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THE HIGHLANDS: THE COUNTRY SEAT OF ANTHONY MORRIS.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (WINTERTHUR PROGRAM),

M.A., 1981

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THE HIGHLANDS: THE COUNTRY SEAT OF ANTHONY MORRIS

David W. Dangremond

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.

August, 1981

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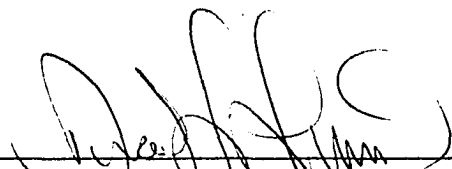
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THE HIGHLANDS: THE COUNTRY SEAT OF ANTHONY MORRIS

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ABSTRACT

On June 8, 1795, Anthony Morris noted in his daybook, "The Masons began to lay the Stones of the new House", marking the beginning of construction of the country house he would call "The Highlands". Morris had acquired a two hundred acre tract of land the year before in Whitmarsh township, north of Philadelphia. He devoted the next thirteen years of his life and a large part of his fortune to the construction of the house and development of the property into a successful farm and country seat.

Morris was a member of a founding Quaker family of Philadelphia. He was educated by tutors and at the University of Pennsylvania. Trained as a lawyer, Morris was active in politics, and at the age of twenty-seven was elected Speaker of the Pennsylvania Senate. He later served as Legate to Spain under James Madison. Morris also had mercantile interests, and was involved in the China trade. Educated and exacting, he kept detailed accounts of his business and personal activities. His daybooks and ledgers which document the construction and furnishing of The Highlands have been preserved at Winterthur and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

At least two factors seem to have prompted Morris to acquire a country estate. First, as a rising member of the Philadelphia Quaker elite, he undoubtedly considered The Highlands as an investment, in both

economic and social terms. The second and more immediate factor may have been the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790's in Philadelphia. The Highlands offered an escape from the heat, noise, filth, and disease of the city.

No plans or elevations of the house survive, and it is likely that Morris himself planned the design of The Highlands. The facade, with its projecting central block flanked by giant pilasters of the Ionic order, seems to have been based on a design published in 1754 by Abraham Swan in his Collection of Designs in Architecture, a book available to Morris through his membership in the Library Company of Philadelphia. A more immediate design source for The Highlands is found in the Library Company building itself, built in 1789 according to designs by William Thornton.

The Highlands continued to be used as a country house by later owners until it was given to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1970. Relatively few changes were made to the house and grounds to suitably adapt The Highlands to changes of fashion, family size and structure, and technological innovations. Today, The Highlands is still surrounded by the same cultivated fields which helped its owners to prosper. Not only the house, but many of its eighteenth and nineteenth century farm and outbuildings survive, providing an unusually complete impression of an eighteenth century country house in its proper physical context. Together with the manuscript documentation for The Highlands, they give a detailed picture of the building and trade practices of late eighteenth century Philadelphia, and the house and farm of one of her leading citizens.



THE HIGHLANDS
Fort Washington, Pennsylvania
Built for Anthony Morris in 1796

INTRODUCTION

The architectural history of Philadelphia, perhaps more than any other American city, is distinguished by the large number of country houses constructed within a twenty mile radius of the city. For more than two centuries Philadelphians built country houses, beginning in 1682 with William Penn's own development of Pennsbury Manor on the banks of the Delaware River north of the city. Following the pattern of English men of means, Philadelphians escaped to these rural retreats which offered a summer respite from the heat, noise, filth, and disease of the city. In addition, the cultivation of these large tracts of land by tenant farmers provided an additional source of income for their proprietors.

Country house building in Philadelphia reached a peak during the mid-eighteenth century. Sites were selected along the perimeter of the city by prosperous Philadelphians. Many of the monuments of American architecture date from this time and place - Port Royal (1762) and Chalkley Hall (1776) built north of the city, Cliveden (1763-1767) built by Benjamin Chew in Germantown, and Mount Pleasant (1761) built by Captain John MacPherson in Fairmount Park. Of all the areas near

the city, "Faire Mount" as it was labeled on the 1682 plan of the city by Thomas Holmes, was the most fashionable before the Revolution. Today, twenty country houses built before 1850 still stand on their original foundations in the four thousand acre park.

The Revolution temporarily halted building activity in Philadelphia, as manpower and financial resources were dedicated to the war effort. Peace brought prosperity to the city, as Philadelphia became the political capital of the new nation. With the government of both the state and the nation centered there, Philadelphia was also a city bustling with economic, cultural, and social activity in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

Peace and prosperity also brought a burst of building activity, as ambitions and pocketbooks, too long restrained, found release. Philadelphians demonstrated their wealth and their security in civic, commercial, and domestic buildings. By the middle of the decade, the population of the city had swelled to 18,000. The politics and commerce of the city, however, were controlled by only 10% of the men.¹ Anthony Morris, then aged 29, was one of them. In that year, Morris listed his address as No. 294 South Second Street, and his occupation as attorney at law.² And in that year, Morris, like so many of his associates, began to build a country house.

ANTHONY MORRIS - BIOGRAPHY

Anthony Morris did not need to earn his place among the Philadelphia elite; he was born to it. A sixth generation Philadelphian, his family had been closely tied to the political, commercial, and military history of the city since its founding. His great-great-grandfather, Anthony Morris (1654-1721) was a mayor of the city. His great-grandfather, also Anthony (1681-1763), increased the family fortune as a successful brewer. His own father, Samuel (1734-1812), known as "Captain Sam", was a founder of the First City Troop of Philadelphia and a member of the State in Schuylkill. His mother was Rebecca Wistar Morris, and through her he was connected to the equally influential Wistar family.¹

Anthony Morris was born on February 10, 1766, in Philadelphia. Educated first at home by tutors, he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1783. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar on July 27, 1787. On May 13, 1790, Anthony Morris was married to Mary Smith Pemberton, the daughter of another old Philadelphia Quaker family. Her father, James Pemberton (1723-1809), was described as "an ardent agent in all measures of decided good."² Anthony and

Mary Morris had four children, a son named for his grandfather Pemberton, and three daughters.

Anthony Morris practiced law intermittently throughout his life, but Philadelphia city directories of the 1790's show that he vacillated between legal and mercantile careers while in his thirties. His interest in politics, however, was constant. Morris was elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate and in 1793, at the age of 27, was chosen Speaker of the Senate. Morris was a close friend of James and Dolly Madison, even serving as a witness at their marriage. After the death of Mary Pemberton Morris in 1808, Dolly Madison acted as a surrogate mother to the Morris daughters, often inviting them to spend extended periods with her at the White House.³ James Madison and Anthony Morris shared an interest in politics, and Madison appointed Morris Legate to Spain in 1813 and 1814. It was during this period of service that Morris began the negotiations which led to the purchase of Florida by the United States.

Morris was actively involved in international trade. His ledger and personal papers reveal that he was a shareholder in the ship Americus, trading in the West Indies, and the ships India, Ariel, and Camille, involved in the lucrative China Trade.⁴ His ledgers also reveal that one of his principal commodities was gunpowder.

Morris was a large landowner. He owned a town house in Philadelphia at 72 South Second Street, just two blocks from the wharves and Meeting House and four blocks from the State House. He also owned property on Broad, Front, Pine, Spruce, and Walnut Streets,

in addition to tracts of land in Passyunk, Moyamensing, and Whitemarsh.

As an accountant, Morris was exacting. This study would not have been possible without the detailed ledgers, daybooks, and receipts kept by Morris throughout his life. To protect his fortune, Morris kept accounts at the Bank of Pennsylvania and the Bank of North America, of which he served as a director from 1800-1806. To protect his city house, he owned shares of the North American Insurance Company.

Anthony Morris did not devote all his hours to politics and finance, however. His account books reveal a great deal about his personal life and interests as well. An avid reader, his extensive personal library included works on history, geography, literature, and agriculture. He also subscribed to the United States Gazette and the Courier de la France et de des Colonies published by Moreau de Saint-Mery. That he read the Courier indicates an alliance with the French community of Philadelphia, an assumption further supported by the fact that Morris sent his daughters to Madame Rivardi's school in Philadelphia. Among their close friends at the school was Victorine duPont of Wilmington.⁵

Morris furnished his houses well, patronizing some of the leading craftsmen of his day, many of whom lived within a five-block radius of his house on South Second Street (See Appendix E). On his walls he hung maps, prints, and paintings.⁶ During his lifetime he sat at least three times for his portrait: as a young man for both Charles Willson and James Peale (ILL. 2 and 3), in middle age for Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint Memin (ILL. 4), and as an old

man for an unidentified Washington photographer (ILL. 5).

Morris was a shareholder in both the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Library Company of Chestnut Hill. He undoubtedly visited both libraries frequently and, as a gentleman of education and means, probably consulted their holdings on civil architecture and the natural sciences. Morris owned a telescope, and his scientific interests led him to initiate an exchange of ideas with Swiss scientists in 1816. His interest in scientific farming led to early experimentation in that field and to his establishment of the Fellenberg Institute for agricultural studies at Bolton Farm, his farm in Bucks County, in 1830.

Even a sense of Morris' personal habits is revealed by his day books. We know, for example, that he smoked Havana "Segars" and that he drank Souchong and Hyson tea. His diet included turkey, mutton, beef, venison, and pork. He must have eaten the apples and peaches he grew and the imported oranges he bought. His clothes are accounted for and even his hairdresser, George Abbot, is named. Morris traveled in a phaeton and a sulky.

One other aspect of Morris' life needs to be discussed, and that is his religion. Morris was born a Quaker, the descendant of one of the Quaker founders of a Quaker city. Although successful in business and worldly in his intellectual awareness, Morris seems to have been conservative in his personal tastes and habits. This conservatism, perhaps bred of his Quaker elite upbringing, pervades his portraits and the house he built in Whitemarsh. But Morris was also

successful in politics, and his politics came to clash with his religion. As Speaker of the Senate, Morris signed a bill in 1794 which authorized the militia to quell the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. Because he had gone against the pacifist tenets of the Society of Friends, Morris was disowned by the Philadelphia Meeting the following year.

This may have been a factor in Morris' retreat to the country with the purchase of a farm in Whitemarsh in 1794. Even discounting this unfortunate turn in his life, however, it is not surprising that Anthony Morris began to build a country house in 1795. As a rising member of the Philadelphia elite, it is logical that at the age of twenty-nine he would acquire a country house and farm as an investment - in both financial and social terms. His decision may have been hastened by a second and more immediate factor. The outbreak of a yellow fever epidemic in 1793 forced all who could to flee the city. John Fanning Watson records that in "the summer of this year was the 'yellow fever' calamity" when "the graves were not dug singly, but pits, which might receive many before entirely filling up, were opened."⁷ The unsanitary water system and swampy areas around the formerly fashionable Fairmount Park led many owners to abandon their country houses in that part of the city.

For his country house, Morris turned northward, to Whitemarsh. There, he purchased a tract of 200 acres early in 1794 from Joseph McClean (See Appendix A). The property included one dwelling house, and in June Morris paid Christian Loeser, "Carpenter", for the

construction of a necessary house.⁸ From the outset, it is clear that Morris intended to develop his new property as a farm and rural retreat, and on June 8, 1795 he noted in his day book that "The Masons began to lay the Stones of the new House", thus signaling the beginning of construction of the house he would name, "The Highlands."

THE HIGHLANDS: DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

Anthony Morris named the house he built "The Highlands" because of its site on the highest point of land in Montgomery County. The dates of construction of The Highlands are quite certain. The day books kept by Anthony Morris, now in the Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection at Winterthur, and the ledgers kept simultaneously by Morris, now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, chronicle the details of construction, beginning with the laying of the first stones on June 8, 1795 through the hanging of the bells by George Hederly in August of 1798. Even if these records had not survived, it would be possible to date the construction quite accurately by consulting the tax lists of Montgomery County for the late eighteenth century. These records reveal that in 1794 Anthony Morris' property in Whitemarsh was assessed at £ 930. The substantial increase of his tax to £ 1140 the following year and the listing of a "dwelling house" signal a major improvement of the property with the construction of a new house in that year.

The workmen employed by Morris to build the house, the suppliers of materials and finished goods, and the cabinetmakers called

upon to furnish the new house are also carefully recorded in the accounts.¹ A detailed picture of the men and materials emerges, and one can envision the progress in construction with each new entry.

The first record of improvements at Morris' new farm in Montgomery County was the construction of a "Necessary" in 1794. On June 17 of that year, "C. Loeser, Carpenter" was paid £ 4-15 for building the necessary. This was the first of many payments to Christian Loeser, the man who served as head carpenter and general overseer of construction of The Highlands. Very little is known about Loeser's life. He was born about 1750, presumably the son of John Jacob and Mary Margaret (Ebli) Loeser.² The Loeser family names suggest that they were of German ancestry, like many residents of Whitemarsh township. The first United States Census of 1790 lists Christian Loeser as a head of family. Montgomery County tax records of the 1790's reveal that Loeser owned 57 acres with a dwelling house, one horse and three cows valued at £ 290.³ His occupation is identified for the first time in the 1796 tax list, where he is listed as a carpenter. Except in 1801, when Loeser is listed as a farmer, his designation as a carpenter continues throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century. The United States Direct Tax of 1798 reveals one other fact about Loeser's work as a craftsman. Included in the list of outbuildings on his Montgomery County property is a "turner shop", indicating that he worked both as a turner and as a builder at the time he was working for Anthony Morris.

The Highlands is a masonry building, built of stuccoed rubble

stone on three sides with a facade of cut and dressed chickies quartzite quarried locally and supplied by George Krieger.⁴ Other stone-cutters listed in the day book are Edward Hollowell, H. Patterson, and William Stagley. Conrad Klime served as head mason for the construction of the house, assisted by Abraham Dewees and Thomas Crane. Klime (1757 - 1837), like Christian Loeser, was a member of the German craftsman community of Whitemarsh.

Appendix C provides an index of the craftsmen, most of them local, who worked on the construction of The Highlands. Appendix B gives a complete transcript of Morris' expenditures for the construction of his new house.

Morris wrote an accurate and detailed description of The Highlands less than ten years after it was completed.⁵ Although there have been some changes and additions to the house over the years, the basic fabric of the building survives just as he described it:

The house is of stone, 60 feet in front, by 45 in depth, the entrance to the hall is by a flight of marble steps and the pediment in front is supported by marble Ionic pilasters.[ILL. 6] The hall is 14 feet wide, and in the centre of the house, with an elegant and spacious mahogany staircase, extending to the garrets, from whence there is also a private staircase descending into the kitchen. [ILL. 7] The stories are twelve and thirteen feet high; every room is lathed and plastered on studs, so as to exclude the moisture caused by plastering on stone walls, and the chimneys in every room in both stories, finished with marble sides and hearths, iron backs and jams, with highly finished modern mantles; [ILL. 8]; every window is guarded by shutters within and without, the latter venetian[ILL. 9]. The kitchen is provided with every modern improvement, has a pump of excellent water at the door,

and adjoining it, is a very convenient room intended for a housekeeper, which commands the pantry, kitchen and greenhouse.

The design source for The Highlands is a matter of some speculation. The five-bay facade is distinguished by a projecting central block of three bays. Two giant pilasters of the Ionic order define this central block. These were supplied by Jonathan Sheppard and brought out from Philadelphia. A triangular pediment with a lunette window caps this section of the facade. Similar projecting blocks are found on a number of American buildings of the mid-eighteenth century. Such well-known houses as Mount Airy (1758) in Virginia and the Lee Mansion (1768) in Marblehead, Massachusetts demonstrate the use of this architectural feature in domestic buildings of both northern and southern colonies before the Revolution. In Philadelphia, it was a common feature of mid-Georgian country houses such as Mount Pleasant (1761), Port Royal (1762), and Cliveden (1763-1767). These American houses were influenced by English buildings of the early eighteenth century, with their projecting blocks inspired by the designs of Andrea Palladio (Ill.10). Palladio's Four Books of Architecture, first published in Venice in 1570, were brought to London in 1613 by Inigo Jones, and later made available to English architects and gentlemen through a 1738 edition by Isaac Ware. Even before this edition appeared, however, English architects had come under the influence of Palladio's designs. The architectural pattern books published by enterprising English architects, such as A Book of Architecture (1728) by James Gibbs, include designs which grew out of this Palladian tradition. A Book of Architecture and other English

architectural pattern books were used throughout the colonies by architects and builders, still under English rule and influence, seeking to emulate the fashionable styles of the English upper classes.⁶

The use of giant pilasters to define the central block of The Highlands identifies the house with a later period than these earlier examples where quoins, as used in the designs of James Gibbs, are found (Ill. 11). Although the use of giant pilasters was not widespread in America until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, American architects had used them prior to the Revolution. Such buildings as the Brick Market (1761-1762) in Newport by Peter Harrison and the Vassall House (1759) in Cambridge, Massachusetts exhibit this feature. Once again, their use was derived from English architecture as translated through architectural pattern books such as A Collection of Designs in Architecture (1757) by Abraham Swan (Ill.12). In Philadelphia, giant pilasters had been used in a number of important buildings before Anthony Morris built The Highlands. The Woodlands (rebuilt 1788), Cook's commercial building (1792), and the Pennsylvania Hospital (1794) demonstrate their use in domestic, commercial, and public buildings of the period. More important than these in a consideration of the design of The Highlands is the building of the Library Company of Philadelphia, built on Fifth Street near Chestnut in 1789 and 1790. The Library Company, then housed in Carpenter's Hall, held a design competition for their new building in 1789. They chose as their architect William Thornton (1761-1828), an Edinburgh trained physician who had come to Philadelphia via the West Indies, New York,

and Wilmington. Although he had no formal architectural training, Thornton's design demonstrated his familiarity with "correct" architecture of the period (Ill. 13). He wrote, "I studied architecture, set to work, and drew [a design] in the ancient Ionic order."⁷ Thornton's "study" of architecture may well have consisted of a thorough examination of the architectural books owned by the Library Company itself. Among the 22 books listed in the "Civil Architecture" category of the Library Company catalogue printed in 1789 are the 1738 London edition of Palladio's Four Books of Architecture, A Book of Architecture by James Gibbs, and A Collection of Designs in Architecture by Abraham Swan.⁸

Anthony Morris seems to have been influenced by the design of the Library Company in the design of his new house. The configuration of the facade of The Highlands is closely related to that of the Library Company, except for the use of two, rather than four, pilasters. Morris, whose town house was just three blocks away at 72 South Second Street, was a shareholder in the Library Company. He must have followed with interest the construction of the new library and visited it frequently after its construction. Four years later, when Morris contemplated building his own country house, he had not only the Library Company building itself, but their extensive collection of architectural pattern books to inspire him.

The actual authorship of The Highlands design is still uncertain. Because of his interest in the new house, his associations with the building that provides a design source, and the rather awkward

character of the completed house, it is reasonable to speculate that Morris acted as his own gentleman-amateur architect. One entry in the ledger kept by Anthony Morris, however, raises some doubt about this theory. On page 116 of the ledger, Morris records the payment of £ 112-10 "at diff^t times" to "T. Matlack Architect". There is no other mention of Matlack in the ledger or in the day books.

This tantalizing entry led to a search for information about T. Matlack and his work as an architect. The likely candidate is Timothy Matlack (1730-1829). Matlack was an associate of Anthony Morris, as letters in the Effingham Morris Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania indicate.⁹ Matlack served as a Colonel in the Revolution, was a member of the General Assembly, and Clerk of the Senate. Like Morris, he was a Quaker. Philadelphia directories list Timothy Matlack as Clerk of the Senate living at 2 Mulberry Court during the period of construction of The Highlands. During the same period, Josiah Matlack is listed variously as a house carpenter, surveyor, and gentleman living at 51 Spruce Street. Josiah was also a member of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia.¹⁰ He, then, would seem a more likely candidate as architect of The Highlands, but the ledger entry is clearly written with the first initial "T". Timothy Matlack may well have had talent as a gentleman-amateur architect, and may well have assisted Morris with his house design. However, under such circumstances it seems unlikely that Matlack would receive payment for his assistance.

Whether designed by Morris himself or by a professional architect,

The Highlands, is a less successful version of the Library Company design, executed in local stone rather than brick. The facades of the two buildings would be still more closely related if The Highlands were seen without the small Doric portico added to the entrance about 1830 during the subsequent ownership of George Sheaff (1779-1851),

Behind this later portico are the entrance doors, flanked by sidelights and topped by a handsome fanlight window (Ill. 14). The doors themselves and the reeded panels which flank them were added at the time the portico was constructed. The exterior door on the east side of the house remains from the time the house was built, and the moldings and configuration of its panels give an indication of the original doors on the facade. The frame of the door, set in stone, appears to be original, as do the delicate tracery of the fanlight and sidelights and the attenuated columns which flank the door and sidelights. Similar fanlight doors survive at the Hill-Physick-Keith House (1786) and the Pennsylvania Hospital (1794). The famous Bingham Mansion built a few blocks from Morris' city house in 1788 also had an elaborate fanlight doorway which Anthony Morris undoubtedly must have known.

A large Venetian window lights the landing of the main staircase of The Highlands on the west side of the house (Ill. 15). Again derived from the work of Andrea Palladio and interpreted by English architects in design books, Venetian windows were used in Philadelphia prior to the construction of The Highlands at Mount Pleasant (1761) and the Bingham Mansion (1788).

Probably the most awkward feature of The Highlands is its roof. Morris chose to build a gable ended roof, a feature more common to early eighteenth century Philadelphia buildings. By the middle of the century, hipped roofs were chosen by many fashionable Philadelphia builders. Mount Pleasant (1761), the Bingham Mansion (1788), and Sweetbrier (1797) demonstrate the use of hipped roofs for both city and country houses throughout the late eighteenth century. Morris must have known these houses. He must have studied them and made note of their architectural details, and when it came time to build his house in Whitemarsh, he had a store of ideas from which to draw. The fanlight windows, pilasters, and Venetian windows then fashionable in Philadelphia architecture were all included in Morris' design. But he chose not to include a hipped roof, a refinement characteristic of other important buildings of Federal Philadelphia. His use of a gable roof links the house to an earlier period and, because it was clearly used by choice and not unawareness, identifies a conservatism in Anthony Morris, a conservatism perhaps bred of Morris' Quaker principles and reflective of his position as a member of Philadelphia's old Quaker elite.

Also conservative is the plan of the house. Following the pattern of mid-Georgian houses, a wide hallway divides the house running from front to back (Ill. 16). The staircase is placed in a side hall in the northwest corner of the house. Wide arches span the halls at the point where they are joined. A similar arrangement, although reversed, is found in the plan of Mt. Pleasant. A parlor opens off the hall on the west and two rooms, originally a parlor and dining room,

open on the east through arched doors added by George Sheaff about 1830. The two rooms on the east are divided by a passageway which originally contained a service staircase running from cellar to garret, but now replaced by a modern elevator. An exterior door leads onto a piazza running the length of the east side of the house. This straightforward floor plan is once again indicative of Morris' conservatism. By 1795, elements of neoclassical planning had come to Philadelphia, particularly at The Woodlands, the house in West Philadelphia rebuilt by William Hamilton about 1788. The interior plan, which may have been brought from England by Hamilton, incorporates rooms of varying size and shape in the manner made fashionable by the plans of Robert Adam (Ill. 17). The round, oval, square, and rectangular rooms of The Woodlands create an exciting interplay of interior spaces which is far beyond most American houses of the Federal period. Yet, the house must have been known, or at least discussed, by the Philadelphia elite, and Morris must have had some knowledge of its design and plan. That he chose to retain the basic floor plan of houses then thirty to fifty years old once again indicates a conservative aspect of Morris' character.

The design and plan of The Highlands, then, is neither progressive nor particularly well executed. The house reflects the design of other public and domestic buildings in and around Philadelphia. As a member of Philadelphia's Quaker merchant elite, Anthony Morris chose to build a house according to well established and accepted standards. His contribution, then, lies not so much in the architectural innovations

of The Highlands, but in the extraordinary documentation of its construction which has survived.

THE PROPERTY: FARM, GARDENS, AND OUTBUILDINGS

Anthony Morris developed the land surrounding his new "Mansion House" for both produce and pleasure. Among the crops he grew in the "Field in back of the Mansion House" and "in the Field in front" were red clover, timothy, rye, potatoes, oats, clover, and barley.¹ His accounts make references to "fruit trees", apple trees and peach trees.² Morris also seems to have relished watermelons.³ Philip Lane, mentioned frequently in the accounts, seems to have worked as a tenant farmer and overseer for Anthony Morris both at The Highlands and nearby at Hope Lodge. Morris himself had a great interest in scientific farming, and later in his life he established an agricultural institute at his farm in Bucks County.⁴ By 1805, Morris could write proudly of The Highlands:

The farm contains about 300 acres nearly one-third of which is good woodland, the remainder arable, now in a good and improving state of cultivation, with suitable proportions of grain and grass, and all enclosed by an excellent cedar post and rail fence... An apple orchard of the most carefully selected fruit is now beginning to be productive, and about three hundred peach trees consisting of all the most esteemed varieties, are now in perfection, with a great profusion of Raspberries, Strawberries, etc... its situation is elegant and healthy, and the surrounding scenery beautiful.⁵

Morris was also interested in ornamental horticulture. In 1798 he bought 100 Lombardy poplar trees, a variety which had been introduced to America only five years before by William Hamilton at The Woodlands. (These were later burned by John Sheaff to make charcoal.⁶) Still more exotic were the magnolia trees he bought for the farm in 1798.⁷ In April of 1796, Morris ordered a variety of unusual grass seeds from London, although it is unclear whether he intended these for ornamental planting near the house. Also unclear is his intended use of the "Shrubs" he purchased in 1795. Morris must have been starting seeds and forcing plants in the hot bed frame "glazed and painted" he had made by Rees Evans in 1794.⁸ The 1805 description by Morris also notes that there was a greenhouse.

Beginning in 1795, Michael Ferrick was paid regularly for his work as "Gardener at ye Farm". Ferrick seems to have been hired primarily to tend the kitchen gardens and ornamental plantings near the house, while Philip Lane was overseeing the major farming operations.

To support these activities, a number of outbuildings were constructed at The Highlands during Morris' ownership. The United States Direct Tax assessment of The Highlands made in 1798 provides an accounting of the other buildings on the property at that time. In addition to the stone dwelling house, 60' x 40', the following buildings are listed:

- 1 Dwelling house - stone - 35'x20'
- 1 Dwelling house - frame - 20'x14'
- 1 Tenement house - log - 14'x12'

1 Barn - stone - 40'x30'
 1 Barn - frame - unspecified
 1 Granary - stone - 36'x20'
 1 Smokehouse - frame - 12'x12'

Also: Appurtenant outhouses for main
 dwelling house

The frame dwelling house is the only building recorded on the property when Morris bought The Highlands in 1794. The description and valuation of some, such as the tenement house and frame barn, suggests that they were older buildings predating Morris' ownership. The granary is one building listed which can be documented as Morris'. On October 6, 1794, even before he began construction of his new "Mansion House", Morris contracted Christian Loeser and Conrad Klime to build the granary. The work was not completed until the following May.

The stone barn, 40'x30', can also be documented as having been constructed by Morris. In his ledger, Morris recorded the sale of a "fat ox" on January 9, 1799 to Abraham Dewees, a local mason who had helped with the construction of The Highlands. Rather than cash, Morris accepted credit from Dewees toward expenses for "mason work of a Barn to be built for me the ensuing Spring". In March, payments were made for quarrying stone for a barn, probably the one which survives today down the hill and to the east of the house (Ill.18). Constructed of the same chickies quartzite as The Highlands, this three story barn measures approximately 40'x36', close to the dimensions listed in the 1798 tax survey. It closely resembles the barn Morris himself described in 1805:

The barn, with a commodious carriage house, granaries, stables, and cellar under the same roof, is of stone, three stories high, and has every convenience.⁹

The location of the other buildings is unclear. Archeological evidence has proven the existence of a house in the eighteenth century on the south west side of the present entrance drive to the property. Excavation of the site revealed a building approximately 34'x18'.¹⁰ This is almost certainly the stone dwelling house, 35'x18', listed in the 1798 tax survey of the Highlands property. The location of the frame dwelling house, 20'x14', is uncertain, although its occupant in early 1797 seems to have been a man named Jacob Rynear. Rynear was a laborer who was paid for "work done about ye Mansion House" with "ye Ballance of Rent for ye frame House occupied by him deducted".¹¹

The 1798 tax survey also notes the existence of "appurtenant Outhouses for main dwelling House". The survival of several outbuildings on the property coupled with the documentation for the construction of several additional structures provided by Morris' accounts helps us to identify these "appurtenant Outhouses". They include an ice house, a spring house, and a necessary. Also to be considered in this category is the smokehouse, 12'x12', listed in the 1798 tax list.

The ice house is located directly behind the house, about 90 feet from the kitchen door on the north side of the basement. Originally, a tunnel connected the ice house to the main house, but this has been filled in and the ice house itself now houses the fuel tank for the house. Morris tells us in his ledger that the ice house was dug in

April of 1799, and describes the completed structure as "a large and excellent ice house filled with ice...near the kitchen."¹²

Morris also describes the springhouse as :

... a large octagon stone springhouse with a good room over it at a convenient distance in the garden, which is constantly supplied with water from a never failing spring.¹³

Payments for the construction of this springhouse appear in the Morris accounts during the summer of 1799. Constructed of stone, it survives today, built into the hillside to the south west of the house (Ill.19). The "good room" over the spring house, with large windows must have functioned as a garden pavillion for Morris and his guests. Similar buildings were built by other Philadelphians of the period, including Charles Willson Peale. At Belfield, his country house, Peale built "summer-houses... to ward off the sunbeams with seats of rest."¹⁴ This room also contained a fireplace, indicating its use as a retreat at other times as well. The moldings on the fireplace and surrounding the exterior door to the springhouse correspond to those of the Venetian window and arches in the hallway of the main house, indicating that they were probably made by the same carpenter, probably Christian Loeser.

Two other octagonal buildings survive today. Of frame construction, they stand near the house to the north and east. They ornament the garden at the northeast side of the house and are 5'5" on a side. In the twentieth century they were used as a wood house and tool house, respectively. In addition, archeology has proved the

existence of an octagonal building of the same dimensions northwest of the house. This building had a brick floor, and charred brick, ash, and charcoal were found in the course of excavation.¹⁵ The date, use, and original locations of these buildings is uncertain, although surviving evidence suggests some answers.

The building at the east corner of the house has no windows, but is provided with wooden louvers (Ill. 20). Inside, iron hooks hang from the ceiling, which is quite noticeably charred. This evidence suggests that the building was used as a smokehouse. Its location, however, is peculiar, standing inconveniently far from the kitchen doors on the northwest and southwest sides of the house. Perhaps this is the building which originally stood on the foundation discovered northwest of the house with a brick floor covered with ash and charcoal. In any case, its dimensions of 5'5" on a side might also be measured as 12'x12' on a cross axis through the center of the building. This then, would correspond to the record of a smokehouse, 12'x12' in the 1798 tax list.

The other octagonal building, at the north corner of the house has two doors, two windows, and a marble floor (ILL. 21). The Gothic style windows correspond to additions to the gardens by a later owner, George Sheaff, and the building appears to have undergone a number of changes during its lifetime. In size and shape it is nearly identical to the dairy at Perry Hall on the eastern shore of Maryland, suggesting one possible eighteenth century use for the building.¹⁶ Another use may have been as a necessary, perhaps the same one constructed by Christian

Loeser in June of 1794.

Whatever their original uses, these buildings correspond in shape to the springhouse, and in their design and construction appear to be of late eighteenth century origin. Perhaps both built originally behind the house, they may have been moved to the northeast side of the house in the nineteenth or early twentieth century to serve as useful storage sheds and ornamental garden pavillions.

As with the Highlands house, a detailed and accurate record of the farm and outbuildings on the property emerges from the records kept by Anthony Morris. Together with public records and the surviving buildings, they provide not only documentation for the construction of these buildings so essential for the operation of a house and farm, but a clearer idea of how that house and farm functioned in the late eighteenth century.

LATER HISTORY: CHANGES IN OWNERSHIP AND STRUCTURE

Knowing the amount of time, energy, and money expended by Anthony Morris in building The Highlands, it is difficult to understand why he offered the house and farm for sale as early as November of 1805, only ten years after he began its construction. In that year, Morris advertised the house and "about 300 acres" of land for sale in Jackson's Political and Commercial Register.¹ It may have been that economic conditions necessitated the sale. The great expense of constructing the house and developing the farm may have caused Morris to overextend his financial resources. His other commercial activities and land holdings may have forced Morris to divest himself of some of his property. Or it may be that the increasingly poor health of Mary Pemberton Morris prompted Morris to spend more time with his wife at Bolton Farm, her father's country house in Bucks County. It was not until the year of his wife's death, in 1808, that Morris actually sold The Highlands. Thereafter, Morris adopted Bolton Farm as his country house, and after the death of James Pemberton in 1809 Anthony Morris became its master. He retained his city house at 72 South Second Street until

late in life, when he moved to Georgetown, District of Columbia to live with his daughter Rebecca and her husband, Charles J. Nourse. Rebecca Morris Nourse's affection for the Philadelphia country house her father built is perhaps indicated by the fact that she chose to call her own house in Georgetown, *The Highlands* (Ill. 4).

Montgomery County deeds register the sale of *The Highlands* to Daniel Hitner on May 20, 1808. Hitner was a member of a German land-owning family of Whitemarsh who had prospered as an innkeeper. He bought *The Highlands* late in life, and made few changes to the house or property before his death in 1810. Hitner's son, also Daniel, inherited *The Highlands* and continued its operation as a farm. Together, the two Hitners added twenty-eight acres of land to the original 280 acres by the time Daniel Hitner, Jr. sold the farm in 1813.

The sale of *The Highlands* is recorded in Montgomery County deeds on December 30, 1813. George Sheaff paid \$31,345 for the house and a total of 308 acres and 33 perches. Sheaff (1779-1851) was a prosperous merchant in Philadelphia, dealing primarily in imported wine. He was married to Anne Catherine Muhlenberg, the daughter of Frederic A.C. Muhlenberg, a Montgomery County judge who later became Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and the granddaughter of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, a leading German Lutheran theologian.

George Sheaff was thirty-four at the time he bought the property and, judging by the changes he made to the house and grounds, seems to have intended from the start to earn a reputation for *The Highlands* as one of the finest farms in the Philadelphia area. Sheaff made a number

of changes to the house in the 1820's and 1830's. The facade was enhanced by the addition of a Doric portico above the earlier marble steps and landing (ILL. 22). The original entrance door, probably a single door of six panels similar to the surviving exterior door on the northeast side of the house, was replaced by double doors of four panels each. The reeded door casing also seems to have been added at this time. The second story windows on the facade and southwest side of the house were ornamented with iron balconies in the Gothic style. At the rear, a veranda was built the length of the house.

Further changes were made inside the house. All of the doors opening onto the center hall were modernized with the replacement of the original six panel rectangular doors with ten panel arch-headed doors (ILL. 23).² All of the original mantles supplied by Zane and Chapman were replaced with the carved marble mantles which survive today (ILLS. 24 and 25). Harold Donaldson Eberlein noted that the original mantles, "with their compo decorations" were removed and installed in another house "some miles distant".³ Unfortunately, he did not record the house or its location.

Sheaff also made great changes to the grounds at The Highlands, using the latest scientific farming methods to develop the place into what Dewitt Clinton described as "the model farm of America".⁴ Andrew Jackson Downing also visited The Highlands and described the farm in some detail in his Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening:

The farm is 300 acres in extent ... the large and regular fields, filled with luxuriant crops, everywhere of an exact evenness of growth, and everywhere free from weeds of any sort; the perfect system of manuring and culture; the simple and complete fences; the fine stock; the very spacious barns, every season newly whitewashed both internally and externally, paved with wood, and as clean as a gentleman's stable (with stalls to fatten 90 head of cattle); these, and the masterly way in which the whole is managed, both as regards culture and profit, render this estate one of no common interest in an agricultural, as well as ornamental point of view.⁵

Downing also admired the "pleasure-grounds" of The Highlands. George Sheaff developed elaborate gardens to the northeast of the house, on an axis with the house and extending out from the piazza on that side (ILL.26). The gardens were bordered on the southeast by stone barns and defined on the northwest by a long crenellated wall built in fashionable Gothic style (ILL.27). At the ends of the wall, Sheaff constructed two Gothic style garden pavillions to be used as a tool house and gardener's cottage. The garden seems to have been laid out in parterres, with greenhouses constructed along the walls. Downing concluded his description of The Highlands by noting that:

This whole estate is a striking example of science, skill, and taste, applied to a country seat, and there are few in the Union taken as a whole, superior to it.⁶

In 1851, George Sheaff offered The Highlands for sale, but died before any action was taken. At the time six of his nine children, ranging in age from 27 to 42, were living at The Highlands. In addition, two children and five servants were part of the household.⁷ After his death, the heirs of George Sheaff divided the property and sold it

in three parcels. The house and 59 acres were bought by three of his nine children, Ann, Ellen, and John Sheaff. In time, John Sheaff became the sole owner of The Highlands, living there until his death in 1917.

Known for his eccentricity, John Sheaff made more plans than actual changes at The Highlands. It is said that he used the south parlor as a workshop, employing a carpenter almost full time. One of Sheaff's first plans after acquiring the house was to remodel the main staircase. Accordingly, scaffolding was built which remained in place for more than sixty years, as Sheaff continually revised his plans:

The pine scantlings had grown mahogany-hued from age, yet if anyone went to call, Mr. Sheaff would always apologise for the scaffold by saying he had just decided on some alterations that rendered its temporary presence necessary. The scaffolding stayed there till his death.⁸

By the time of his death, John Sheaff had allowed the house to deteriorate and the grounds to become overgrown. Although he had married a woman named Fanny Platt, they had no children. After his death, the heirs of John Sheaff sold the house and disposed of its contents at auction in Philadelphia. Among the household goods in the sale was a large quantity of Chinese Export porcelain which sold for well over \$10,000.⁹

The house itself was sold to Miss Caroline Sinkler, who intended to restore the house and gardens for use as a country house (ILL. 28). Miss Sinkler, whose city house was a 1604 Locust Street, had been engaged in 1895 to John Stewardson, a founding partner of the noted Philadelphia architectural firm, Cope and Stewardson. He was described as "one of America's most able architects", and was responsible for a number of

important collegiate buildings in the Gothic style.¹⁰ A few days before he was to be married, Stewardson went skating on the Schuylkill with his friend and fellow architect, Wilson Eyre. Wandering off, he fell through thin ice and was drowned.

Miss Sinkler enlisted the help of Wilson Eyre in the restoration of The Highlands. Eyre was responsible for the redesign of the gardens, and with his partner, Henry Bissell, for the restoration and expansion of the house. Bissell's plans for the work on the house are catalogued in the manuscript collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, they have been lost, for they would clearly document the changes made by Miss Sinkler. The major change was the addition of a service wing at the southwest side of the house (ILL. 29). Until 1918, the kitchen had remained in the basement, and this new service wing incorporated a modern kitchen, pantries, and servant's quarters.

The gardens were restored and improved according to the design of Wilson Eyre, with later revisions by Henry Sleeper. The crenellated wall and Gothic-style pavillions were restored, the Sheaff greenhouses taken down, and several farm buildings demolished, retaining parts of them to form a southwest wall for the garden. Four parterres were laid out, defined by two axes joined at the center of the garden with a circular reflecting pond (ILL. 30).

Under the ownership of Caroline Sinkler The Highlands again became widely known for both its historical and horticultural importance. Miss Sinkler was awarded the gold medal of the Pennsylvania

Horticultural Society in 1933 for reclaiming the place "with such perfect taste and skill".

At the death of Miss Sinkler in 1949, ownership of The Highlands passed to her niece, Mrs. Nicholas Roosevelt (ILL. 31). Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt maintained the reputation established for the house by Miss Sinkler, continuing to develop the gardens and making few changes to the house. With the hope of preserving The Highlands, Mrs. Roosevelt bequeathed the property to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at her death in 1970. The contents of the house were sold at auction by Samuel T. Freeman and Co.

The administration of the house was turned over to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. A lack of endowment and state funds prevented the commission from undertaking a restoration and furnishing plan for the historic house. The Highlands remained empty for several years until 1974 when a group of local citizens, concerned about the slow deterioration of the house and grounds, formed The Highlands Historical Society. Working in association with the state, the Highlands Historical Society has undertaken a program of stabilization and restoration of the house and grounds. The Highlands has become a center for the study of local history, a laboratory for students of restoration techniques and historical archeology, and a community center for the surrounding area. Plans and prospects for the future are still uncertain. It is doubtful that the house will become a period house museum, although several rooms may be accurately restored and furnished as part of a multi-

faceted plan for adaptive use of the house and grounds. In any case, the preservation of the architectural fabric of the house seems certain and much work has already been undertaken by the state to insure its future.

CONCLUSION

Robert C. Smith, writing in 1953, despaired that so little was known about the architects and construction of the great Philadelphia houses of the late eighteenth century:

None of their authors are known. We have no way of identifying a single one of them with any architect, carpenter, mason, or cabinetmaker.¹

Fortunately, today much more is known about the builders and cabinet-makers of the period through the studies of such houses as Cliveden by Margaret Tinkcom, the Cadwalader House by Nicholas Wainwright, and the Powel House by George Tatum.²

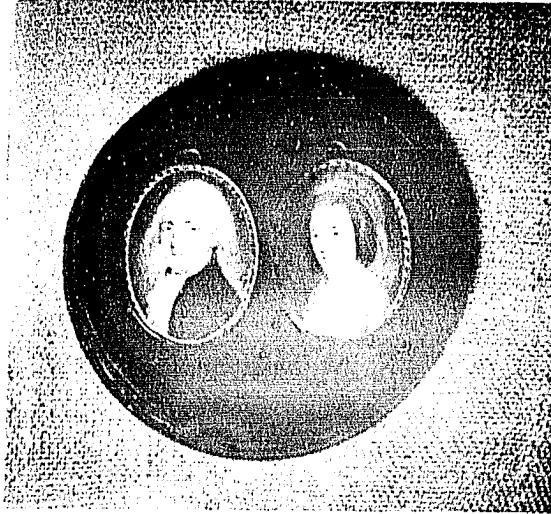
Thanks to the survival of the The Highlands and the daybooks, ledgers, and receipts carefully kept by Anthony Morris throughout the period of construction of The Highlands, the carpenters, masons, and cabinetmakers who built and furnished the house can be recalled to tell the tale of one of Philadelphia's best documented country houses.

Built by a conservative Quaker, The Highlands reflects the conservatism of Anthony Morris, and what Alan Gowans has called

... a perpetuation of Chippendale-Georgian forms well into the 19th century by what was left of the old possessing classes, and the more conservative element of the mercantile class.³

It is interesting to note that Gowans goes on to cite the George Read House in New Castle, Delaware , built in 1803, as an example of the continuing choice of Georgian forms among conservative patrons at the turn of the nineteenth century. In fact, The Highlands seems more closely related to the Read House than to many of its Philadelphia contemporaries. The center hall plan, fanlight doorway, and gable-end roof are common to both houses. Both owners also chose interior architectural elements from Zane and Chapman in Philadelphia, providing Neo-classical contrasts to the otherwise straightforward Georgian character of the houses.

Throughout its 170 year history of private ownership, The Highlands flourished as a country seat. From the beginning, the house was conceived as the center of an agricultural estate comprising both productive farmland and pleasure gardens. The owners of The Highlands made relatively few changes to the house and grounds, suitably adapting The Highlands to changes of fashion, family size and structure, and technological innovations. Today, The Highlands is still surrounded by the same cultivated fields which helped its owners to prosper. Not only the house, but many of its eighteenth and nineteenth century farm and outbuildings survive, providing an unusually complete impression of an eighteenth century country house in its proper physical context. Together with the manuscript documentation for The Highlands, they give a detailed picture of the building and trade practices of late eighteenth century Philadelphia, and the house and farm of one of her leading citizens.



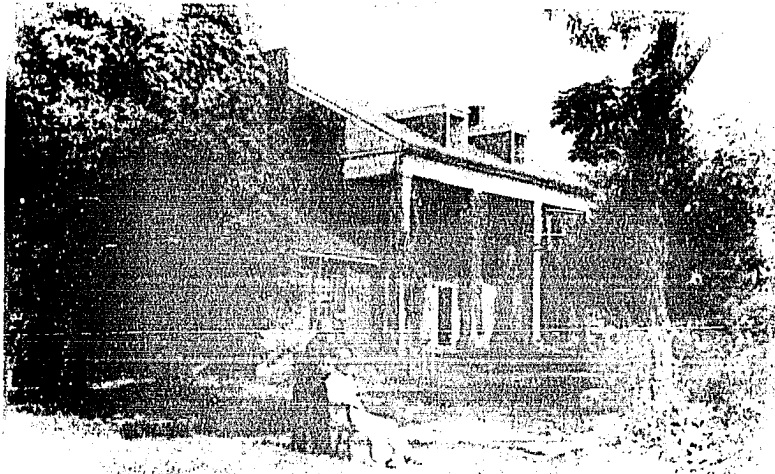
2. Miniature Portraits of Anthony Morris
and Mary Pemberton Morris by
Charles Willson Peale
Oil on Ivory, 1796
Private Collection



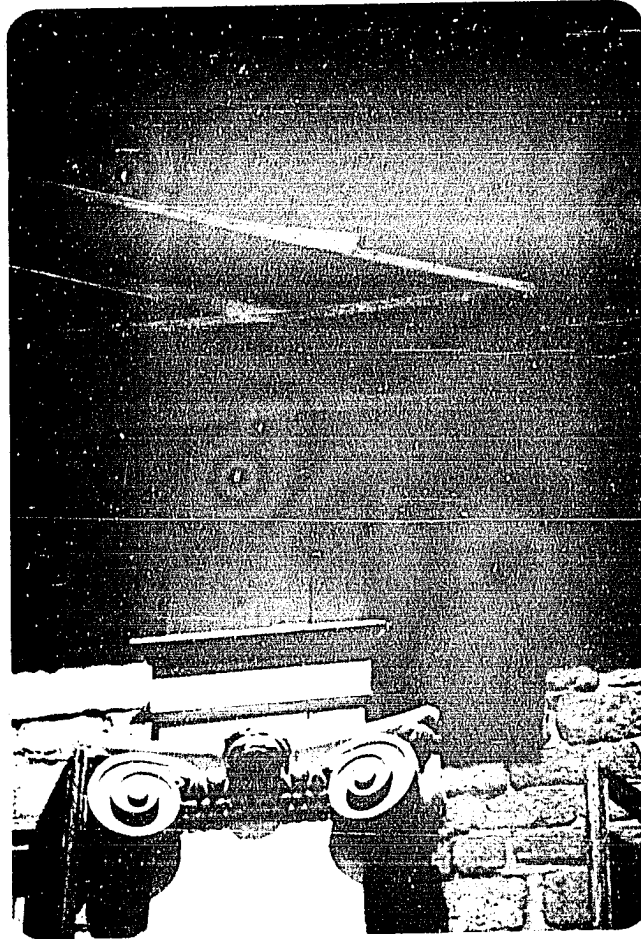
3. Portrait of Anthony Morris by
James Peale
Oil on Canvas, 1796
Private Collection



4. Portrait of Anthony Morris by Charles
Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint Memin
Engraving, c. 1800
Private Collection



5. Photograph of Anthony Morris and Rebecca
Morris Nourse in Front of The Highlands
in Georgetown, D.C., c. 1860
Effingham Morris Collection, Historical
Society of Pennsylvania



6. Ionic Capital of Pilaster on Facade
of The Highlands
Carved Marble, Supplied by John
Sheppard, 1796-1798



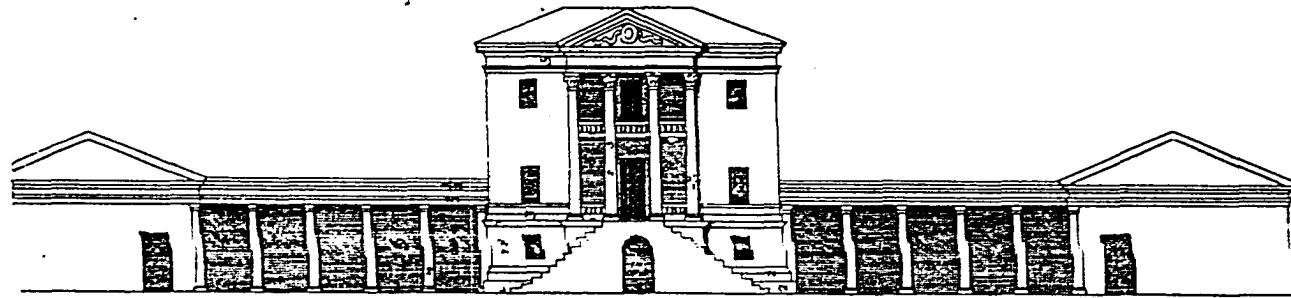
7. Main Staircase of The Highlands



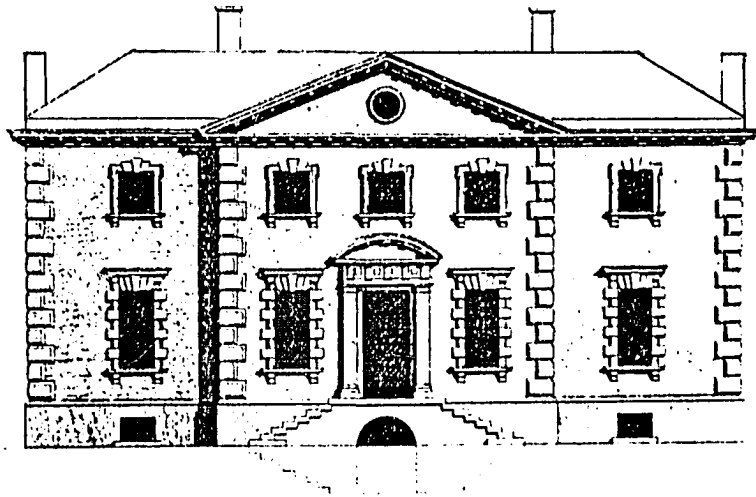
8. Mantle Bearing the Label of Zane and
Chapman, now in the Billiard Room
at the Winterthur Museum
Pine and Plaster, c. 1795
Probably Similar to the Original Mantles
at The Highlands



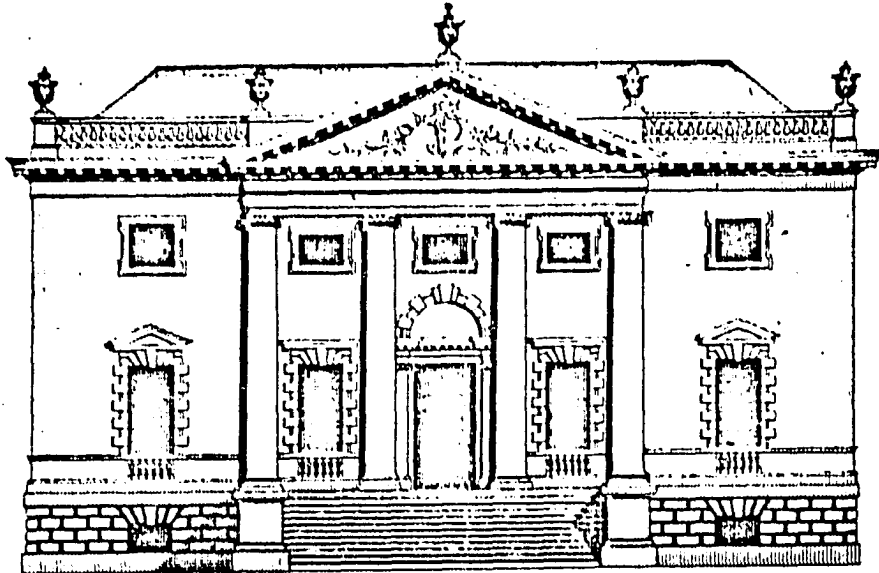
9. Corner of the Southwest Parlor of The Highlands Showing Original Paneled Interior Shutters



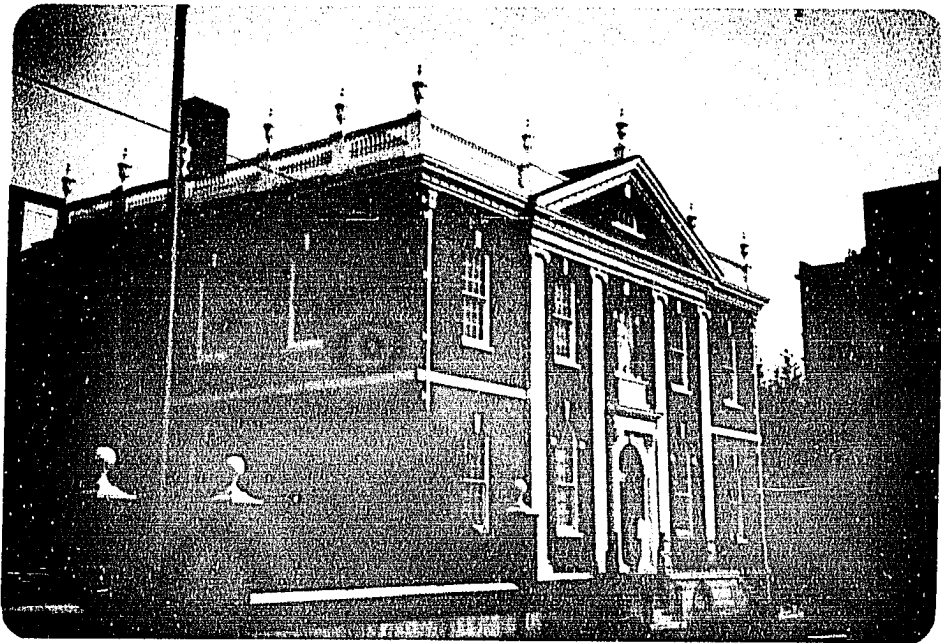
10. Andrea Palladio, Design for a House, from
The Four Books of Architecture, 1570,
Book II



11. James Gibbs, Design for a House, from
A Book of Architecture, 1728



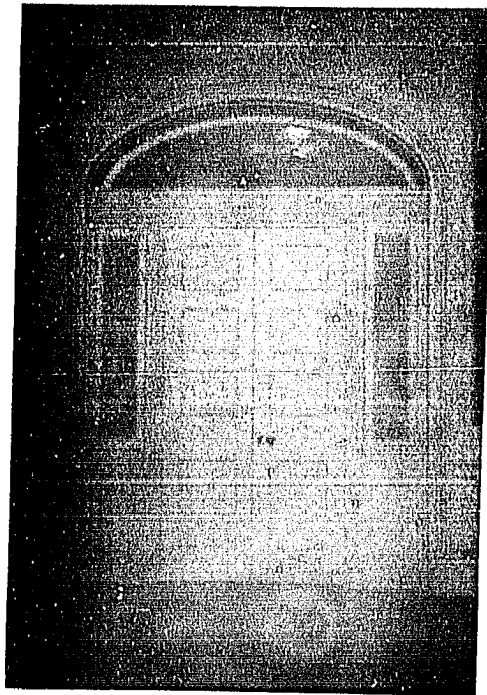
12. Abraham Swan, Design for a House, from
A Collection of Designs in Architecture,
vol. 2, 1754



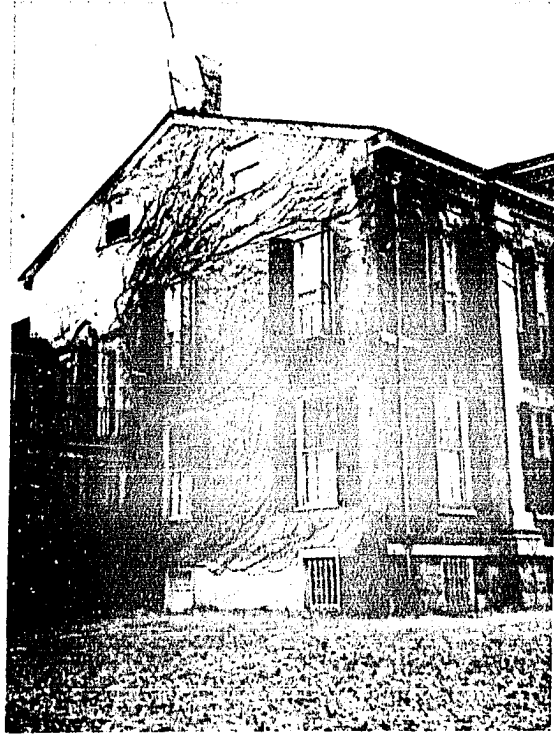
13. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, which reproduces the original 1789 design of William Thornton for the Library Company of Philadelphia



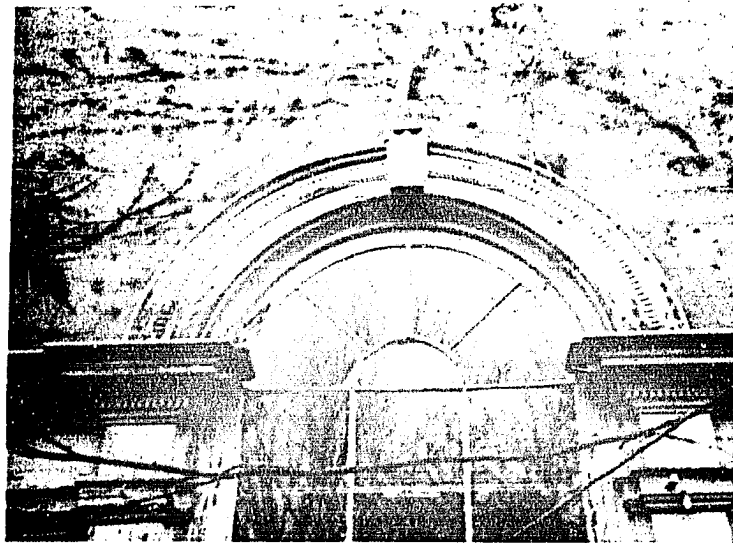
14a. Entrance Door at The Highlands, Exterior



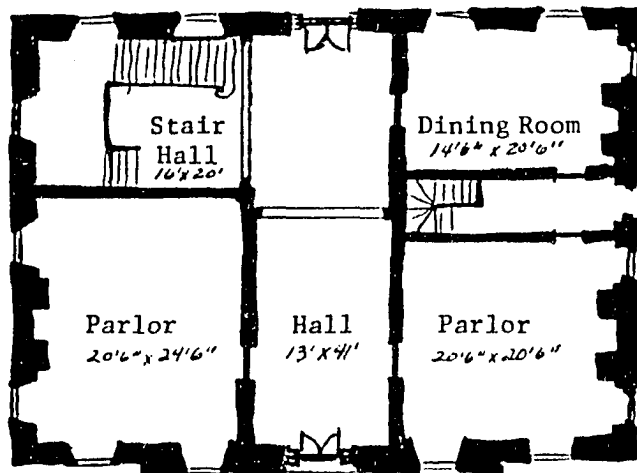
14b. Entrance Door at The Highlands, Interior



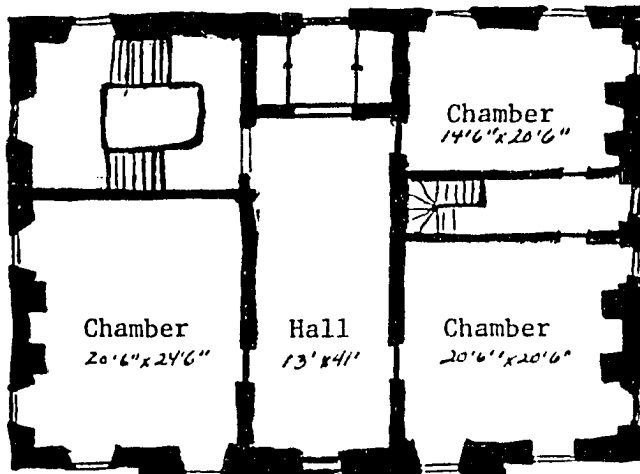
15a. Venetian Window at The Highlands



15b. Venetian Window at The Highlands, Detail

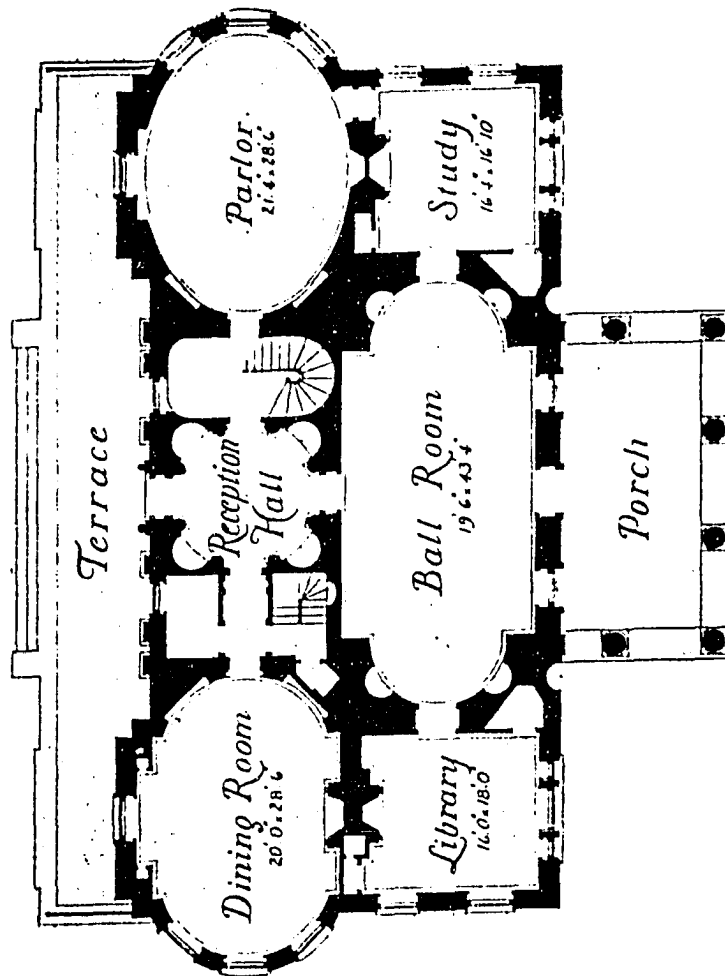


First Floor Plan

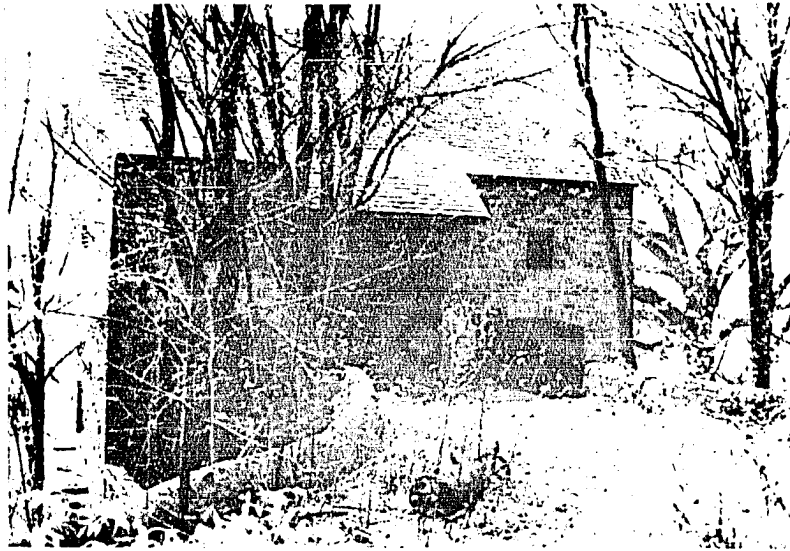


Second Floor Plan

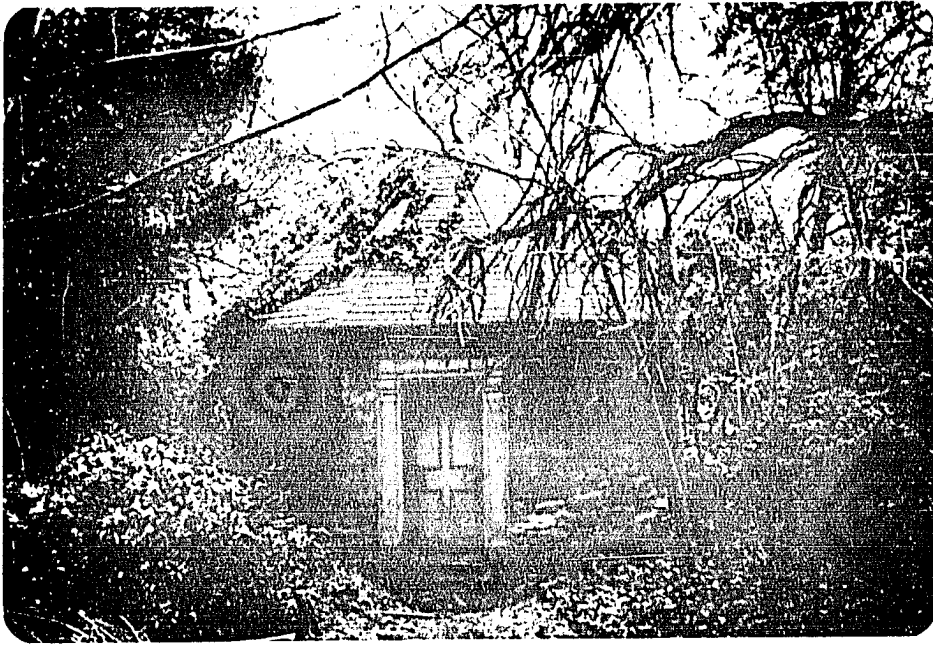
16. Floor Plan of The Highlands, 1795



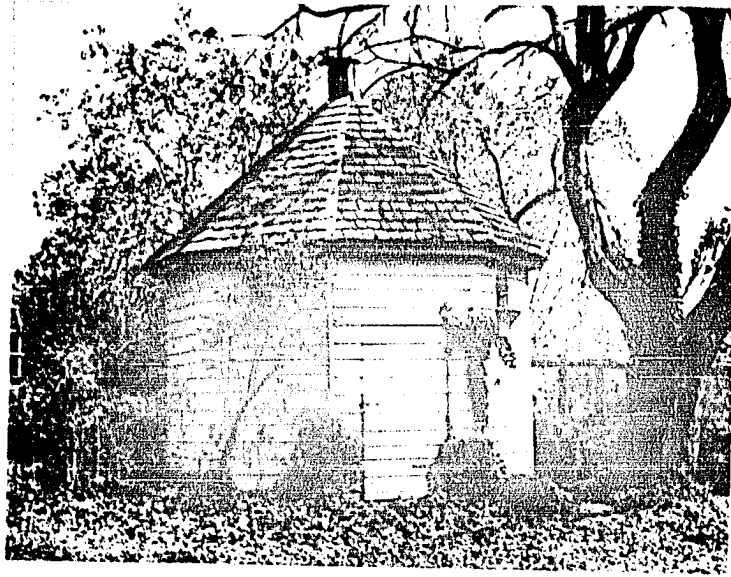
17. Floor Plan of The Woodlands, 1788



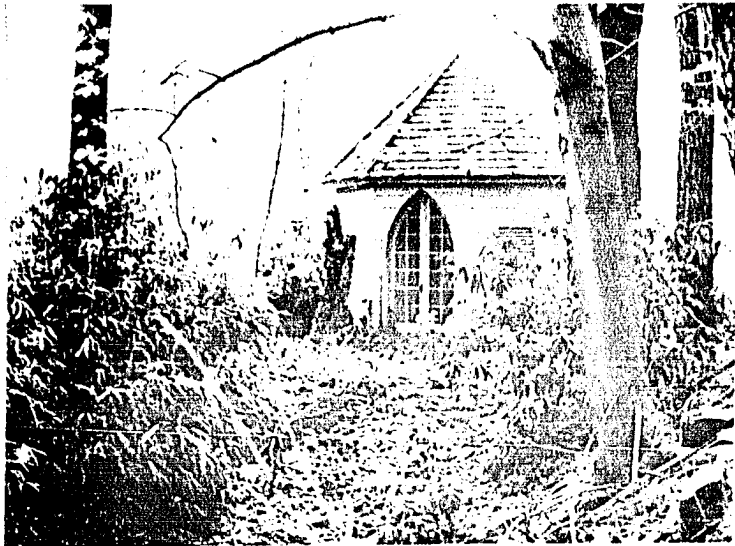
18. Stone Barn at The Highlands, 1799



19. Stone Springhouse at The Highlands



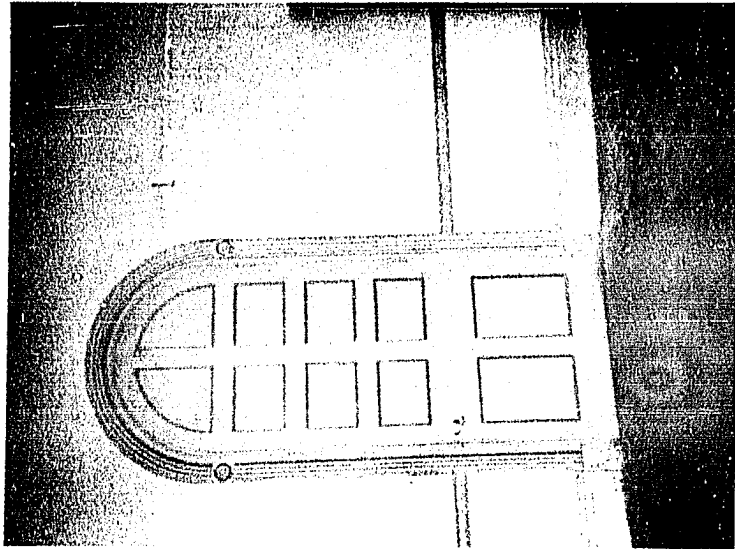
20. Smokehouse at The Highlands



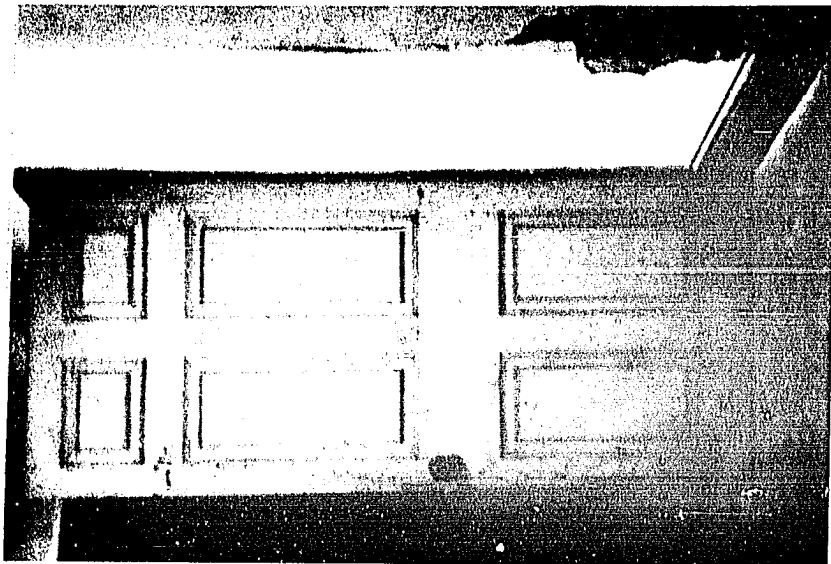
21. Octagonal Outbuilding at The Highlands



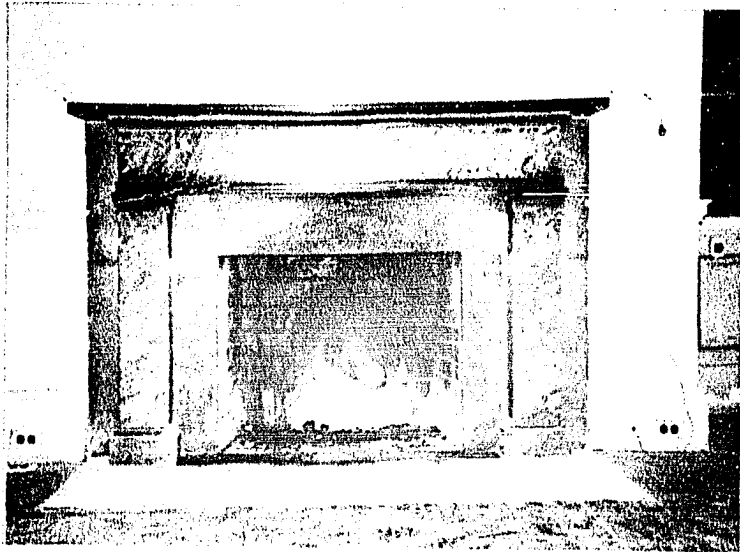
22. Doric Portico at The Highlands
Added by George Sheaff



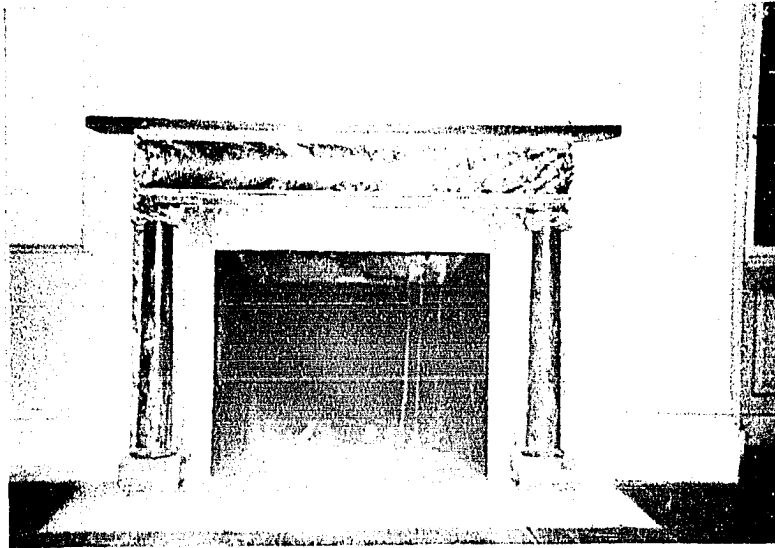
23b. Ten-Panel Door Changed by George Sheaff



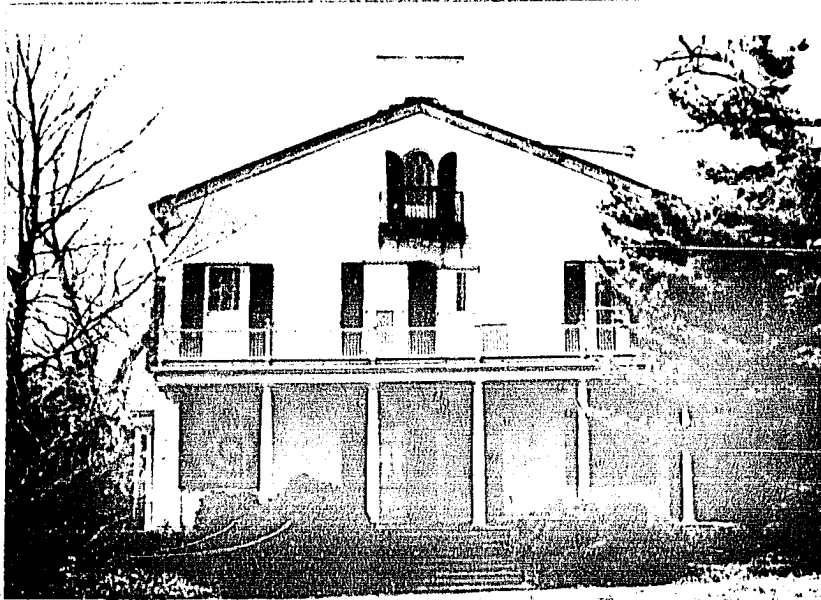
23a. Original Six-Panel Door at The Highlands



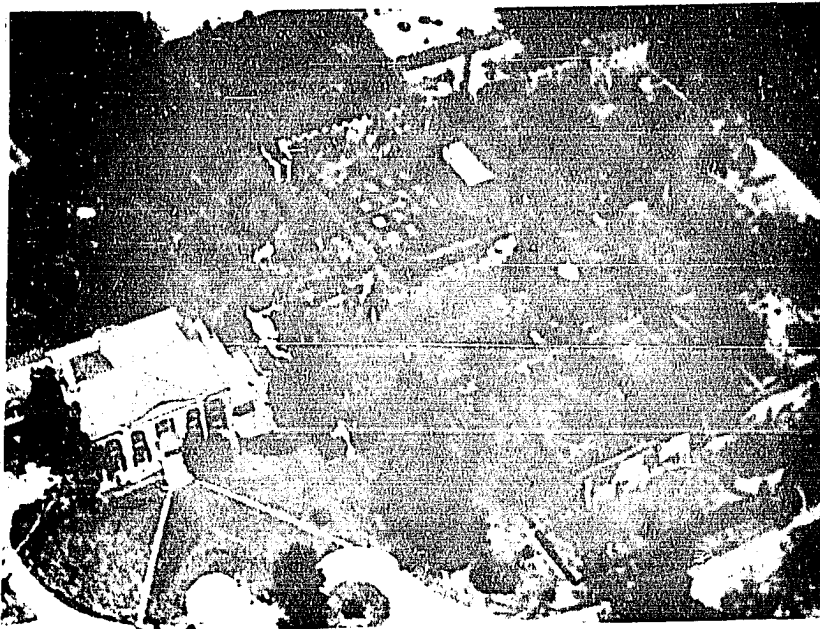
24. Library Mantle of Carved Marble
Added by George Sheaff



25. Parlor Mantle of Carved Marble
Added by George Sheaff



26. Piazza of The Highlands



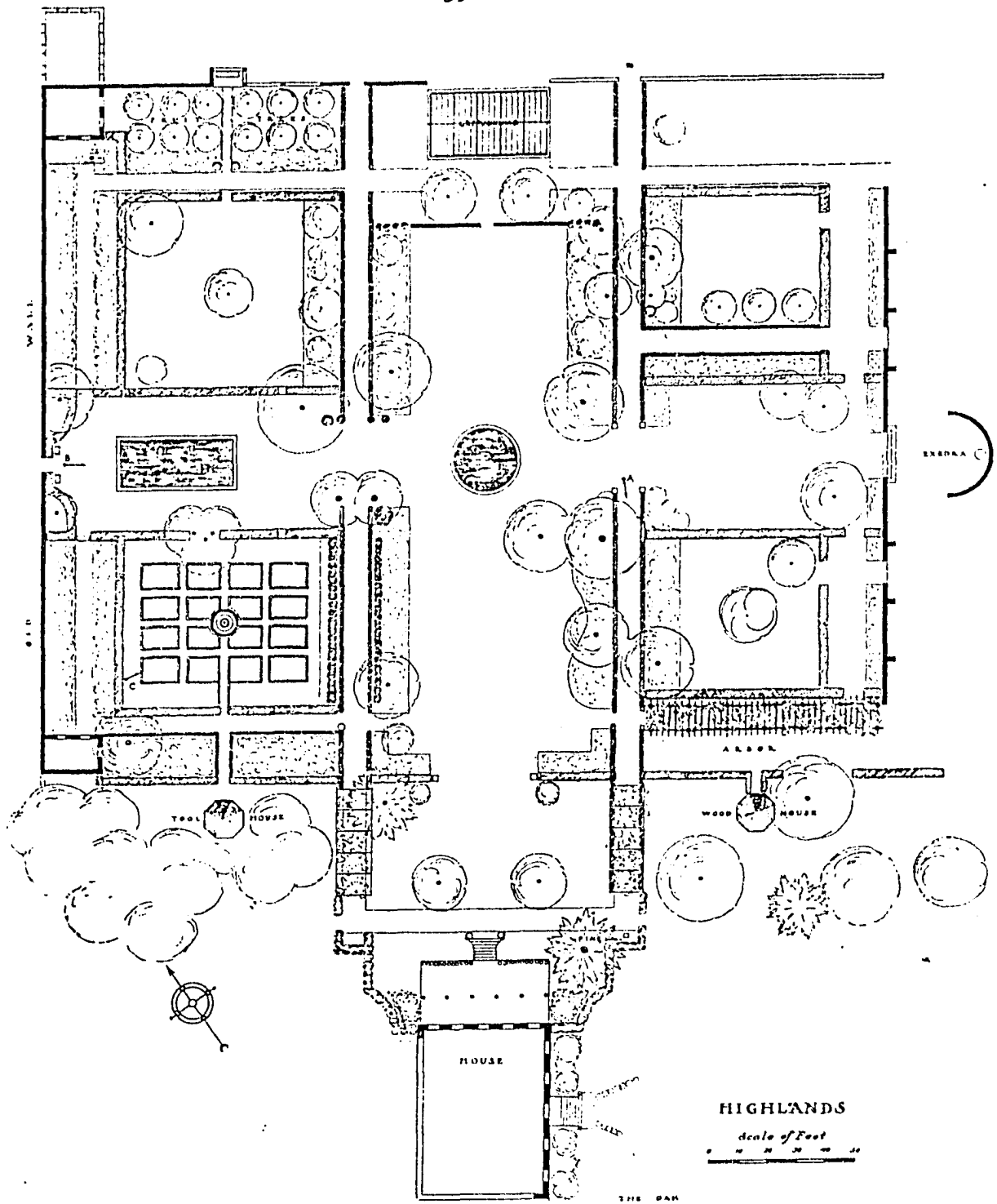
27. Aerial View of The Highlands Showing
the Garden with its Crenellated
Wall and Gothic Style Pavillions
Added by George Sheaff



28. Caroline Sinkler in the Garden at
The Highlands, c. 1940



29. Service Wing Added to The Highlands
by Caroline Sinkler, 1917



30. Garden Plan of The Highlands by Wilson Eyre,
with Alterations by Henry Sleeper



31. Mrs. Nicholas Roosevelt and Gardener in
the Garden at The Highlands, c. 1960

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹Deborah D. Waters, "'Of the Newest Fashion and the Most Elegant Taste': Philadelphia Silver of the Early Republic". Unpublished lecture delivered at the University of Delaware Symposium, "Masters of the Early Republic: The Art of an Emergent Nation", April 10, 1976.

²Philadelphia city directories of the 1790's variously list Anthony Morris as attorney-at-law, merchant, and gentleman.

ANTHONY MORRIS: A BIOGRAPHY OF THE BUILDER

¹Robert C. Moon, The Morris Family of Philadelphia; Descendants of Anthony Morris, vol. II (Philadelphia: Robert C. Moon, 1898).

²John Fanning Watson, Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: John F. Watson, 1850), p. 595.

³Dolly Madison, Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison, ed. by Allen C. Clark (Washington, D.C.: W.F. Roberts Company, 1914), pp. 133, 211-212.

⁴Anthony Morris, Ledger, 1802-1806. Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, H.F. duPont Winterthur Museum, Accounts for 1804 and 1805.

⁵Madison, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

⁶See Appendix E for a listing of maps, prints, and portraits purchased by Anthony Morris in 1795 and 1796.

⁷Watson, op. cit., p. 390.

⁸Anthony Morris, Day Book, 1794-1799. Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, H.F. duPont Winterthur Museum, Entry for June 17, 1794.

THE HIGHLANDS: DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

¹See Appendices C,D, and E for a listing of craftsmen, laborers, cabinetmakers, and suppliers of materials employed by Anthony Morris in the construction and furnishing of The Highlands.

²Pennsylvania Archives, series 2, vol. 8 (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 636.

³Township of Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, Tax Lists, 1794-1820, listings for Christian Loeser.

⁴Theodore W. Bean, ed., History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, vol. II (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1884), p. 1145.

⁵Political and Commercial Register (Philadelphia: W. Jackson), November 12, 1805.

⁶For a more complete discussion of the architectural pattern books used in eighteenth century America, see: Helen Park, "A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XX (Oct. 1961), pp. 115-130.

⁷Quoted in Charles Petersen, "Library Hall: Home of the Library Company of Philadelphia 1790-1880", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 95, no. 3 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), p. 270.

⁸Library Company of Philadelphia, A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia; to which is prefixed, A Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws and Regulations (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1789), pp. 253-254.

⁹Correspondence between Anthony Morris and Timothy Matlack is included in the Effingham Morris Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia, Articles of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia: And their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellars, 1786), p. iv.

THE PROPERTY: FARM, GARDENS, AND OUTBUILDINGS

¹Anthony Morris, Day Book, 1794-1799. Joseph Downs Manuscript

and Microfilm Collection, H.F. duPont Winterthur Museum, Entries for April 7, 1798, July 25, 1798, and September 11, 1798.

²Ibid., Entries for October 9, 1798, April 2, 1798, and January 23, 1797.

³Ibid., Entry for August 16, 1798.

⁴The papers of Anthony Morris relating to the establishment of the Fellenberg Institute at Bolton Farm are included in the Effingham Morris Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁵Political and Commercial Register (Philadelphia: W. Jackson), November 12, 1805.

⁶The Journals of John Sheaff, now in the possession of the Highlands Historical Society, Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, record this practice.

⁷Morris, Day Book, 1794-1799, Entry for April 7, 1798.

⁸Ibid., Entry for March 4, 1794.

⁹Political and Commercial Register (Philadelphia: W. Jackson), November 12, 1805.

¹⁰Joseph H. Hall, "Archeology at The Highlands: Social Stratification and the Egalitarian Ideal in Whitemarsh, 1795-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978), pp. 189-196.

¹¹Anthony Morris, Ledger, 1794-1801, Effingham Morris Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Entry for February 4, 1797.

¹²Political and Commercial Register (Philadelphia: W. Jackson), November 12, 1805.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Quoted in Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt VanDyke Hubbard, Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia 1670-1838 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1939), p. 526.

¹⁵Hall, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁶Henry Chandlee Forman, Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), p. 83.

LATER HISTORY: CHANGES IN OWNERSHIP AND STRUCTURE

¹Political and Commercial Register (Philadelphia: W. Jackson), November 12, 1805.

²The doors in the basement service areas were not changed by Sheaff, and several survive to show the appearance of the original six-panel doors.

³Harold Donaldson Eberlein, The Architecture of Colonial America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1925), p. 148.

⁴Quoted in Andrew Jackson Downing, Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (New York: Orange Judd and Company, 1844), p. 42.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷United States Bureau of the Census, Census for 1850, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, Listing for George Sheaff.

⁸Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt VanDyke Hubbard, Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia 1670-1838 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1939), p. 470.

⁹Norris, "Old Time Glories of The Highlands Revived by Miss Sinkler", Norristown Times Herald (Norristown, Pennsylvania), April 16, 1949.

¹⁰Henry Witney, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Los Angeles: American Institute of Architects, 1956), p. 574.

CONCLUSION

¹Robert C. Smith, "Two Centuries of Philadelphia Architecture 1700-1900", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 43, part 1 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, March 1953), p. 295.

²See: Margaret Tinkcom, "Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat, 1763-1767"; Nicholas Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia; and George Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of its Eighteenth Century Neighbors.

³Alan Gowans, Images of American Living (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 206.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF OWNERSHIP OF THE HIGHLANDS

The ledger of Anthony Morris at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania records the purchase of the Whitemarsh farm from Joseph McClean in 1794 (pp. 101-102). The purchase price of £ 2200 was to be payable in four annual installments, with interest on the principal amounting to £ 278-18-3. The day books at Winterthur note regular payments to McClean, although the final payment of £ 703-11-3 was not made until April 3, 1798. Further documentation of the sale exists at the Montgomery County Registry of Deeds. Deed book #7, page 745 notes the sale of 200 acres and 114 perches to Anthony Morris by Joseph McClean for £ 2200.

Although no house or other buildings of great value were built on the property before the construction of The Highlands in 1795, ownership of the property is recorded as early as 1682, when William Penn sold the land to John Knight of London. The chronology of ownership is as follows:

1682 - William Penn to John Knight of London

1729 - John Knight to John Petty

- 1746 - John Petty to Archibald McClean
- 1773 - Archibald McClean by will to
Joseph McClean, his son
- March 10, 1794 - Joseph McClean to Anthony Morris
(200 acres and 114 perches)
- March 31, 1796 - Executors of George Riter to Anthony
Morris (80 acres and 115 perches)
- May 20, 1808 - Anthony Morris to Daniel Hitner (280 acres
and 229 perches)
- April 1, 1796
July 3, 1812 - Various owners to Daniel Hitner in
eight tracts totalling 28 acres
- December 30, 1813 - Daniel Hitner to George Sheaff (308 acres
and 33 perches)
- March 1852 - Heirs of George Sheaff to William Taggart
and Charles Stout (249 acres of
farmland in two tracts)
- April 7, 1852 - Heirs of George Sheaff to Ann, Ellen, and
John Sheaff (59 acres and 95 perches,
including dwelling house)
- 1917 - Executors of John Sheaff to Caroline
Sinkler
- 1949 - Caroline Sinkler to Mrs. Nicholas G.
Roosevelt, her niece
- 1970 - Mrs. Nicholas G. Roosevelt to the
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Information for this chronology of ownership was gathered from the following sources:

Montgomery County Deed Books. Registry of Deeds of Montgomery County, Norristown, Pennsylvania.

Moon, Robert C., The Morris Family of Philadelphia: Descendants of Anthony Morris, Vol. II, page 537.

Morris, Anthony, Day Book, 1794 - 1799. Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware, Accounts for the month of April, 1794-1798.

Ledger, 1794 - 1801. Effingham Morris Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pages 101-102, 105-106.

Sheaff Family Papers. Manuscript collection, Highlands Historical Society, Fort Washington, Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX B
 BUILDING ACCOUNTS FOR THE HIGHLANDS
 TRANSCRIBED FROM THE LEDGER OF ANTHONY MORRIS

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D.^r Improvements on my Farm in Montg.^y County

1794

June 17	To Cash paid C. Laeser, Carpenter for building a Necessary	£ 4 15		
"	To d. ^o paid d. ^o for Nine Days Work there	8 5 6		
20	To d. ^o paid Rich. ^d Wistars Bill for Ironm. ⁿ	11 10 8		
Sept. 12	To d. ^o paid for Nails	2 5 10		
Oct. 6	To d. ^o paid Labourers for quarrying Stone for Granary	3		
8	To d. ^o for digging the Cellar for d. ^o	1 2 6		
31	To d. ^o paid 180 Bush. ^l Lime for the Granary	10 10		
"	To d. ^o paid John McGlathey for a Cyder Mill & Press	5 10		
Nov. 1	To d. ^o paid for 107 Bush. ^l of Lime for Granary	5 1		
15	To d. ^o paid Labourers for digging Cellar for d. ^o	4 14 6		
"	To d. ^o paid for 128 Bush. ^l of Lime for Granary	7 19 10		
19	To d. ^o paid Christian Laser, Carpenter, on Acco. ^t of d. ^o	18 15		
20	To d. ^o paid Labourers quarrying Stone for d. ^o	10 0 7		
21	To d. ^o paid D ^o D ^o	2 15 6		

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1794					
Nov. 26	To d. ^o paid Conrad Clime (Mason) for building y. ^e Granary in full 350 perches Including Board for y. ^e Masons which they found	78	15		
"	To d. ^o paid for building an Oven	1	6	3	
28	To d. ^o paid Labourers quarrying Stone	3	15	7	
	Carried up.	£ 180	2	9	

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D.^r Improvements on my Farm in Montg.^y County

1794	Amo. ^t bro. ^t up	£ 180	2	9	
Nov. 28	To Cash paid Labourers for quarrying Stone	3	14	7	
Dec. 24	To d. ^o paid Casper Falan for Nails	17	11	3	
27	To d. ^o paid for Bricks		15		
1795					
Jan. 1	To d. ^o paid Christian Laser, Carpenter, on Acco. ^t	21	3	9	
2	To d. ^o paid Bill of Lime for y. ^e Granary	2	12	6	
Mar. 7	To d. ^o paid John Jacobi Blacksmiths Bill for the Granary	35	15	6	
April 15	To d. ^o paid Christian Laser's Ball in full for Carpenters Work	21	2	6	
Aug. 1	To d. ^o paid d. ^o for Work at the Granary to May 16 th	18	6		
25	To d. ^o paid Jonathan Thomas's Bill for Whiskey for the hands employed in quarrying for the Granary	27	14		
		£ 328	17	10	
1799					
Decem. 31	Amo. ^t transferr'd to Ledger B. fol.12 = \$877 $\frac{4}{100}$				

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1795						
	April 16	To Cash paid P. Lare for burning a Kiln of Lime		18		
	May 30	To d. ^o . paid Charles Hubbs Bill for Boards Shingles	252 8 1			
		Hawling	<u>4 15 9</u>			
				257	13	10
1795, 1796 & 1797		To d. ^o paid Conrad Clime Amo. ^t of his Bill for Mason Work; painting & plastering the Cellars & Garrets - including the Board of the Masons & their attendants		550	3	
1795						
	June 24	To Sundry Disbursements to Workmen & Sam. ^l Dehaven		18	15	
	"	To Cash y. ^e William Stayley for Quarrying Stone		7	10	
	July 15	To d. ^o for Sundries & Sam. ^l Dehaven		18	15	
	Aug. 1	To d. ^o for d. ^o d. ^o		11	5	
	13	To d. ^o y. ^e Jacob Akuf for hawling Boards to the Mansion House		7		
	19	To d. ^o y. ^e Sam. ^l Dehaven for Workmen employ'd in Quarrying		15	15	
	25	To d. ^o y. ^e Jonathan Thomas for whiskey for Workmen		27	14	
	Sept. 9	To d. ^o y. ^e Sam. ^l Dehaven for Workmen		18	15	
	10	To d. ^o y. ^e Geo. Lare for burning a Kiln of Lime cont. ^y 915 Bushel		25		
	25	To d. ^o y. ^e Peter Shearer for Lime		1	12	
	26	To d. ^o y. ^e Charles Hubbs for Boards		<u>75</u>		
		Carried up		£ 1052	17	10

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		D. ^r Mansion House at my Farm				
1795		Amo. ^t bro. ^t up		£ 1052	17	10
	Oct. 28	To Cash y. ^e Sam. ^l Dehaven for Quarry men		11	5	
	31	To d. ^o y. ^e John Pryor's Acco. ^t for Nails		13	19	9
	Nov. 10	To d. ^o y. ^e for Gun Powder for blowing Rock in the Well		11	5	

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1795						
Nov.	12	To d. ^o p. ^d John Jacobi Smiths Work	12			
	16	To d. ^o p. ^d Samuel Dehaven for Laborers employ'd in Quarrying in full	112	10		
	20	To d. ^o p. ^d Geo. Lare for Burning Kiln of Lime cont. ^y 910 Bushel	28			
Dec.	1	To d. ^o p. ^d Charl. Hubbs for Boards & Shingles	187	10		
	7	To d. ^o p. ^o Jonathan & Titus Yerkus on Acco. ^t for sawing Bill of Scantling	45			
	11	To d. ^o p. ^d Charles Hubbs Ball. in full for Boards & Shingles including hawling	174	9	7	
	17	To d. ^o p. ^d John Pryor for Nails	12	10		
	21	To d. ^o p. ^d Sam. ^l Whetherill for White Lead	1	8		
1796						
Jan.	23	To d. ^o p. ^d John Jacobi Smiths Bill	53	1	4	
Feb.	29	To d. ^o p. ^d Disbursements for Sam. Dehaven	75			
Mar.	4	To d. ^o p. ^d John Shepperd Stone Cutter on Acco. ^t of Marble Hitting it	131	5		
	23	To d. ^o p. ^d Jonathan Iredell for Oak Lath	24	3		
	28	To d. ^o p. ^d Robert Taylor for Plaster. ^ε Lath	3	15		
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d Jonathan & Titus Yerkus on Acco. ^t for Sawing Bill of Scantling	75			
	31	To d. ^o p. ^d John Pryor for Lath Nails	2	10		
			Carr. forward	£ 2027	9	6

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D.^r Mansion House at my Farm

1796		Amo. ^t bro. ^t forward	£ 2027	9	6	
April	4	To Cash paid Jonathan & Titus Yerkus y ^e . Ball. for Sawing Bill of Scantling & delivery it	29	2	10	
	20	To d. ^o p. ^d Morgan Morgan Smiths Work	7	5		
May	4	To d. ^o p. ^d Jonathan Phillips for Hawling		12	6	
	30	To d. ^o p. ^d Robert Taylor Plaisterer on a/c	37	10		

page 113 (cont.)

1796					
June	1	To d. ^o p. ^d Charles Hubbs for add. ^l Bill of Boards	75	15	6
	7	To d. ^o p. ^d William Davis for halling Boards	4	10	
	9	To d. ^o p. ^d Godfrey Felde for d. ^o	2	5	
	14	To d. ^o p. ^d John Britton for Boards & plaist. ^g Laths	19	15	3
	17	To d. ^o p. ^d Stewards & Knights Bill for	18		11
	20	To d. ^o p. ^d James Corkrin's Bill for d. ^o	21		
	24	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry Wister for 1000 Bricks	3		
	27	To d. ^o p. ^d B. Flarbeson for Copper for Lightning Rods		18	9
	28	To d. ^o p. ^d Sam. ^l Howell Jr. for p Chimney Backs & Jams 44.14.8			
		Deduct for B. Morris's proport. paid by him <u>17.17.10</u>			
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d William Davis for halling Boards	26	16	10
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d John Davis for Bricks	4	10	
July	18	To d. ^o p. ^d James Hancy for 4 Copper Spoats	1	5	
Aug.	2	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry Toup for Oil for Painting 53 Gallons	67	14	
	"		23	17	
		Amo. ^t carr. ^d up £ 2371		8	1

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D.^r Mansion House at my Farm

1796		Amo. ^t bro. ^t forward	£ 2371	8	1
Aug.	4	To Cash p. ^d Jonathan Thomas for Hair for Plaistering 55 Bushel	6	13	4
	9	To d. ^o p. ^d John Streeper for halling sash weights	3	7	6
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d Geo. Kreiger for Stone for the Front	5	12	6
	15	To d. ^o p. ^d Philip Lare for halling	13	12	6
	22	To d. ^o p. ^d John Tool for halling 4000 Bricks	13	10	
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d Sam. ^l Vanpelt, Pump Maker, for y. ^e Pump including the Smith's Bill & fixing it	18	18	6
	23	To d. ^o p. ^d George Pluck, Well-digger	8		
	"	To d. ^o p. ^d Labourers		13	15

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1796					
Aug. 24	To d. ^o p. ^d Job. Robert's Acco. ^t for White Stone for the front halling	46	17	6	
Sept. 1	To d. ^o p. ^d Geo. Lare for Cutting 15 Cord of Wood & burning a Kiln of Lime cont. ^g	31	15		
10	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer	1	17	6	
12	To d. ^o p. ^d William Inghart for halling 2000 Bricks	7			
15	Henry Faringer for halling Lath	1	2	6	
17	To d. ^o p. ^d Robert Taylor plaisterer on a/c	37	10		
20	To d. ^o p. ^d Zane & Chapman for two Chimney peices with Composition Ornaments & ornaments for two others	37	5		
23	To d. ^o p. ^d Sam. ^l Wests Bill for Boards	6	15	3	
	Amo. ^t carr. ^d forward	£ 2625	0	2	

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1796		Amo. ^t bro. ^t over	£ 2625	0	2
Sept. 24	To Cash p. ^d John Jacobi Smiths Bill	27	2	8	
29	To d. ^o p. ^d Richoff Albertsons Bill for Boards	25	19	9	
Oct. 1	To d. ^o p. ^d A&D Sellers for Wire Work	9	7	6	
"	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Pennick for Halling Lath	3	15		
8	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer		15		
9	To d. ^o p. ^d Ditto	1	2	6	
31	To d. ^o p. ^d Peter Inghart for halling Lath	3			
Nov. 1	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer		15		
4	To d. ^o p. ^d Joseph Lukens for Oak Lath	9	14	4	
7	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer	3	15		
"	To d. ^o p. ^d Charles Hubbs add. ^l Bill for Boards	11	5		
9	To d. ^o p. ^d David Marple for halling Bricks	7	16		
10	To d. ^o p. ^d Rodoback for 45 bushel Lime	3	3	9	
11	To d. ^o p. ^d John Tool for Lime del. ^d	37	5		
12	To d. ^o p. ^d Edw. ^d Garrigues for Boards	10	2	1	
13	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer	2	12	6	
18	To d. ^o p. ^d Joseph Janes for Rent of Lime Kiln	14	14	2	
19	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer		15		
21	To d. ^o p. ^d Sam. ^l M. Cool for halling Boards & for Lime	32	17	6	
26	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Rynear Labourer	1	17	6	

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1796					
Dec.	8	To d ^o . p ^d . Jacob Pennick for halling Brick	2	9	
	10	To d ^o . p ^d . Robert Taylor, Plaisterer, on a/c	37	10	
	19	To d ^o . p ^d . Abraham Dewees, Mason, for turning Arch of Chimney		<u>3</u>	9
		Amo ^t . carr ^d . up	£ 2872	18	2

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1796		Amo ^t . carr ^d . forward	£ 2872	18	2
Dec.	23	To Cash p ^d . Lawrence Frank, Painter, on Acc ^t .	18	15	
	24	To d ^o . p ^d . Sam ^l . McCool for 50 Bushel Lime	4	13	9
	24	To d ^o . p ^d . Rob ^t . Taylor, Plaisterer	18	15	
1797					
Jan.	3	To d ^o . p ^d . Joseph Anthony's Bill for Glass	140	6	6
	12	To d ^o . p ^d . Wells & Morris's Bill of Ironmongery	206	5	6½
	21	To d ^o . p ^d . Thomas Pryor for Plaister ^g . hair	22		6
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . Atkinson Faro for Drain from y ^e . Pump	27	10	8
	25	To d ^o . p ^d . Henry Toup for Oil	9	3	4½
	30	To d ^o . p ^d . John Jacobi Smith's Bill in full	20		8
1795-1796 & 1797		To d ^o . p ^d . Christian Laser Total Amo ^t . of Carpenter's Work in full	1331	7	8
at diff. times		To d ^o . p ^d . T. Matlack Architect	112	10	
1797					
Feb.	4	To d ^o . p ^d . Jacob Rynear Labourer in full	1	4	4
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . John Markly for Plaister ^g . Hair	9		
Mar.	1	To d ^o . p ^d . Jonathan Yerkus for Sawing of delivering Bill of Scantling for Piazza's	5	18	7
	10	To d ^o . p ^d . Zane & Chapman's Bill in full for Composition Ornaments 18.14.3			
		Deduct Amo ^t . of Ash Bucket included in the Bill <u>1. 2.6</u>			
			17	11	9

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1797						
Mar.	23	To d ^o . p ^d . John Keyser Amo ^t . of his Bill in full for Boards	11	5		
	28	To d ^o . to Joseph Gorges Amo ^t . of his Bill in full for Boards Scantling & halling	28	16	5	
		Amo ^t . Carr ^d . forward	£ 4858	2	11	

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1797		Amo ^t . bro ^t . forward	£ 4858	2	11	
March	25	To Cash p ^d . Ely Roberts for ten Bushl. Lime		15		
	31	To d ^o . p ^d . Philip Lare for halling Boards & Lath in full	2	13	6	
April	7	To d ^o . p ^d . Mitchel for Robert Taylor on Acco ^t . of Plaistering	7	10		
	15	To d ^o . p ^d . Lawrence Frank Painter on a/c	15			
	17	To d ^o . p ^d . Jacob Akeef for halling Boards	4	10		
	18	To d ^o . p ^d . Wm. Dewees, Labourer	1	2	6	
May	6	To d ^o . p ^d . Robert Taylor Plaisterer, Ball. viz. my Note pyble in one year for £163.17.6 & Cash <u>37.10</u>	201	7	6	
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . Jonathan Thomas for Lead		7	6	
	19	To d ^o . p ^d . Lawrence Frank Painter	7	10		
June	6	To d ^o . p ^d . John Shepperd, Stone Cutter, on a/c	37	10		
	14	To d ^o . p ^d . Lawrence Frank, Painter, on a/c	37	10		
	23	To d ^o . p ^d . Christian Laser Carpenter	37	10		
July	16	To d ^o . p ^d . Lawrence Frank	14	15	6	
	19	To d ^o . p ^d . Jonathan Thomas's Bill for Nails	3	2	5	
	27	To d ^o . p ^d . Jacob Steinmetz for Bricks	28	3	9½	
	29	To d ^o . p ^d . Abraham Dewees, Mason	6	15		
Aug.	12	To d ^o . p ^d . Henry Toup for Oil	7	17	6	
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . Jacob Hash Blacksmith	5	2	11	
Sept.	7	To d ^o . p ^d . James Hancy (Copper Spout)	5	12	6	
	21	To d ^o . p ^d . Christian Laser, Carpenter	43	3	6	
		Amo ^t . carr ^d . up	£ 5326	2	0½	

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D^r. Mansion House at my Farm

1797		Amo ^t . Bro ^t . up	£	5326	2	0½
Nov. 3		To Cash p ^d . John Frank Bill of Painting		5	12	6
Dec. 2		To my Note to Steward & Knight @ Godays for 434 ⁷³ Dollars in full for their <u>100</u> Bill of Boards		163	0	5½
1798						
Jan. 6		To Cash paid Arthur Brades's Acco ^t . in full for halling logs and sawing scantling & Lath for the out buildings & Garden fence		56	17	7
	9	To d ^o . p ^d . B. Harbeson & Sons Acco ^t . for Copper		3	11	10½
	12	To d ^o . p ^d . Sam ^l . Wetherill & Sons & Sam ^l . Wetherill & Son in full for White Lead, Glass a/c		73	18	1
	16	To d ^o . p ^d . Wells & Morris's Bill for Nails		3	16	1
	20	To d ^o . p ^d . Laurence Franks Order in favor of Joseph Tomkins, on Acco ^t . of Painting		3		
	23	To d ^o . p ^d . Samuel Williams's Bill for Mahogany Plank		7	19	4
March 2		To d ^o . p ^d . John Shepperd ballance in full of his Bill for Marble work and putting it up		400		
	10	To d ^o . p ^d . John Frank on Acco ^t . for Painting 20 Dollars		7	10	
	13	To d ^o . p ^d . John Frank ballance in full for Painting		1	11	9
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . ditto for ditto			15	
May 4		To d ^o . p ^d . Britton J. for Boards		1	8	
		Carr ^d . forward	£	6055	2	8½

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D^r. Mansion House at my Farm

1798		Amo ^t . bro ^t . forward	£	6055	2	8½
May 15		To Cash paid Sam ^l . Wetherill		3	5	11
June 1		To d ^o . ditto		5	18	3
	19	To d ^o . p ^d . Christian Laser Carpenter		37	10	
	30	To d ^o . p ^d . Abraham Dewees (Mason)		5	12	6
	"	To d ^o . p ^d . Hederly Hanging Bells		7	10	

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1798					
July 19	To d. ^o p. ^d John White for Iron railing to front doors	41	3	10	
20	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry Toups bill for Oil	1	14		
"	To d. ^o p. ^d Jacob Harsh Blacksmith	4	13	9	
Aug. 8	To d. ^o p. ^d G. Hederly ball. in full for Hanging Bells	25	2	5	
omitted					
July 25	To d. ^o p. ^d Chas. Hubbs for Boards	4	12	2	
Aug. 21	To d. ^o p. ^d C. Laser Carpenter	20	10	10	
1799					
March 23	To d. ^o p. ^d H. Patterson & H. McLeny for Stone Quarrying for Barn purchased of W. Ashby	9	18	7	
29	To d. ^o p. ^d J. Owen on Acco. ^t of Impov. ^s in the Kitchen & Oven	15			
	To d. ^o p. ^d Chas. Rubicam for hawling Boards	3	1	6	
April 16	To d. ^o p. ^d John Owen. ball. in full	33	12	6	
17	To d. ^o p. ^d Thomas Crane d. ^o	11	5		
"	To d. ^o p. ^d T. Lonergan Acco. ^t . in full for Labour	7	7	6	
23	To d. ^o p. ^d John White (Blacksmith)	6	5	5	
Aug. 26	To d. ^o p. ^d H. McLeng for digging Well Quarrying Stone	26	12	9	
		£ 6325	19	8½	

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1799	Acco. ^t . bro ^t . forward	£ 6325	19	8½	
Sept. 7	To Cash paid William Willson for Cedar Rails	37	10		
April 13	To d. ^o p. ^d Hersch & Puff Blacksmith bill		10	3	
	To d. ^o p. ^d Will. Willson. halling Bricks	3	10		
	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry McLeny digging the Ice House	7	9	5	
1	To d. ^o p. ^d for Bricks Halling	4	7		
6	To d. ^o p. ^d Thomas Crane, Mason	7	10		
1	To d. ^o p. ^d John Smith for Stew Stone	6	15		
5	To d. ^o p. ^d C. Laser. Carpenter on a/c	11	5		
16	To d. ^o p. ^d John Elliot for Paint	1	11		
	To d. ^o p. ^d William Dewees, on Acco. ^t	2	12	6	
30	To d. ^o p. ^d B. W. Morris for Bricks	1	10	11	
omitt?					
May 7	To d. ^o p. ^d C. Laser, Carpenter	3	13	6	

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1799							
May	6	To d. ^o p. ^d John Willson for Cedar Rails & halling		15			
		To d. ^o p. ^d William Dewees		1	10		
June	13	To d. ^o to Henry McLeny digging of foundation of y ^e . Barn		22	10		
Aug.	3	To d. ^o to Wm. Dewees			15		
	26	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry McLeny	\$763				
			100				
		This Entry is already charged					
Sept.	12	To d. ^o p. ^d Wm. Dewees		1	10		
	23	To d. ^o p. ^d Jonat ⁿ . Thomas's on Acco. ^t of y ^e . Spring house		2	5	10	
Oct.	1 & 5	To d. ^o p. ^d Wm. Dewees d. ^o d. ^o		2	12	6	
	28	To d. ^o p. ^d Adv. ^d Dewees - d. ^o d. ^o		1	17	6	
		Carried forward		£ 6462	13	1½	

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D^r Mansion House at my Farm

1799		Amo ^t . bro ^t . forward		£ 6462	13	1½	
Novem.	6	To Cash p. ^d Sam ^l . Wetherill & sons bill for Paint Glass etc. on Acco. ^t of y ^e . Spring house		8	12	10	
"		To d. ^o James Poultney's bill d. ^o			19		
	12	To d. ^o Rob. Haydock's bill		3	18	11	
	13	To d. ^o p. ^d Joseph Gorges' bill on Acc ^t . of y ^e . Barn \$41613		156	1		
			100				
	14	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry McLeny on Acco. ^t .		37	10		
	15	To d. ^o p. ^d Wm. Dewees on Acco. ^t . of boarding of hands of H. McLeny		3	15		
	22	To d. ^o p. ^d for Boards etc.		7	10		
		To d. ^o p. ^d for d. ^o			18	11	
Decem.	9	To d. ^o p. ^d Henry McLeny \$6450					
			100				
		in full of all Acco. ^t .		24	3	9	
	24	To d. ^o p. ^d Abraham Dewees \$10240					
			100				
		in full of Mason Work building the Spring House		38	8		
"		To d. ^o p. ^d William Dewees on Acco. ^t of Labour \$ 16					
				3	15		
				£ 6748	5	6½	
Decem.	31	Amount transferr'd to Ledger B folio 12 - \$1799540					
			100				

APPENDIX C
 ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF
 CRAFTSMEN, LABORERS, AND SUPPLIERS OF MATERIALS
 FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HIGHLANDS, 1794 - 1799

The following is an alphabetical listing of the craftsmen, laborers, and suppliers of building materials for the construction of The Highlands which are listed in the Anthony Morris day books now at Winterthur and the ledger now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The symbol * indicates a name which appears only in the day book and the symbol + indicates a name which appears only in the ledger. Those names without a symbol are found in both manuscripts.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIALS SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
* Adams and Co.	carpenters	1796,1797
Akeef, Jacob (Akuff in d.b.)	hauling boards	1795,1797
Albertson, Richoff	boards	1796
Anthony, Joseph (J. Anthony & Co.)	window glass	1797
Aredell, Jonathan	(See Iredell)	

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIALS SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
* Argue, David	laborer	1796
* Baynor, Jacob	laborer	1796
* Brittans, John Jr.	white pine boards and plastering lath	1796,1798
Brody, Arthur	scantling and lath and hauling logs	1797
* Buckley, William	plaster of Paris	1795
Burke, Jonathan	mason	1797
Chapman (See Zane and Chapman)		
Clime, Conrad (See Klime)		
Corkrin, James	plastering lath	1796
+ Crane, Thomas	mason	1799
+ Cressan, Samuel	carpenter	1795,1796
+ Cuthbert, Thomas	plaster of Paris	1796
Davis, John	brick	1796
Davis, William	hauling boards	1796
Dehaven, Samuel	quarry overseer	1795,1796
Deweese, Abraham	mason	1797,1798
+ Dewees, William	laborer	1799
+ Elliot, John	paint	1799
* Etris, James	blacksmith	1798
* Evans, Rees	carpenter	1794
Fallan, Caspar	nails	1795
Faro, Atkinson	making and laying chestnut drain from pipe	1797

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIALS SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
Farringer, Henry	hauling lath	1796
Felde, Godfry	hauling boards	1796
* Fox, Jonathan	lime	1796
Frank, Lawrence	painter	1796-1798
Garriques, Edward	boards	1796
Gorges, Joseph	boards and scantling	1797
Hancy, James	copper spouts	1796,1797
Harbeson, Benj.	copper sheets and lightning rods	1795,1796,1798
Hederly, George	bells and hanging them	1798
Hersch, Jacob	blacksmith	1798
+ Hersch and Puff	blacksmiths	1799
* Hollowell, Edward	stone cutter	1796
+ Howell, Sam'l Jr.	chimney backs and jams	1796
Hubbs, Charles	boards, shingles, and scantling	1795,1797,1798
* Inghart, Peter	hauling lath	1796
Inghart, William	hauling bricks	1796
Iredell, Jonathan	lath	1796
Jacobi, Jonathan	blacksmith, fireback	1795-97,1799
James, Joseph	rent of his lime kiln	1796
* Jones, Clark and Cressons	boards	1794
Jorges, Joseph (see Gorges)		
Keyser, John	boards	1797
Klime, Conrad	mason, plasterer	1795,1796

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIALS SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
Knight (see Stewart and Knight)		
Kreiger, George	stone for the front	1796
Lare, George	cut wood and burned kilns of lime	1796
Lare, Philip	hauling boards and lath, cutting wood	1797
Loeser, Christian (Lazure and Laeser)	carpenter	1794-1799
+ Lonergan, T.	laborer	1799
Lukens, Joseph	lath	1796
Maple, David	hauling bricks	1796
+ Markley, John	plastering hair	1797
+ Matlack, T.	architect "at diff ^t . times"	1797
McCoal, Samuel	hauling boards and lime	1796
+ McLeny, Henry	digging ice house, well, and foundation for barn hauling bricks, quarrying stone	1799
* Morgan, Morgan	blacksmith	1796
+ Morris, B. W.	bricks	1799
* Nash, Jacob	blacksmith	1797
* Nowell, Samuel Jr. and Co.	chimney blacks and jams	1796
Owen, Jack	jack and oven	1799
+ Patterson, H.	stone cutter	
* Paxon and Richardson	tools and plasterer's tool chest	1794
Pennick, Jacob	hauling lath and brick	1796

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIAL SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
+ Phillips, Jonathan	hauling	1796
Pluck, George	digging the well	1796
+ Poultney, James	paint and glass for springhouse	1799
* Price and Worrall	lath and scantling for garden	1798
Pryor, Jonathan	nails and gun powder	1795,1796
Pryor, Thos. W.	plastering hair	1796
+ Puff (see Hersch and Puff)		
* Regnaule, M.	paperhanger	1803
* Rifferts	lime	1796
Roberts, Ely	lime	1796
Roberts, Job	white stone for front and hauling	1796
* Robinson, Stephen	Negro laborer	1796
Rodoback	lime	1796
+ Rubicam, Charles	hauling boards	
Rynear, Jacob	laborer	1796,1797
Sellers, Joseph	wire work at windows	1796
+ Shearer, Peter	lime	1795
Sheppard	marble work and putting it up	1796-1798
+ Smith, John	stew stone	1799
+ Stagley, Wm.	stone cutter	1795
Steinmetz, Jacob	bricks	1797
+ Stephens and Co.	paint	1795
Stewart and Knight	boards and lath	1796,1797

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, SERVICE, OR MATERIAL SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
Streeper, Jonathan	hauling window weights	1796
Taylor, Robert	lath plastering	1796,1797
+ Thomas, Jonathan	nails, lead, hair for plastering, whiskey for the hired hands	
+ Tomkins, Joseph	painter	
Tool, Jonathan	hauling bricks	1796
Toup, Henry	linseed oil for painting	1796
Van Pelt, Samuel	pump and installation	1796
Wells and Morris	ironmongers brass ware, sash weights, nails	1797,1798
West, Samuel and Co.	boards	1796
Wester, Henry	bricks	1796
Wetherill, Joseph	boards	1794
Wetherill, Samuel	white lead and window glass	1795,1798
White, Jonathan	iron railing to front door and installa- tion	1798
Williams, Samuel	mahogany plank for staircase	1798
+ Willson, William	cedar rails, hauling bricks	1799
Wistar, Richard	ironmonger	1794
Yerkes, Jonathan and Titus	scantling	1796,1797
Zane and Chapman	chimney pieces with composition orna- ments, plaster of Paris ornaments	1796,1797

<u>NAME</u>	<u>OCCUPATION, MATERIAL, OR MATERIAL SUPPLIED</u>	<u>YEAR(S)</u>
No name	lock for stable door	1796
	padlock for stable door	1798

APPENDIX D

CATEGORICAL INDEX OF CRAFTSMEN, LABORERS, AND SUPPLIERS OF
MATERIALS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HIGHLANDS, 1794 - 1799

Architect

T. Matlack

Carpenters

Adams and Co.
Cresson, Samuel
Evans, Rees
Loeser, Christian

Masons

Crane, Thomas
Dewees, Abraham
Klime, Conrad

Stone Cutters

Dehaven, Samuel
Hollowell, Edward
Kreiger, George
Patterson, H.
Shepperd
Smith, John
Stagley, Wm.

Blacksmiths

Etris, James
Hersch, Jacob
Hersch and Puff
Jacobi, Jonathan
Morgan, Morgan
Nash, Jacob
White, Jonathan

Ironmongers

Wells and Morris
Wistar, Richard

Plasterer

Taylor, Robert

Painters

Frank, Lawrence
Tomkins, Joseph

Paperhanger

Regnaule, M.

Miscellaneous laborers

Faro, A. making and laying
 drain from pipe
Hederly, G. hanging bells
McLeny, H. digging ice house and
 foundation for barn
Pluck, A. digging the well
Sellers, J. wire work at windows

Hauling

Akeef, J. boards
Brody, A. logs
Davis, W. boards
Farringer, H. lath
Felde, G. boards
Inghart, P. lath
Inghart, Wm. bricks
Lare, Philip boards
Maple, D. bricks
McCoal, S. boards
Pennick, J. lath and brick
Roberts, J. stone
Streeper, J. window weights
Tool. J. bricks

Laborers

Argue, David
Baynor, Jacob
Dehaven, S. (provided workmen)
Deweese, Wm.
Robinson, Stephen
Rynear, Jacob

Merchants

Albertson, R.	boards
Anthony, J.	window glass
Brittans, John	boards and lath
Buckley, Wm.	plaster of Paris
Corkrin, J.	lath
Cuthbert, Th.	plaster of Paris
Elliott, J.	paint
Fallan, Caspar	nails
Fox, Jonathan	lime
Garriques, Edward	boards
Gorges, Joseph	boards and scantling
Hancy, James	copper spouts
Harbeson, Benj.	copper sheets and lightning rods
Howell, Sam'l Jr.	chimney backs and jams
Hubbs, Charles	boards, shingles, scantling
Iredell, Jonathan	lath
Jones, Clark	boards
Keyser, John	boards
Kreiger, George	stone
Lukens, Joseph	lath
Markley, John	plastering hair
Morris, B. W.	bricks
Nowell, Samuel Jr.	chimney backs and jams
Owen, Jack	jack and oven
Paxon & Richardson	tools and plasterer's tool chest
Price & Worrall	lath and scantling for garden
Pryor, Jonathan	nails and gun powder
Pryor, Thos. W.	plastering hair
Rifferts	lime
Roberts, Ely	lime
Rodoback	lime
Shearer, Peter	lime
Steinmetz, Jacob	bricks
Stephens and Co.	paint
Stewart & Knight	boards and lath
Thomas, Jonathan	nails, lead, hair for plastering, and whiskey for the hired hands
Toup, Henry	linseed oil for painting
Van Pelt, Samuel	pump and installation
West, Samuel & Co.	boards
Wester, Henry	bricks
Wetherill, Joseph	boards
Wetherill, Samuel	white lead and window glass
Williams, Samuel	mahagony plank for staircase
Willson, William	cedar rails
Yerkes, Jon. & Titus	scantling
Zane & Chapman	chimney pieces and plaster of Paris ornaments

APPENDIX E

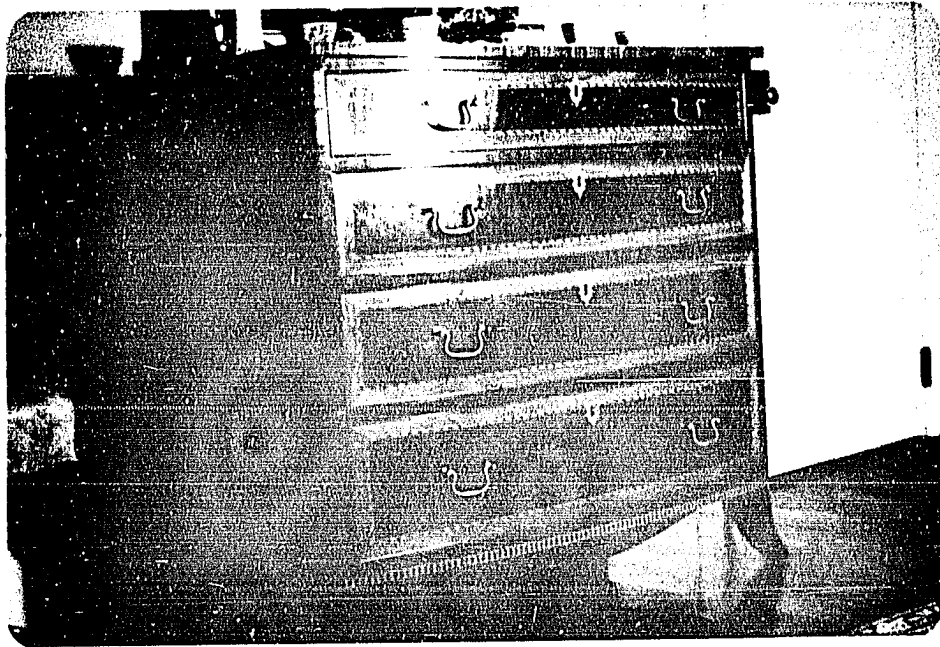
CABINETMAKERS, PAINTERS, AND SUPPLIERS OF HOUSEHOLD
FURNISHINGS FOR "THE HIGHLANDS"

Anthony, Joseph Goldsmith 94 High Street	1795 Pair of mahogany knife cases with ivory knives complete Plated sconces Plated casters 1797 (Also supplied window glass)	£ 42/15/0 7/10/0 140/6/6
Carey, Matthew Bookseller	1796 Unspecified books 3rd and 4th volumes of Goldsmith's <u>Animated Nature</u>	
Claphamson, Samuel Cabinetmaker 261 High Street.	1795 Two pair of mahogany bureaus 1796 Three cornishes gilt and white	45/0/0 3/7/6
Dobson, Thomas Printer and Bookseller	1796 Vols. 29-33 of ye Encyclo- pedia	5/0/0
Douglass, Jonathan Cabinetmaker 63 Dock Street	1795 Mahogany Sideboard Two mahogany Pembroke Tables Stuffing covering &c with hair Six mahogany chairs (Also repairing six mahogany chairs)	18/15/0 9/15/0 7/4/0 18/0
Dunning & Hyer	1796 Unspecified books	
Evans, Owen	1797 Weaving 29 yards of cloth	2/3/6

Howell, Reading	1796 Varnishing five maps of the world Map of Maryland	£ 1/5/0 2/16/3
Humphreys, Richard China Merchant 54 High Street	1795 Glassware	12/3/5½
Inskeep, John	1795 Table set of green edge ware	8/5/6
Letchworth, Jonathan	1795 Windsor chairs 1796 Four oval back windsor chairs (white) Two mahogany arm chairs	15/9/9 3/0/0 3/5/0
Johnston, Edward Cabinetmaker 39 Lumber Street	1794 Mahogany bookcase	36/18/0
McCauley, Jonathan Coppersmith 88 South Water Street and 89 South Front Street	1795 Brass Kettle	3/10/1½
Mason, Philip	1798 Outside label - fire engine (Also rebuilding small engine)	12/0/0
Matlack, William Watchmaker 34 South 3rd Street	1796 8-day timepiece (Also repairing watch)	8/12/6
Morris, Israel W.	1796 Microscope	10/6
Newton, Forbes Tinman 7 South Alley	1796 Tin ware	2/0/9
Ormrod, John Bookseller and stationer 41 Chestnut Street	1796 Unspecified books Stationery	5/3/1½ 19/3
Passmore, Thomas Tin Plate Worker 19 North 7th Street	1795 Tinware	1/10/0
Parquis, ?	1796 Two china jars Three composition figures	18/15/0

Peale, Charles Willson Museum Philosophical Hall South 5th Street	1796 Portrait	£ 11/10/0
Peale, James Portrait Painter 81 Lombard Street	1796 Miniature portrait and setting in gold of my Friend James Morris	2/10/0
Phillips, Jonathan Nailer South 2nd Street between Christian and Queen	1796 Three sets of iron backs and jambs	
Regnaule, M.	1803 Paper Hangings (Also installation)	21/0/0
Reynolds, James and Henry Carvers and Gilders 56 High Street	1795 Framing pictures Framing and glass to print of America Framing and glass to a print of Siddons Framing portrait Carved and gilt glass	1/17/6 1/5/0 6/0/0 15/0/0
	1796 Small looking glass plate	4/6
Robertson, Duncan Bookbinder Hoffman's Alley	1796 Map of the United States	15/0
St. Mery, Moreau Printer, Bookseller and Stationer 84 South Front Street	1795 Gazette 1796 Courier de France	
Sink, Lawrence Cabinetmaker 41 Lombard Street	1795 Mahogany desk and bookcase Two card tables Mahogany breakfast table	43/15/0 6/0/0
Stephen, Thomas Bookseller and Stationer	1796 Unspecified books	7/6
Trumble, Francis	1794 Large packing case (for moving to Whitemarsh?) 1795 Painting a bedstead and table	1/5/0 15/0

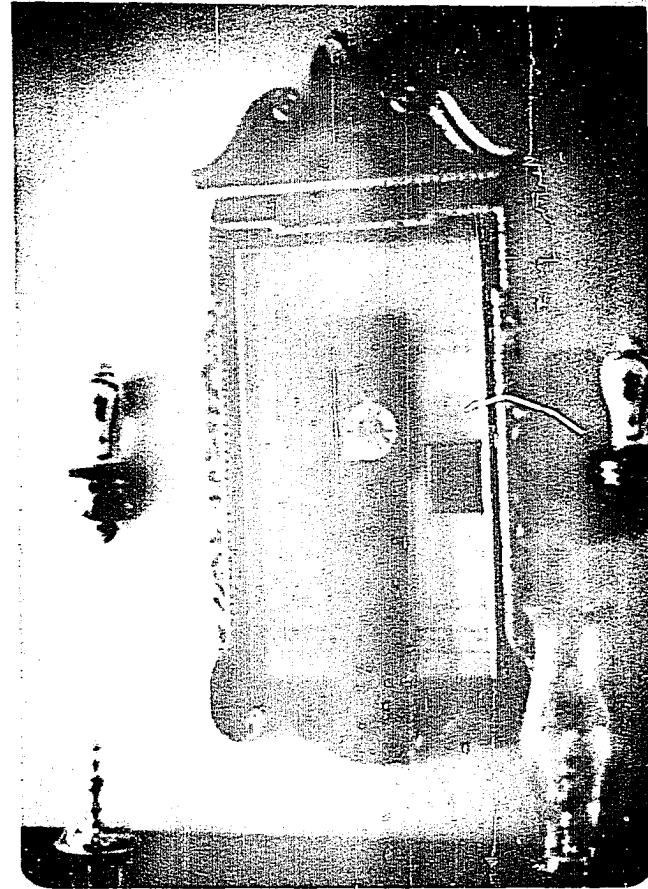
Whitesides, Jonathan	1795 81 Yards furniture dimity £	18/4/6
No Name Listed	1798 Tin ware	18/9
No Name Listed	1798 Dressing case &c	3/14/0



32. Chest of Drawers Owned by Anthony Morris,
Possibly One of the "Two Pair of Mahog-
any Bureaus" Purchased from Samuel
Claphamson in 1795, Private Collection



33. Side Chair Owned by Anthony Morris which Appears in His Portrait by James Peale (ILL. 3), Possibly One of the "Six Mahogany Chairs Purchased from Jonathan Douglass in 1795, Private Collection



34. Looking Glass Owned by Anthony Morris, Probably the "Carved and Gilt Glass" Purchased from James and Henry Reynolds in 1795, Private Collection

APPENDIX F

United States Direct Tax - 1798

Anthony Morris' Holdings in Whitemarsh are as follows;

<u>BUILDINGS</u>	<u>VALUATION</u>
1 Dwelling house of stone 60'x45'; 2 stories; 30 windows	\$5062.50
1 Dwelling house of Stone 35'x20'; 2 stories; 8 windows	337.50
<u>OUTHOUSES APPURTENANT</u>	
1 Smokehouse of frame construction 12'x12'	
<u>OTHER BUILDINGS OF LESS THAN \$100 VALUE</u>	
1 Tenament house of log construction 14'x12'	60.00
1 Dwelling house of frame construction 20'x14'	90.00
1 Stone barn 40'x30'	
1 Stone granary 36'x20'	
1 Frame barn	
<u>LAND</u>	
280 acres	