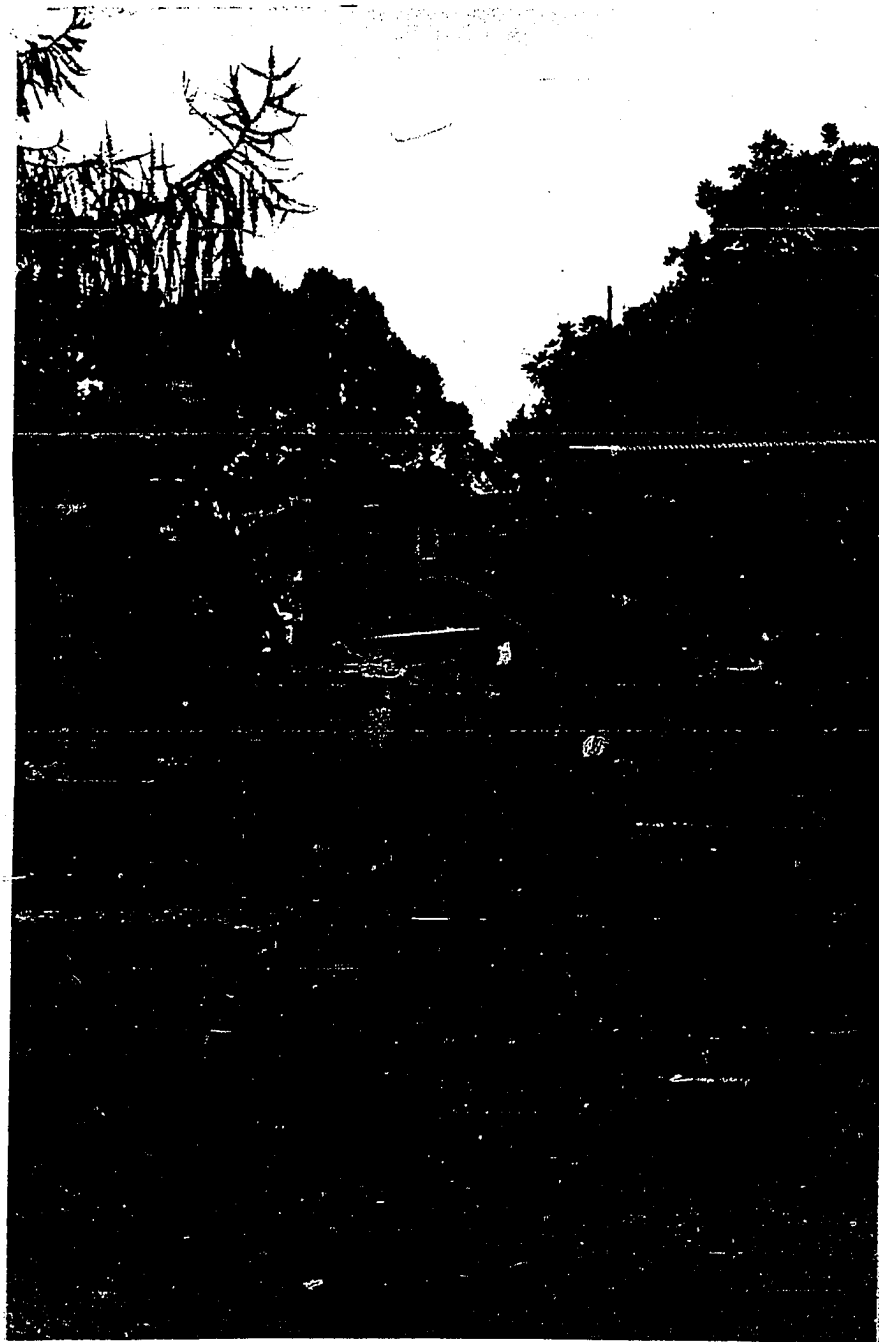


FIGURE 18

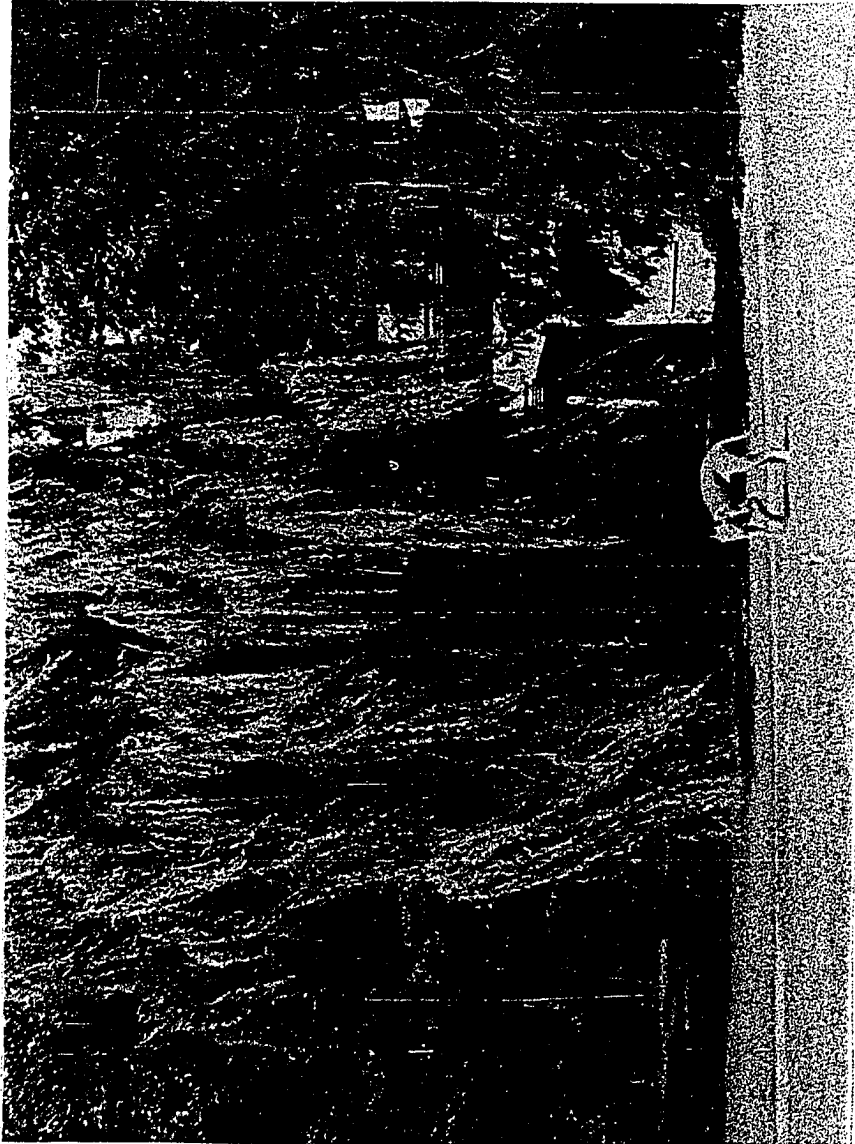


FIGURE 19

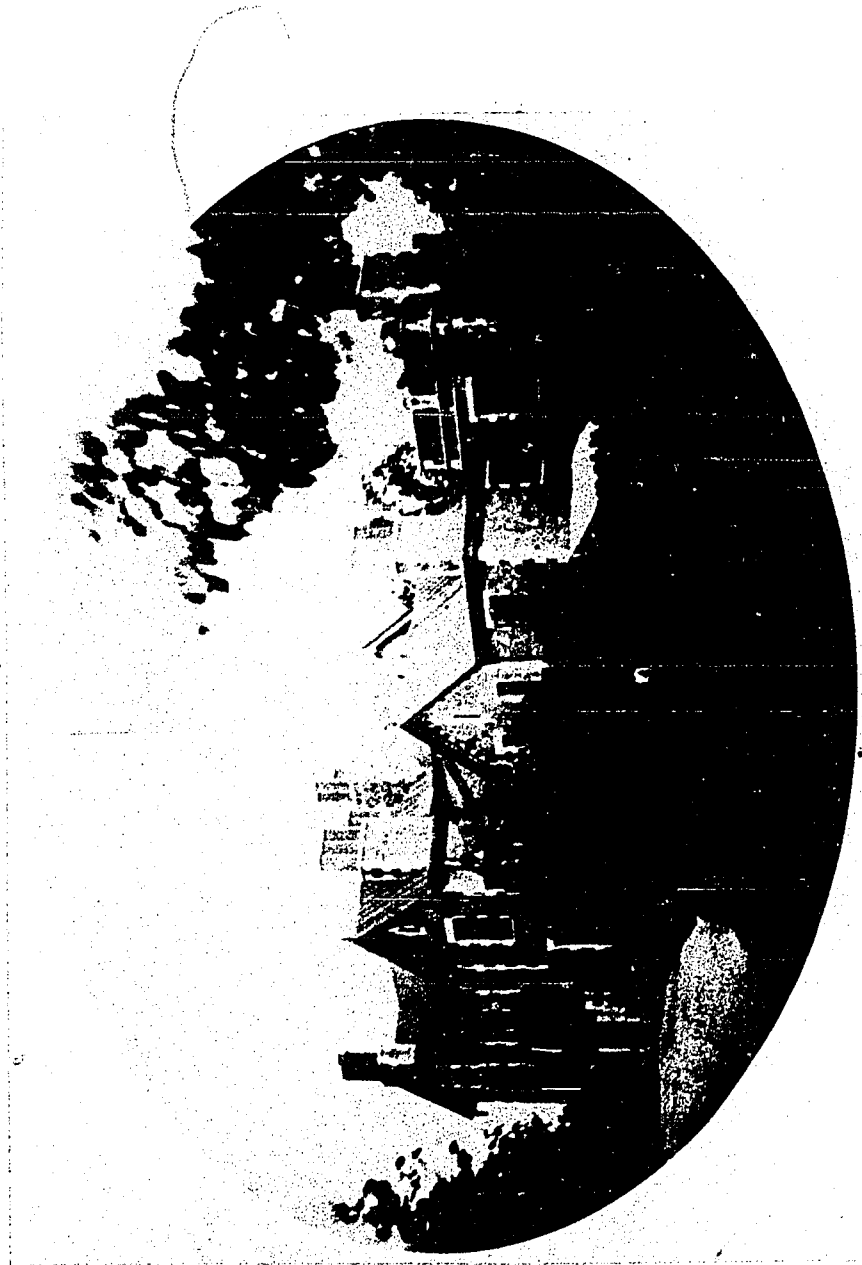


FIGURE 20

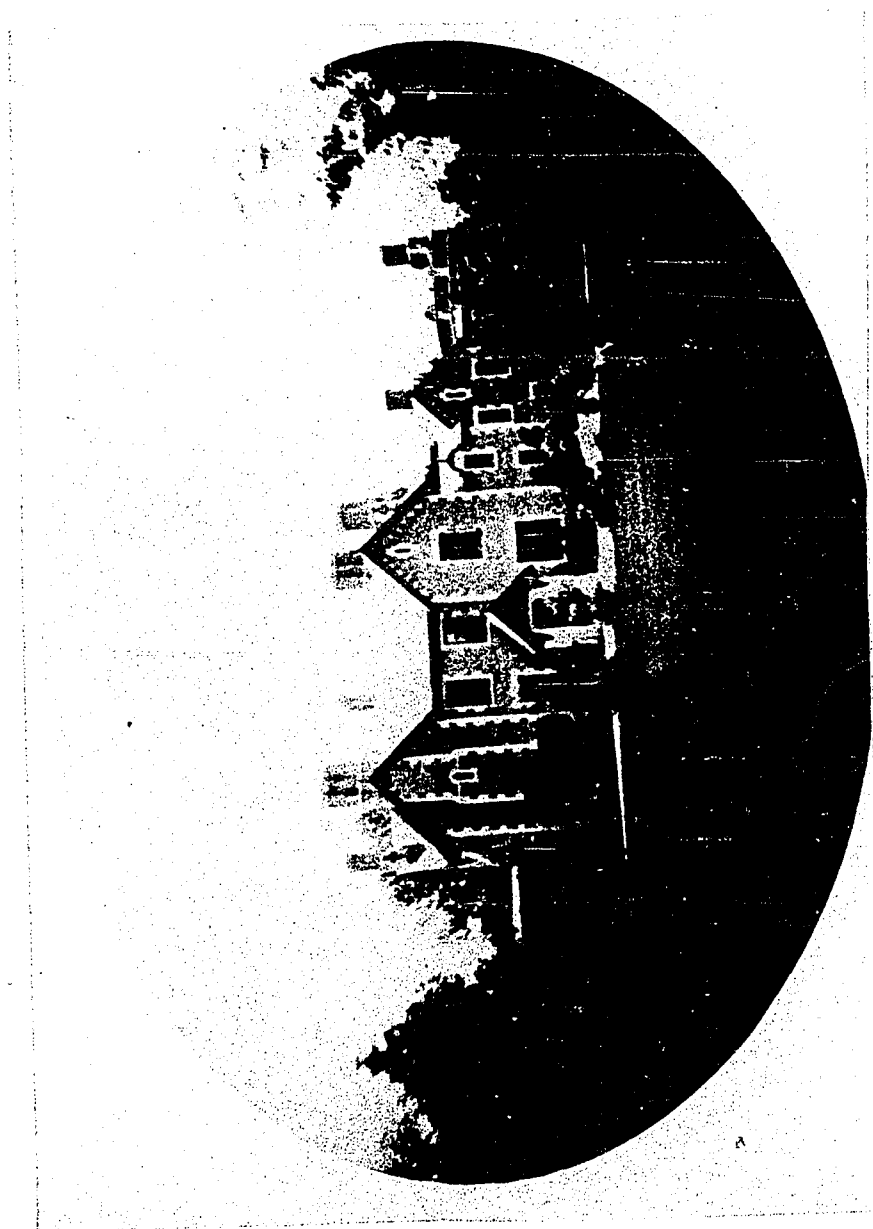


FIGURE 21



FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23

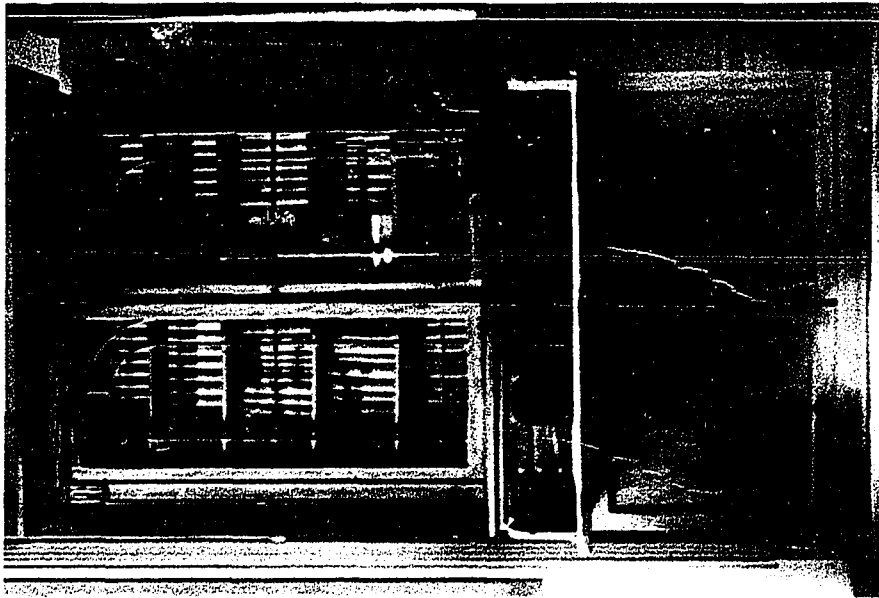


FIGURE 24



FIGURE 25

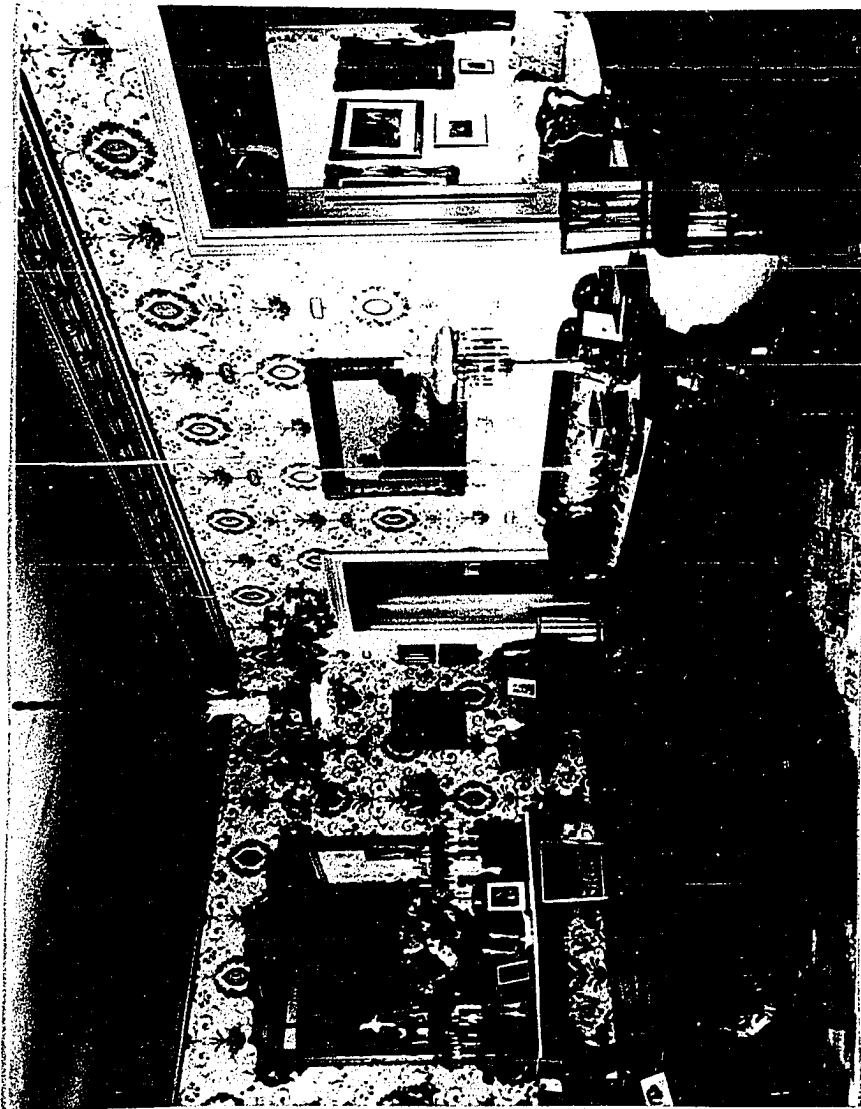


FIGURE 26

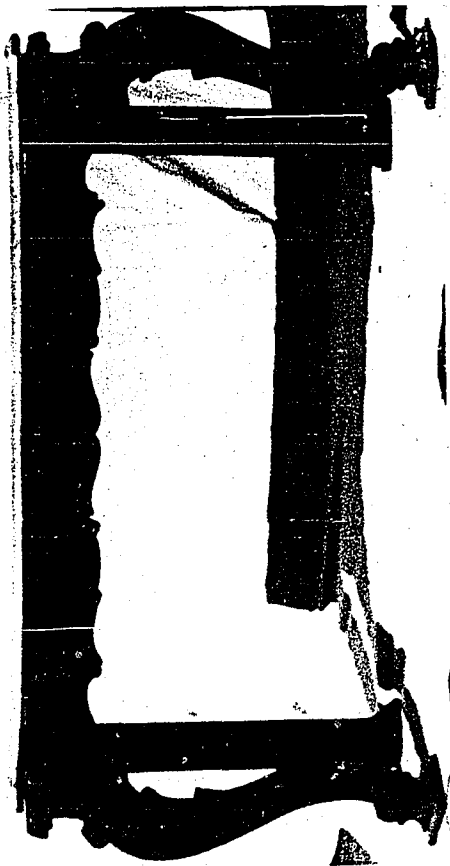


FIGURE 27



FIGURE 28



FIGURE 29

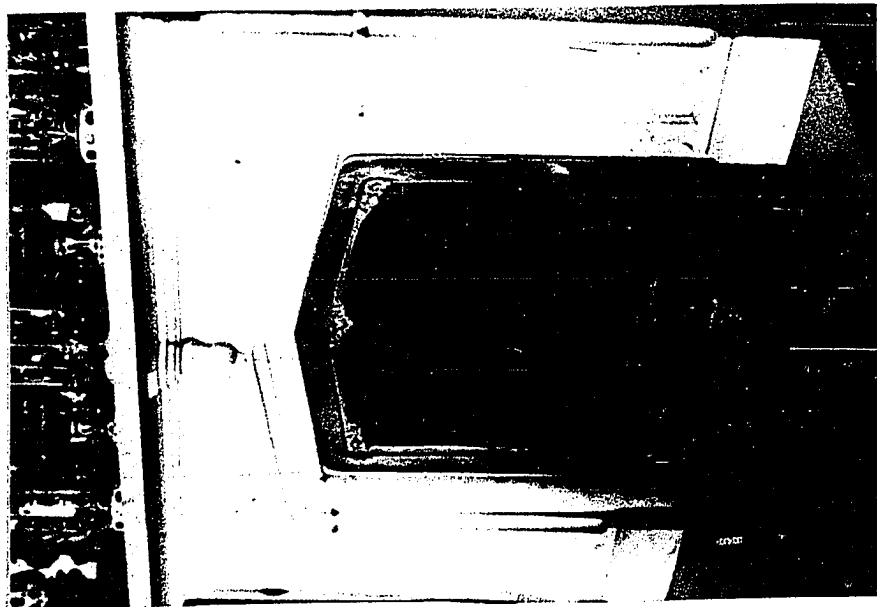


FIGURE 30



FIGURE 31

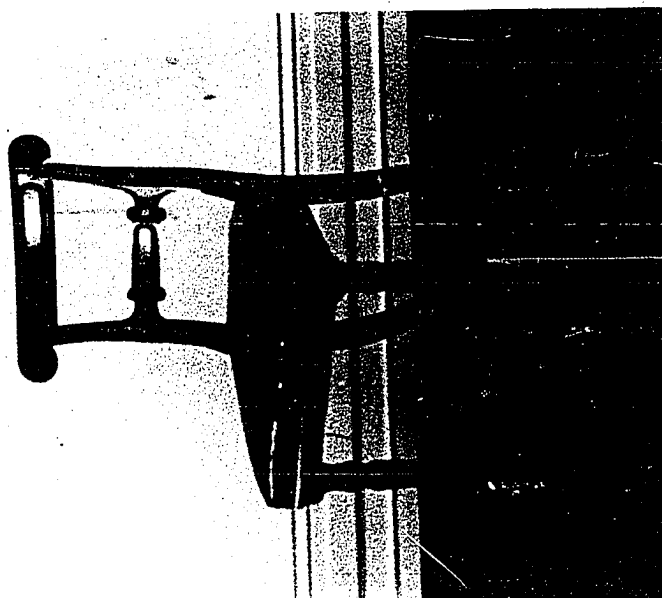


FIGURE 32



FIGURE 33

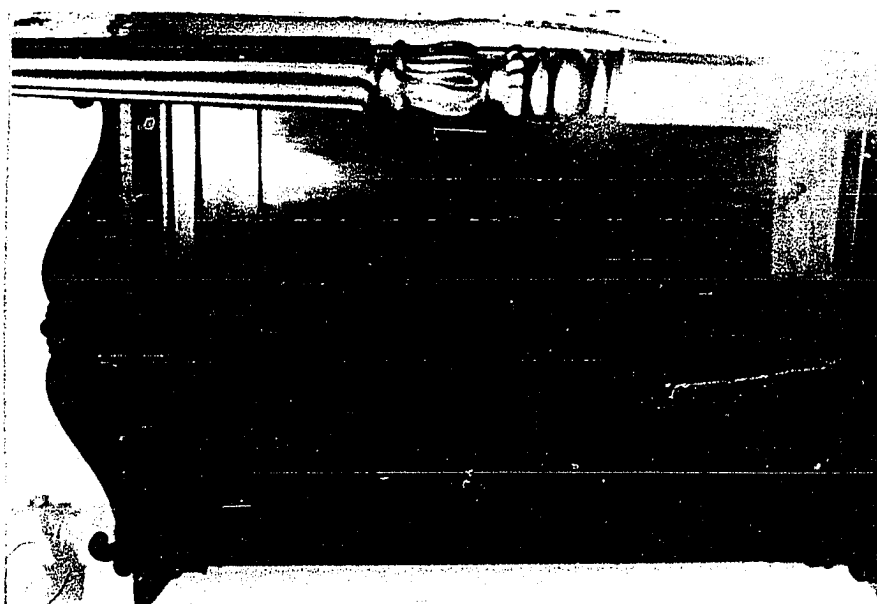


FIGURE 34

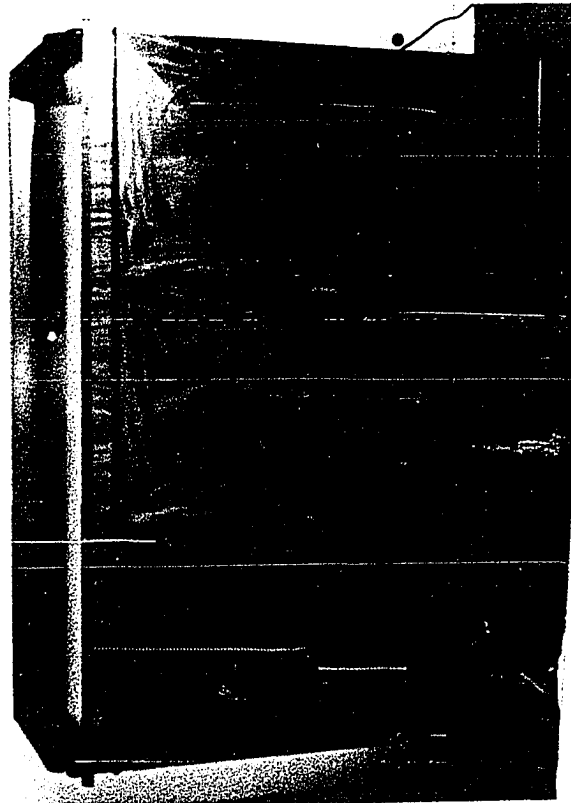


FIGURE 35

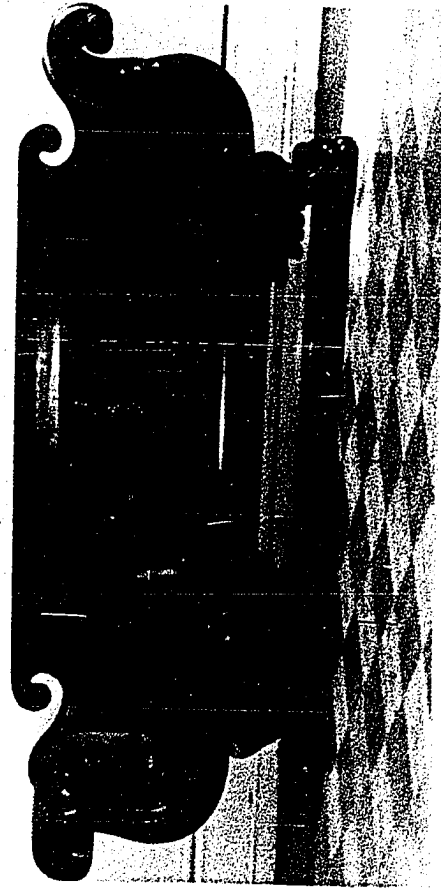
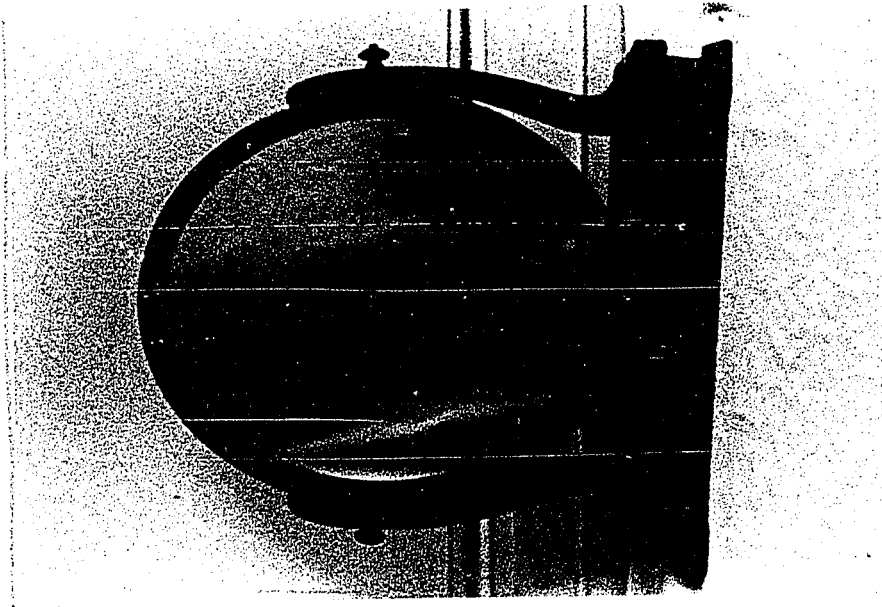


FIGURE 36



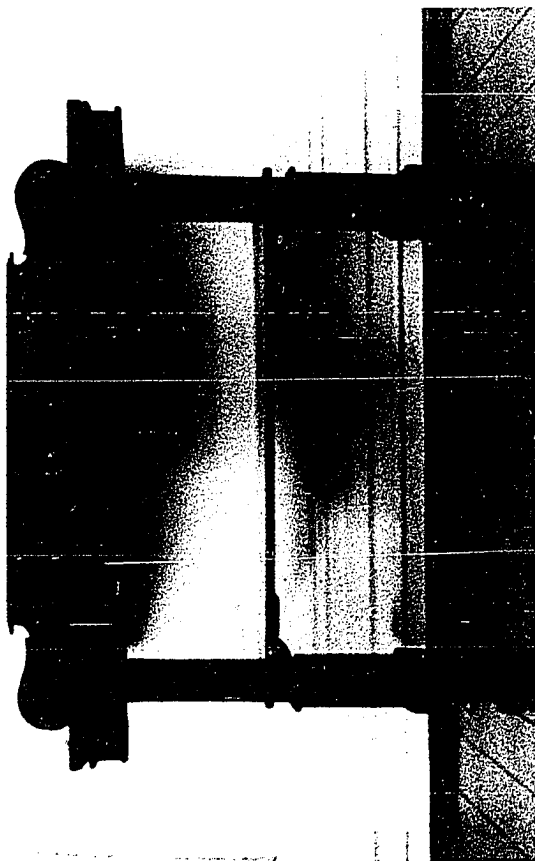
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FIGURE 37

FIGURE 38

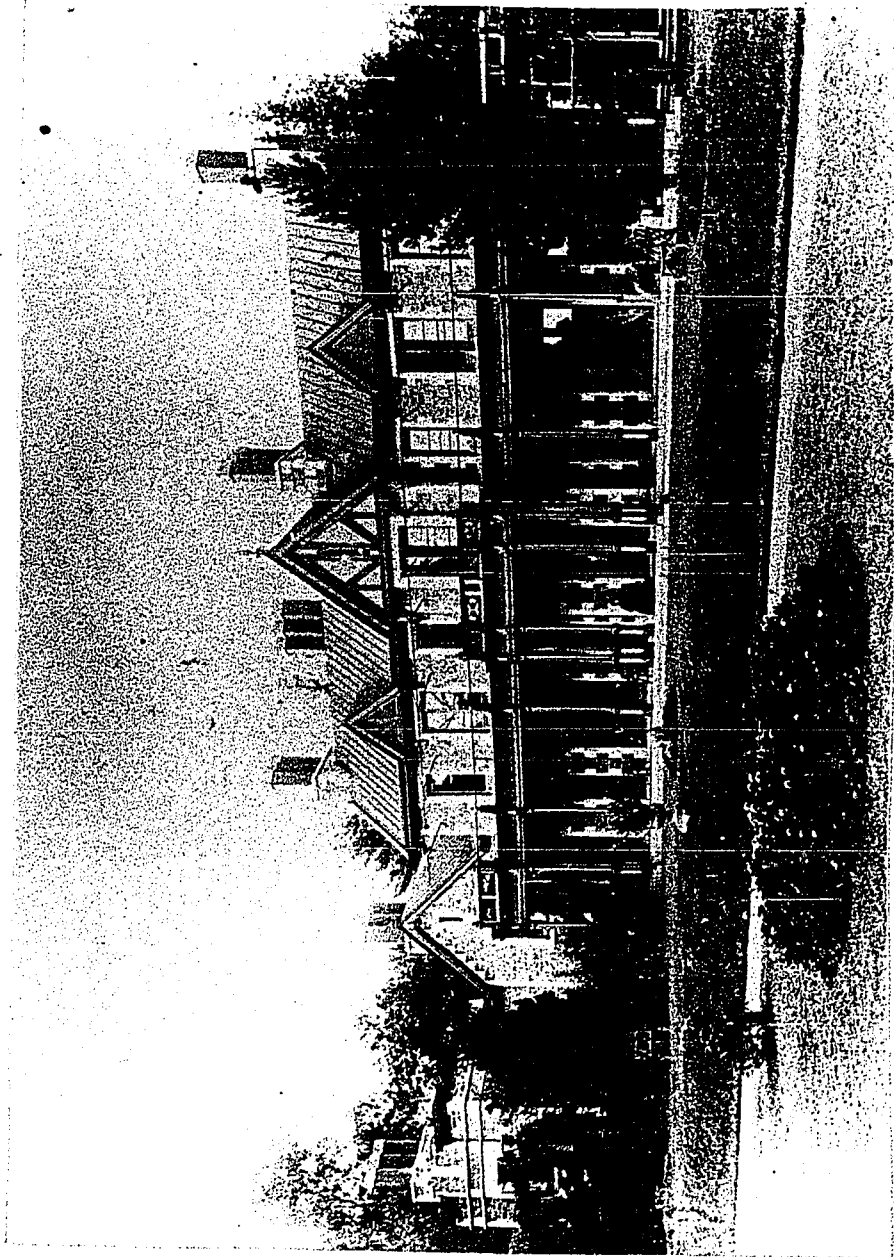


FIGURE 39

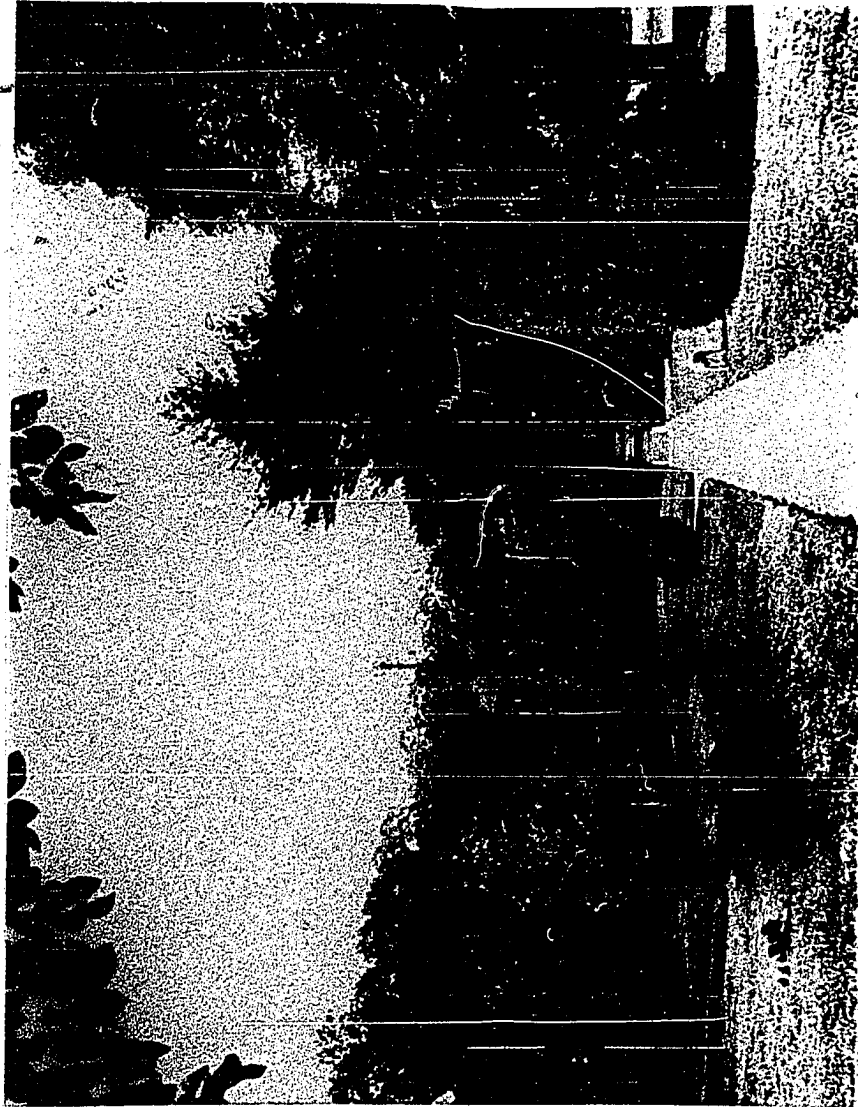


FIGURE 40

