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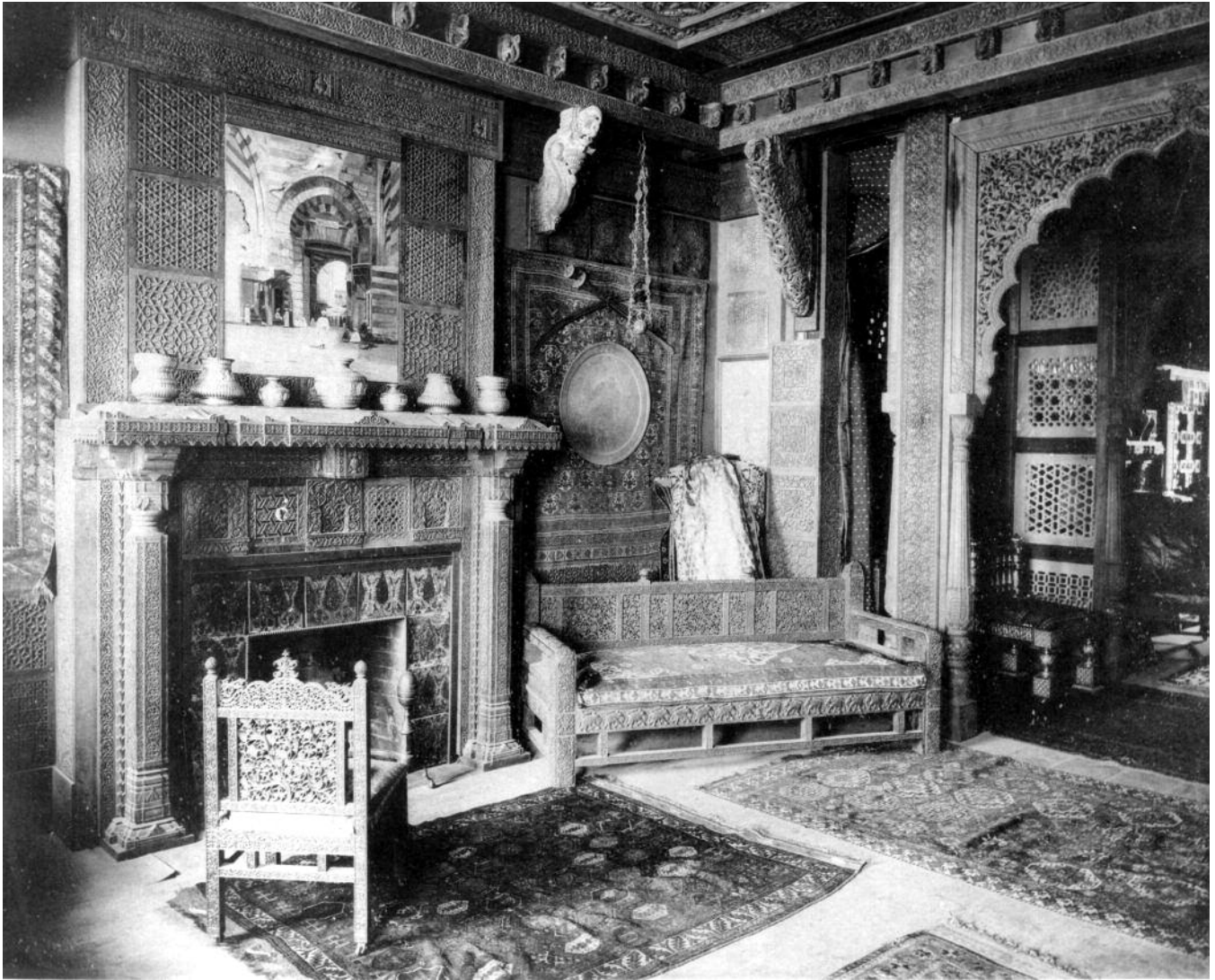
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Lockwood de Forest's showroom at 9 East Seventeenth Street, New York, c. 1885. (Photo is reversed to show correct signature and date on painting seen in the overmantel). Published in de Forest's *Indian Domestic Architecture*.

Sara Chapman Bull's Teakwood Rooms

A LOST LETTER REVEALS A CURIOUS COMMISSION FOR LOCKWOOD DE FOREST

Roberta A. Mayer and Susan Condrick

On January 13, 1888, Lockwood de Forest sent Mrs. Ole Bull—Sara Chapman Bull (née Thorp)—a letter providing a rough estimate of \$1,025.50 for hand-carved teakwood moldings, brackets, panels, and a mantel, along with a preliminary sketch for the installation.¹ At that time, Sara was working with architect Arthur Little in designing a new Colonial Revival house at 168 Brattle Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. De Forest was an artistic decorator and purveyor of “East Indian Furniture, Metal Work, Carved Stone & Wood for Architectural Use.”² The recent discovery of this letter provides firm evidence of a previously unknown and somewhat unusual commission for de Forest—the interiors of two adjacent Colonial Revival rooms that were intended to accommodate musical concerts, thought-provoking symposia, and still create a comfortable place for an intimate fireside chat. Together, these have always been known as the “teakwood rooms.”

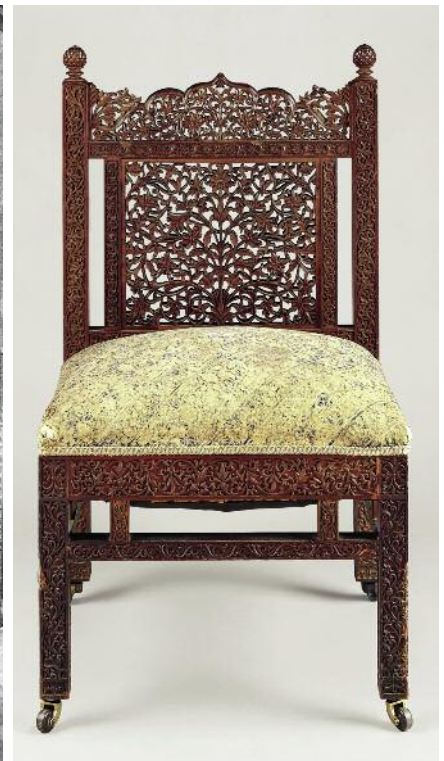
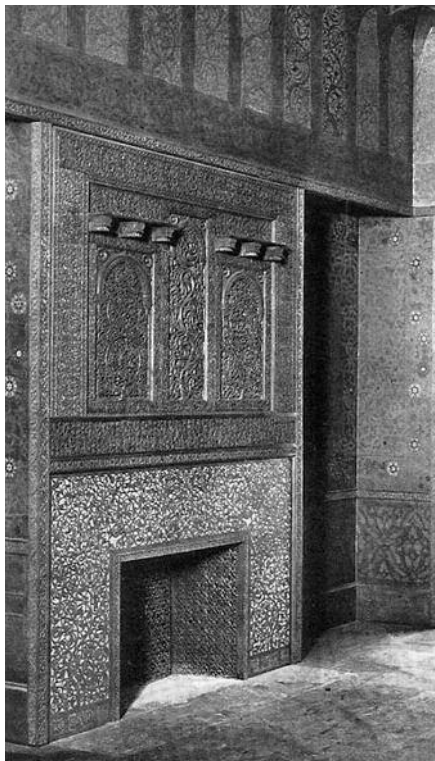
De Forest's patrons were typically the elite of America's Gilded Age. He began his professional decorating career in partnership with Louis C. Tiffany in the firm of Tiffany & De Forest.³ After that business dissolved, de Forest operated independently at 9 East Seventeenth Street in New York City, a sublease of four rooms that began on May 1, 1883. Views of de Forest's showrooms reveal the richly carved teakwood furnishings that were his specialty.

Through the 1880s and thereafter, de Forest provided designs and materials for projects across the United States, and from the beginning, his clients were attracted to the exoticism these decorations displayed. Some of the most notable examples were the Tiffany family mansion at 27 East Seventy-Second Street in New York City, the home of painter Frederic Edwin Church in Hudson, New York, known as “Olana,” the San Francisco Nob Hill mansion of James Clair Flood, the Baltimore house of Elizabeth Mary Garrett, and the Chicago residences of the Potter Palmers and Franklin MacVeagh.⁴

De Forest worked on the MacVeagh house in 1886, which was the last project of Henry Hobson Richardson, one of the most prominent American architects of the day.⁵ Richardson had been based in New York, but in 1878 when he began the now famous Romanesque-Revival Trinity

Church in Boston, he moved his office to the suburb of Brookline. According to de Forest, Richardson was one of the few professional architects who took an interest in his Indian woodwork.⁶

The archival business records and ledgers for de Forest are incomplete, and until now no surviving commissions had been found in Boston or its environs. Yet, we know that de Forest had many ties to the Boston area other than Richardson. The primary lease for the building at 9 East Seventeenth Street was held by J. G. and J. F. Low Art Tile Works, based in Chelsea, Massachusetts, a northern suburb of Boston.⁷ In New York, this firm used the ground floor for their showrooms. Their agent, Caryl Coleman, managed the New York branch and helped de Forest with publicity.⁸ Coleman was also the New



L to R: Interior of the Mary Garrett House, Baltimore, as published in *Art and Archaeology*, June 1925. Courtesy Hiram Woodward. Teak side chair, designed by Lockwood de Forest (1850-1932), c. 1881 and purchased by Mary Garrett for her home in Baltimore. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

York agent for the Smith & Anthony Stove Company of Boston, which manufactured de Forest's designs for cast iron fireplace linings (an example of which is visible in Garrett's hearth).⁹

In addition to his decorating network, de Forest had publishing ties to Boston. In 1885, the Heliotype Printing Company at 211 Tremont Street printed his first self-published book, *Indian Domestic Architecture*.¹⁰ Then in 1887, the Boston firm of George H. Polley & Co. published de Forest's second book, titled *Indian Architecture and Ornament*. Years later, in 1901, de Forest became a member of the Society of Arts and Crafts in Boston.¹¹ About a decade after that, he wrote articles for their magazine, *Handicraft*.¹²

Despite the publicity, the professional architectural community in Boston did not seem to be receptive to de Forest's work. When *Indian Domestic Architecture* first appeared, the Boston-based *American Architect and Building News* criticized de Forest's taste as an impractical and dust-



L to R: Sara Chapman Bull and her husband, Ole Bull.

collecting fad. The reviewer went on to suggest that de Forest was taking advantage of cheap labor and that the stated aim of craft preservation was not convincing.¹³ With the publication of *Indian Architecture and Ornament*, another unenthusiastic review appeared in the *American Architect and Building News*, with the continued assertion that Indian architecture did not belong in the United States.¹⁴

It is against this backdrop that we return to Lockwood de Forest and Mrs. Ole Bull. De Forest's estimate for Sara was drafted in 1888, as he was preparing to move his business to an exotic new townhouse at 7 East Tenth Street. This New York City landmark would soon be known as the "most Indian house in America."¹⁵

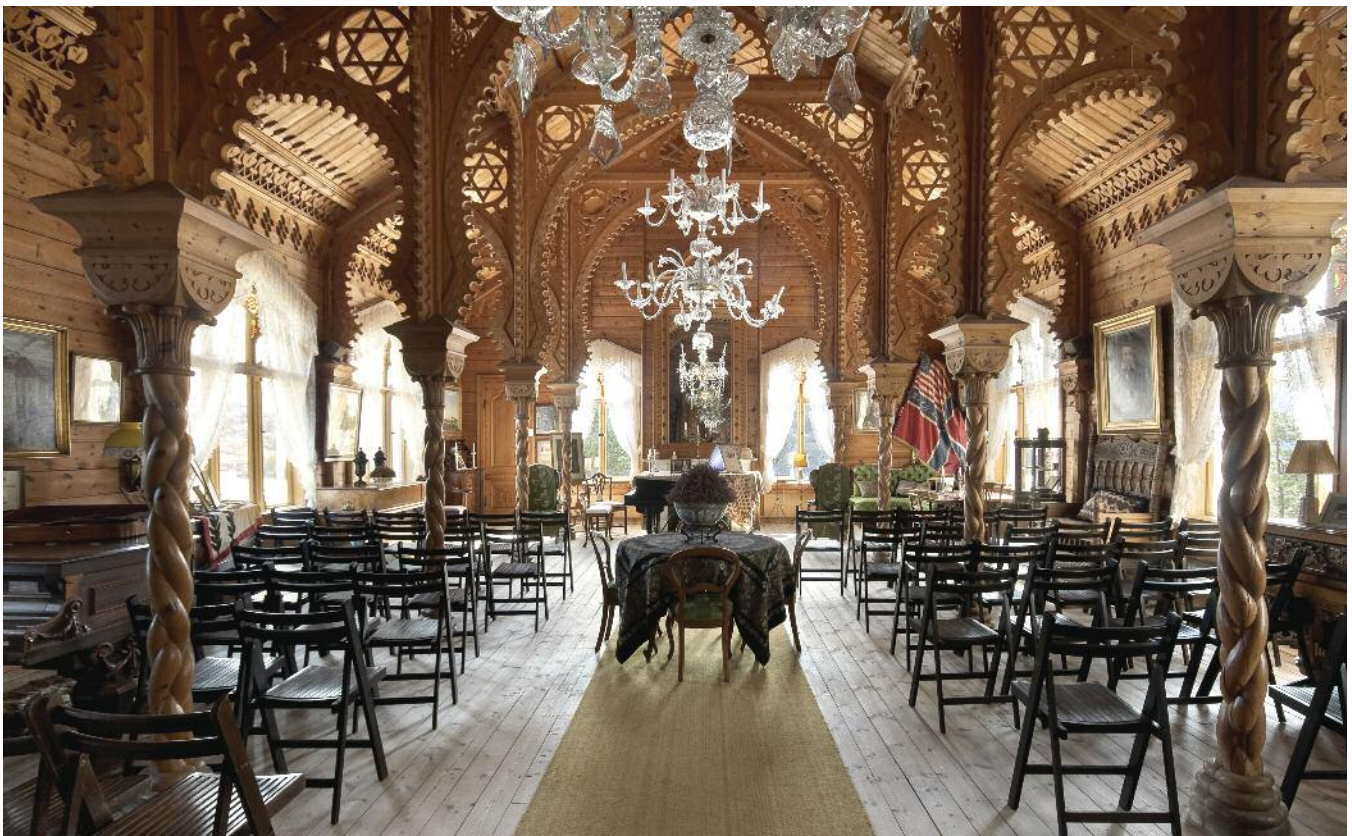
At that time, Sara was thirty-eight years old, and she had been a widow for nearly a decade.¹⁶ Her husband, forty-years her senior, had been Ole Bull, the internationally famous and peripatetic Norwegian violinist.¹⁷ His first trip to America began in New York in 1843, and it was a dazzling success. Even P. T. Barnum capitalized on the extraordinary popularity of the Norwegian musician by renaming one of the children in his act Ole Bull, Jr.¹⁸ Beginning in 1844, Ole Bull traveled constantly; he had performances in Cuba, Canada, and throughout the United States. By the time he returned to Europe in December 1845, he had traversed some 100,000 miles and performed over 200 concerts. His stops included Boston and nearby Cambridge, where the local intellectuals and social elite immediately embraced him; there, for example, he met the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, then in residence at what is now the Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow house at 105 Brattle Street.¹⁹

Ole Bull returned to America in January 1852, the same year that P. T. Barnum was promoting the concerts of the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind.²⁰ Again, he toured extensively, not returning to Europe until 1857. During this period, he purchased 11,144 acres of wooded land near Coudersport, Pennsylvania, with the idealistic and somewhat impulsive intent of founding a new colony for Norwegians.²¹ The venture included the planning of four communities—New Bergen, New Norway, Oleana, and Valhalla, where Ole Bull started to build a "castle" (which burned in 1923). In the end, the project was a failure, but it only added to Ole Bull's personal mythology (today it is the site of Ole Bull State Park). Ole Bull's third trip to America was in 1867. He was then a widower, his wife, Alexandrine Félicie Villemot, having died in 1862. Although there were many return trips to Norway, this marked the last phase of his concert life, with the majority of his performances scheduled in the United States. He reconnected with his many American friends as well.²²

In March 1870, Ole Bull arrived for a concert in Madison, Wisconsin, and was a guest of Joseph Gilbert Thorp, a Wisconsin state senator whose livelihood came from a lumber business in Eau Claire.²³ At that time, Ole met Thorp's daughter, Sara, and began to court her. Joseph Thorp had serious and understandable reservations about his daughter's much older suitor, but Sara's mother, [Susan] Amelia Chapman Thorp was eager to stoke the flames of romance. Sara was beautiful, charming, and musically talented, and Ole Bull was an enormously charismatic and available celebrity. In Amelia's view, the matchmaking had the potential to bolster the family's social status well beyond Wisconsin. By June of that year, Ole and Sara were secretly wed; they were later publicly wed with great fanfare. In some circles, the "May-December" marriage was simply scandalous, and Joseph Thorp was not pleased. Several years of family quarrels ensued, even after Ole and Sara had a daughter. The internal family discord was so unpleasant that Ole left for a time.

When Ole and Sara were separated in the summer of 1872, he bought the Norwegian island of Lysøen and began working with architect Conrad Fredrik van de Lippe on a fanciful summerhouse that he called the "little Alhambra."²⁴ Completed in 1873, it was a remarkable blend of vernacular Norwegian country architecture with an array of eclectic Moorish details crafted in wood. The overall effect was much in the spirit of "Iranistan," the mansion in Bridgeport, Connecticut, that P. T. Barnum had commissioned from Leopold Eidlitz in 1848. On the inside of Ole's villa was a sixty-foot music room embellished with lacy horseshoe arches that were supported by twisted and knotted columns—all executed in natural pine. This warm space was lit with Bohemian glass chandeliers that reflected from tall mirrors. After Ole and Sara reunited in 1875, the villa at Lysøen became their summer retreat.

Whether Sara was interested in architecture before she met Ole is hard to say, but with her lumber baron father, she may have had some sense of the building industry. Moreover, her overseas travels eventually included Norway, the French Mediterranean coast, Italy, Holland, Germany, Belgium, and Austria. As a result, she was no doubt familiar with various architectural styles. However, she may have come to realize that the process of building could be a creative and even magical endeavor when she first saw Ole's villa at Lysøen.



Music Room from Ole Bull's villa, Lysøen, Norway. Photo by Dag Fosse

Once back together, the Bulls also spent considerable time in Cambridge and Boston. During the winter of 1876-77, they lived at the Tremont House in Boston. They enjoyed Thanksgiving in Cambridge at the home of Professor Eben Norton Horsford, a chemist and an ardent supporter of higher education for women. Like Ole, he was also an enthusiast of the claim that Leif Ericson, as a Norse Viking, had discovered America centuries before Christopher Columbus. For Christmas, the Bulls went to the home of poet and Harvard professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow at 105 Brattle Street. On New Year's Eve, they were guests of James T. Fields, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and a decades-long friend of Ole. In other words, they were comfortable and well liked in this intellectual community. Deeper roots to Cambridge began to grow in 1879, when Sara's brother, Joseph Thorp, Jr. entered Harvard Law School. The Thorp family then rented a colonial house known as "Elmwood" (now the official residence of Harvard University presidents).²⁵

In April of 1880, Sara and Ole were introduced to Sam and Olivia "Livy" Clemens at a luncheon party hosted by the Fields. The occasion was well captured in one of Clemens' letters:

Well, what a good time we had at old Mr. Fields'. And what loveable people the Bulls are both of them. Did you notice her dress? What a piece of perfection that was. And what a master-hand she is with a piano. And if Ole Bull had been born without arms, what a rank he would have taken among the poets because it is in him, & if he couldn't violin it out, he would talk it out...It would be lovely if they would come and visit us.²⁶

The Clemenses' house was then on Farmington Avenue in Hartford, Connecticut. Resting upon a brownstone foundation, it was a brick building with bold geometric patterns painted in vermilion and black that had begun in 1873 under the direction of New York architect Edward Tuckerman Potter.²⁷ It had many wooden gables and porches, creating a sense of picturesque irregularity. For the family, there was a drawing room, dining room, library, and conservatory, as well as six bedrooms. The billiard room was on the third floor. A separate kitchen wing faced north, directly towards the main street and provided most of the servant's quarters. As noted by Clemens' biographer Albert Bigelow Paine:

As Mark Twain was unlike any other man that ever lived, so his house was unlike any other house ever built. People asked him why he built the kitchen toward the street, and he said: "So the servants can see the circus go by without running out into the front yard."²⁸

Interestingly, it was Livy who did not want the main entrance of Hartford house to face the street, and it was actually Potter who suggested that the service wing face Farmington Avenue. That way, he could design the house with both scenic views and a sense of privacy.²⁹ As we shall see, Sara later adopted this curious orientation for the servant's wing of her own house.

It is easy to imagine that the subject of building a house came up at the Fields' luncheon, with Ole Bull describing his villa at Lysøen and the Clemens sharing tidbits related to their ongoing design efforts. Likewise, the subject of decorating

could have been a topic, and it is quite possible that Tiffany's name came up since he was beginning to attract a lot of attention for his artistic interiors. In 1881, the Clemens did hire the New York firm of Louis C. Tiffany & Co., Associated Artists, to paint and/or paper the entire first floor, along with the second and third floor halls. Tiffany also remodeled the dining room chimneypiece using his patented glass tiles to great effect.³⁰

The Bulls, however, did not have a chance to visit the Clemens. On August 17, 1880, Ole Bull passed away with Sara beside him at the villa at Lysøen. A vivid chapter of her life had

expanded).³³ It is certainly tempting to speculate that the idea for this odd orientation came from Sam and Livy Clemens. The entrance, located at the rear of the house, faces the Charles River and signals a desire for privacy. Overall, it was a highly imaginative expression of Colonial Revival taste. With its strongly asymmetrical massing, multiple balconies, and irregular arrangement of a variety of window designs, the house seems to have been conceived as an intentional counterpoint to the nearby Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow house of 1759, which was a perfect example of high-style, symmetrical Georgian architecture. Sara's house is also a



Formal entrance of 168 Brattle Street. Photo by Jeffrey Dodge Rogers. Gibson/Sotheby's International Realty.

ended, and she would never again marry. Yet there were three more extraordinary decades still to come, and by the end of the 1880s, she began work with architect Arthur Little in designing and building her new home at 168 Brattle Street.

Joseph G. Thorp financed Sara's project, but his business interests often kept him in Wisconsin. Sara, therefore, was the primary client, and the house was part of her inheritance. Arthur Little had trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which in 1865 was the first university in America to offer a curriculum in architecture; he then apprenticed at the firm of Peabody and Sterns.³¹ In 1877, Little published *Early New England Interiors*, and by 1879 he opened his own office in Boston. Described by Bainbridge Bunting as "talented but erratic," Little's signature style was the Colonial Revival, an approach to domestic architecture that blended the English, picturesque "Queen Anne" style of Richard Norman Shaw with design elements found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American architecture.³²

As built, the Brattle Street house was sheathed in painted clapboard and embellished with an assemblage of stately, classical details. It stands with its back to the street, giving the passerby a view of the servant's wing (which was later

notable departure from the more traditional Colonial Revival house that her brother, Joseph Gilbert Thorp, Jr., and his wife, Anne Allegra Longfellow, built nearby at 115 Brattle Street in 1887 with architect Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, Jr. In other words, the exterior of Sara's house eschewed tradition, evoked curiosity, demanded attention, and yet maintained a strong sense of seclusion.

On the inside, the home was warm, welcoming, and decidedly eclectic in its interior architecture. The entrance opened to an intimate vestibule and a short staircase to a narrow hall. From there, the entire first floor flowed from one room to the next—music room, living room (with an intimate "poet's corner"), dining room, and Norwegian room—a plan designed for entertaining. Each room had a unique aesthetic sensibility with a variety of motifs and ideas drawn from the Colonial and Federal periods. The clear, leaded-glass windows also differed in pattern and scale from room to room.

Little's original rendering of the interior architectural embellishments of the living and music rooms included a transom of square panes of glass, below which were short and fluted Doric columns, turned balusters, and fielded paneling—all typical Colonial designs.³⁴ Likewise, the double

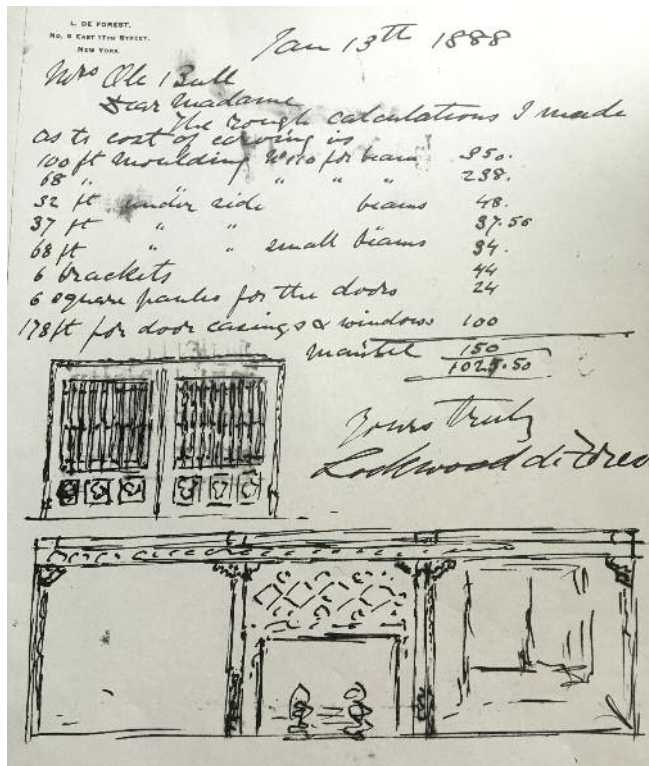
doors to the dining room were to be surmounted by a large broken pediment with an urn finial. The living room mantelshelf above the hearth was initially designed with two panels of delicate Adamesque swags. Because we have Arthur Little's original renderings, it is clear that the music and living rooms were not envisioned as "Indian rooms."

At some point, Sara rejected Little's ideas for the living and music rooms, and by early January 1888, she had turned to Lockwood de Forest for help. With only one known letter from de Forest, it is hard to know precisely why she wanted to use his carved East Indian teakwood in her Colonial Revival house, but there are possibilities to consider. Perhaps Sara's interest was piqued by the decoration of the Clemenses' house. After de Forest's return from India, Sam Clemens added perforated brass and carved teakwood panels to an existing mantel in the entrance hall. Then, in 1882, Sara published *Ole Bull: A Memoir*.³⁵ As noted by Probir K. Bondyopadhyay and Suchanda Banerjee, she included Ole's essay, "The Origin of the Violin," in the appendix, and here Ole suggested that India was the place of origin for bow instruments.³⁶ The Indian woodwork, therefore, may have been homage to Ole's musical roots. At the same time, by 1887, Sara had also become interested in Indian philosophy and had begun to study the *Bhagavad Gita*.³⁷ After her teakwood rooms were completed, they remained appropriate for the next phase of her life, which after 1894 was marked by her deep commitment to Swami Vivekananda and his teachings on Vedanta philosophy.

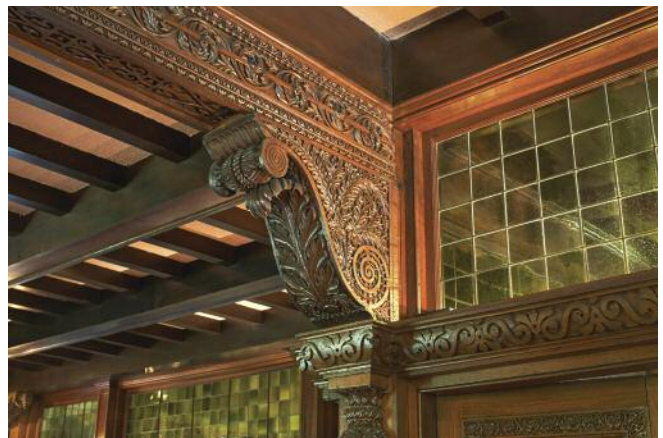
As the house designs continued to evolve, the concept for the living and music rooms shifted from eighteenth-century classicism to seventeenth-century mannerism with Indian overtones. In this way, the house retained its Colonial Revival spirit as originally envisioned by Little, but now also had the

Indian teakwood that Sara wanted. De Forest's elaborately pierced-carved tracteries, which were derived from patterns that appeared in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Islamic mosques and tombs of Ahmedabad, were integrated into the double doors leading to the music room—and these tracteries are typical of de Forest's offerings.

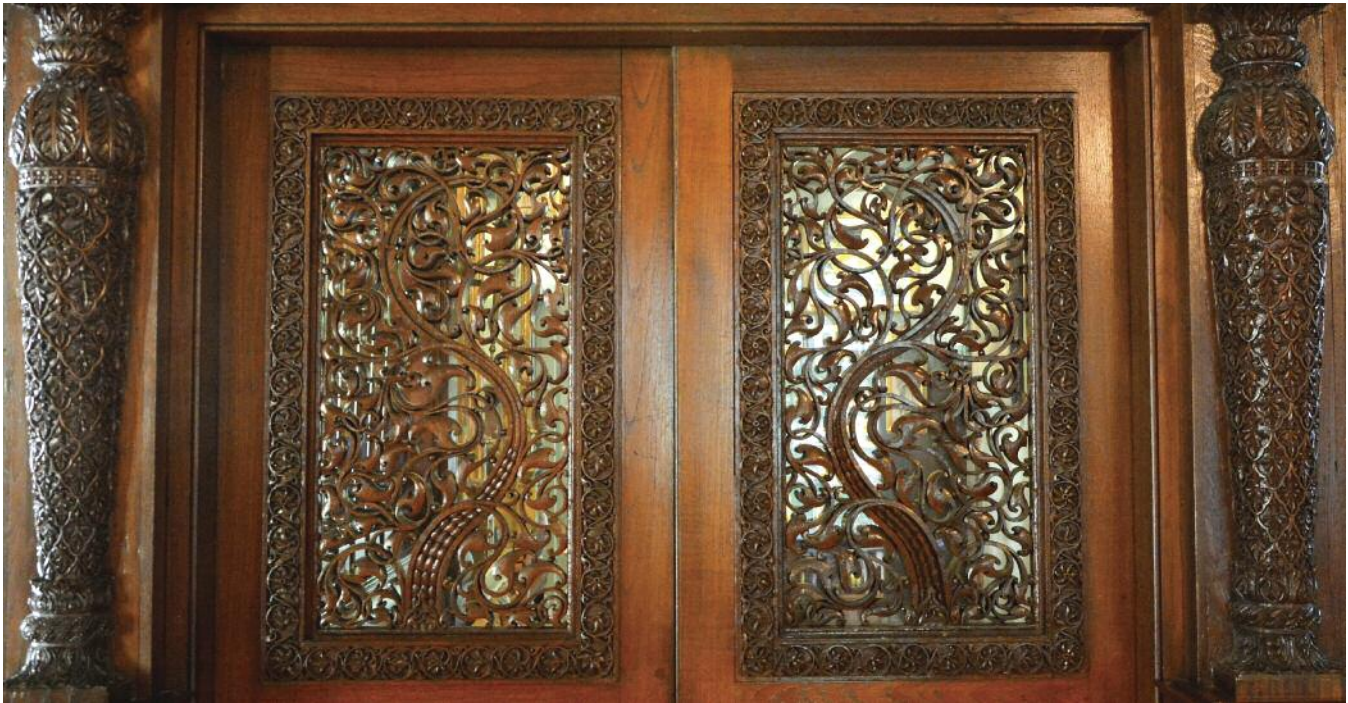
At the same time, without the proof of de Forest's letter, it would be hard to discern that the other teakwood elements came from him because the carved patterns are quite unusual. In both the brackets and the moldings, the highly naturalistic and organic vegetal patterns are embellished with flat bands,



Above: Letter from Lockwood de Forest to Mrs. Ole Bull with an estimate and sketching for moldings, brackets, panels and a mantel. January 13, 1888. Courtesy Ambassador Swanee Hunt.



Top to bottom: Detail of fireplace decoration, bracket and beam, and view of the living room at 168 Brattle Street. Photos by Jeffrey Dodge Rogers. Gibson/Sotheby's International Realty.



Pierced-carved traceries for double doors leading to the music room. Photo by authors.

ribbons, and swirls that are not found in East Indian designs. Aside from the traceries used for the double doors, it appears that the rest of the teakwood carvings supplied for the house were hand-carved in India as custom work and not simply selected from de Forest's available stock. For example, the flat swirls seen in the carved teak brackets were seemingly meant to match a motif used on the exterior brackets of the house. The carved teakwood moldings then also included flat bands and ribbons as a unifying design element.

More of de Forest's woodwork is evident in the impressive chimneypiece surrounding the hearth. The exterior of the hearth (later painted blue) includes three tiles that appear to be similar to those of Ali Mohammad Isfahani, the Persian potter and tile maker whose work was used in the studio wing mantelpiece that de Forest provided for Olana. The firebox portion of the hearth is not painted, and interestingly, it was constructed from yellow speckled bricks. These recall the "Tiffany bricks" that Stanford White formulated and used in the construction of the Tiffany family mansion in New York City, completed in 1885.

Yet all of de Forest's contributions to the music and living rooms are compatible with the idea of a rich, dark, and vaguely Jacobean hall. The heavy, exposed beams help create that effect, and, in fact, de Forest's Indian columns were used as split spindles and mounted upside down! In addition to de Forest's teakwood, there are also simpler chip-carved designs (not furnished by de Forest) that are typical of seventeenth-century "Pilgrim" furniture.

Later in the 1890s Sara used the house at 168 Brattle Street to host the well-known "Cambridge Conferences," and the teakwood rooms provided a place for many luminaries of the day to gather together.³⁸ Her guests included philosopher and psychologist William James, social activist Jane Addams, poet and author Julia Ward Howe, and young Radcliffe student Gertrude Stein.³⁹

Sara had many friends, but she is best known for her close relationship with Swami Vivekananda, who first came to the United States in 1893 to lecture at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Vivekananda introduced Hinduism, yoga, and meditation to Americans, though his larger message was that all religions were equal. Sara met Vivekananda in 1894, and, at his invitation, her first trip to India was in 1898, arriving in Bombay (today Mumbai) and traveling by train to Calcutta (Kolkata).⁴⁰ This led to her tireless work in India as an advocate for women's education. There she also met and befriended Jagadish Chandra Bose, a brilliant Bengali scientist and professor who had trained in London and had wide ranging interests in radio-physics and plant biology.⁴¹ In 1901, she became an angel investor in his work, helping Bose secure American and British patents in wireless electronics technology.⁴² Then, in 1902, she had the opportunity to meet Mahatma Gandhi, an indication of the importance of her work.⁴³ In India, she is still remembered as "Saint Sara."

Today de Forest's contribution to the history of American decorative arts is widely recognized, and his work is represented in museums across the country, including the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁴⁴ Certainly, de Forest had other patrons in the Boston area, and in later years, de Forest's decedents had ties to Cambridge. His son, Alfred Victor de Forest, joined the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1934.⁴⁵ His grandson by marriage, Dr. Ernest H. Taves, was a Cambridge-based psychoanalyst and author. Nonetheless, Sara's house at 168 Brattle Street currently stands as de Forest's only identified commission in the Boston area.



Notes

1. The whereabouts of the original letter is currently unknown, but Susan Condrick discovered a photocopy in the files for the property at 168 Brattle Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Our thanks to Ambassador Swanee Hunt for sharing this document.
2. Trade card, Taves Family Collection.
3. See Roberta A. Mayer and Carolyn K. Lane, "Disassociating the 'Associated Artists': The Early Business Ventures of Louis C. Tiffany, Candace T. Wheeler, and Lockwood de Forest," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 8 no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2001): 2-36. Before both his partnership with Tiffany and his first trip to India, de Forest's earliest known decorating project was the 1878 renovation of his parent's parlor in the Aesthetic style as documented in Walter Launt Palmer's painting, *De Forest Interior*, 1878, Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1982.46.
4. See Roberta A. Mayer, *Lockwood de Forest: Furnishing the Gilded Age with a Passion for India* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2008).
5. Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982), 391-93.
6. Lockwood de Forest, "Indian Domestic Architecture," [1919] MS. Lockwood de Forest Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., microfilm roll no. 2732, frame 1265.
7. See Doreen Bolger Burke, et al., *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 449-50. J. and J. G. Low Art Tile Works was founded in 1877 in Chelsea, Massachusetts. After 1883, J. G. and J. F. Low operated the firm.
8. Caryl Coleman was the brother of painter Charles Caryl Coleman, one of the many American artists who worked in Rome during the late-nineteenth century.
9. "Celebrated De Forrest [sic] Collection," *Some Artistic Fire Places and Their Surroundings* (Boston: Smith & Anthony Stove Co., 1885).
10. Incidentally, there is an undated entry in one of de Forest's early account books for "Miss Lee Studio Building Boston;" the Studio Building was also located on Tremont Street. Account book, Lockwood de Forest Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm 2733, frame 609.
11. Karen Evans Úlehra, *The Society of Arts and Crafts, Boston: Exhibition Record, 1897-1927* (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1981), 67.
12. Lockwood de Forest, "Suggestions on Industrial Education," *Handicraft* 3, no. 1 (April 1910): 1-8; Lockwood de Forest, "Wood Carving in India," *Handicraft* 3, no. 7 (October 1910): 232-40.
13. "Books," *American Architect and Building News* 18, no. 507 (Sept. 12, 1885): 127-8.
14. "Books and Papers," *American Architect and Building News* 21 no. 594 (May 14, 1887): 237-38.
15. William Henry Shelton, "The Most Indian House in America," *House Beautiful* 8, no. 1 (June 1900): 419; The house at 7 East Tenth Street is presently the Edgar M. Bronfman Center for Jewish Student Life at New York University.
16. For biographical information on Sara Chapman Bull, see Pravrajika Prabuddhaprana, *Saint Sara: The Life of Sara Chapman Bull, the American Mother of Swami Vivekananda* (Calcutta: Sri Sarada Math, 2002); Jacqueline Brady, "Wise Mother? Insane Mother? Sara Chapman Bull and the Disarticulated Subjectivities of Turn-of-the-Century Motherhouse," chapter in Catalina Florina Florescu, ed., *Disjointed Perspectives on Motherhood* (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2013).
17. For biographical information on Ole Bull, see Mortimer Smith, *The Life of Ole Bull* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).
18. *Ibid.*, 51.
19. *Ibid.*, 61.
20. *Ibid.*, 96-97.
21. Norman B. Wilkinson, Robert K. Currin, and Patrick A. Kennedy, "Ole Bull's New Norway," *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet* no. 14 (1995): 1-4.
22. Smith, 154.
23. *Ibid.*, Chapters 9-10, *passim*.
24. Elizabeth Gaynor, "Ole Bull's Little Alhambra," *Scandinavian Review* (Spring 1995): 48-53; Elizabeth Gaynor, "Ole Bull's Little Alhambra: the Virtuoso Musician Composes a Moorish Fantasy in Norway," *Architectural Digest* 49, no.12 (December 1992): 148-153, 192.
25. Smith, 199-201.
26. *Ibid.*, 203-4.
27. Sarah Bradford Landau, *Edward T. and William A. Potter: American Victorian Architects* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), 34-9, 41.
28. Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912), 521.
29. Landau, 42-43.
30. For information on the restoration of the Mark Twain House, see Wilson H. Faude, *The Renaissance of Mark Twain's House* (Larchmont, New York: Queens House, 1978).
31. See Walter Knight Sturges, "Arthur Little and the Colonial Revival," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 32, no. 2 (May 1973): 147-163.
32. Bainbridge Bunting, "Brattle Street: A Resume of American Residential Architecture, 1673-1973," *Cambridge Historical Society*: 49. Accessed August 10, 2016, www.cambridgehistory.org/content/brattle-street-resume-american-residential-architecture-1673-1973
33. The servant's wing was expanded to the third floor by the firm of Little & Brown between 1907 and 1911. Permits filed with Inspectional Services Department, City of Cambridge, 831 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
34. Single-family residence for J. G. Thorp, Cambridge, Mass., 1889, Arthur Little and Herbert W. C. Browne Architectural Collection, Historic New England.
35. Sara C. Bull, *Ole Bull: A Memoir* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1882, 1897), 348-50.
36. Probir K. Bondyopadhyay and Suchanda Banerjee, "Two Recently Discovered Patents of Professor Jagadis Chunder Bose and India's First Electronics Technology Transfer to the West," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 43 no. 1 (2008): 57-72. Accessed January 3, 2017, www.insa.nic.in/writereaddata/UpLoadedFiles/IJHS/Vol43_1_4_PKBondyopadhyay.pdf
37. Prabuddhaprana, 63.
38. Mrs. Ole Bull, "The Cambridge Conference," *New Outlook* 56 (August 1897): 845-49.
39. Smith, 168.
40. Prabuddhaprana, 256-59.
41. *Ibid.*, 264-65.
42. See Bondyopadhyay and Banerjee.
43. Prabuddhaprana, 407.
44. Side chair, ca. 1885, 2014.462, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Accessed August 15, 2016, www.mfa.org/collections/object/side-chair-591781
45. "Memorial Resolutions: Alfred Victor de Forest," *Welding Journal* 24 (1945): 746.



Bloomfield H. Moore house, after alterations of 1895. Published in *King's Views of Philadelphia*, 1900.

Frank Furness

PERPETUAL MOTION AND “THE CAPTAIN’S TROUSERS”

Michael J. Lewis

One of architecture’s great mysteries is the Bloomfield Moore house at 510 South Broad Street in Philadelphia, the remarkable building that propelled sixteen-year old Louis Sullivan into the office of Frank Furness. Half a century later (1924), when he wrote his *Autobiography of an Idea*, Sullivan remembered the encounter vividly—although he couched it in his strange third-person voice:

Once settled down in the large quiet village [i.e., Philadelphia], he began to roam the streets, looking quizzically at buildings as he wandered. On the west side of South Broad street a residence, almost completed, caught his eye like a flower by the roadside. He approached, examined it with curious care, without and within. Here was something fresh and fair to him, a human note, as though someone were talking. He inquired as to the architect and was told: Furness & Hewitt. Now, he saw plainly enough that this was not the work of two men but of one, for he had an instinctive sense of physiognomy, and all buildings thus made their direct appeal to him, pleasant or unpleasant. He made up his mind that next day he would enter the employ of said Furness & Hewitt, they to have no voice in the matter, for his mind was made up.¹

That “flower by the roadside” was the Bloomfield Moore house, and it was Sullivan’s tour of the house that won him a position in Furness’s office.² In fact, had he not been able to discuss the house intelligently, it is very likely he would not have been hired because the interview got off to a very bad start:

So next day he presented himself to Frank Furness and informed him he had come to enter his employ. Frank Furness was a curious character. He affected the English in fashion. He wore loud plaids, and a scowl, and from his face depended fan-like a marvelous red beard, beautiful in tone with each separate hair delicately crinkled from beginning to end. Moreover, his face was snarled and homely as an English bulldog’s. Louis’s eyes were riveted, in infatuation, to this beard, as he listened to a string of oaths yards long. For it seems after he had delivered his initial fiat, Furness looked at him half blankly, half enraged, as at another kind of dog that had slipped in through the door. His first question had been as to Louis’s experience, to which Louis replied, modestly enough, that he had just come from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston. This answer was the detonator that set off the mine which blew up in fragments all the schools in the land and scattered the professors headless and limbless quarters of earth and hell. Louis, he said, was a fool. He said Louis was an idiot to have wasted his time in a place where one was filled with sawdust, like a doll, and became a prig, a snob, and an ass.

As the smoke blew away he said: “Of course you don’t know anything and are full of damnable conceit.”

We have enough accounts of Furness’s imaginative use of profanity to know that Sullivan had been given the full-bore treatment. But he did not wilt under the tirade and when Furness finally asked “what in hell had brought him there, anyway?” Sullivan saw his big chance:

This was the opening for which Louis had sagaciously been waiting through the storm. He told Frank Furness all about his unaided discovery of the dwelling on Broad street, how he had followed, so to speak from the nugget to the solid vein; that here he was and here he would remain; he had made up his mind as to that, and he looked Frank Furness in the eye. Then he sang a song of praise like a youthful bard of old to his liege lord, steering clear of too gross adulation, placing all on a high plane of accomplishment. It was here, Louis said, one could really learn.

The rest is history: Sullivan talked his way into a one-week trial and was subsequently hired as junior draftsman. He remained with Furness & Hewitt throughout the summer and would have remained longer had not the Panic of 1873 forced them to cut the payroll.³ All this was set into motion by one sixteen-year-old’s fateful stroll down Broad Street.

But what was it about the Moore House that captivated Sullivan? No one knows. As thrilling as it was in 1873, it was deeply unfashionable in 1895, when its new owner had it reconfigured as a French chateau.⁴ Later it came into the possession of the brilliant art collector John G. Johnson, upon whose death in 1917 both house and collection were given to the city—on condition they remain together. Philadelphia wanted the collection but not the now dowdy house, and in 1933 the paintings were removed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art on the pretext that the house was unsafe. It was demolished a few years later.⁵

No scholar, despite decades of imaginative sleuthing, has ever found a photograph of the original exterior of the Bloomfield Moore house. Its interior, by contrast, is well documented, as the images reproduced here show. They first appeared in George William Sheldon’s *Artistic Houses* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883-1884).⁶ Apart from them, and a few tantalizing sketches for ornament in Furness’s sketchbooks, they are all we have.

Until now. The chance discovery of a highly detailed, and highly opinionated, account of the house by its original client, gives us for the first time a clue as to what it looked like. It also gives us something we never had before: a lively picture of how Furness interacted with his clients, and his jaunty wit and charming impertinence. Perhaps it would have been discovered earlier if its author had not concealed it so

discreetly in a book on the education of women, published under a pseudonym.

The house was built between 1871 and 1873 by Bloomfield Haines Moore (1819-1878), who made his fortune in the paper-manufacturing firm of Jessup and Moore. Moore collected paintings and fine old books, as befitted a man in the paper business.⁷ But the real intellect of the family was his wife Clara Jessup (1824-1899), the daughter of his partner, whom he married in 1842. Clara was more interested in writing books than in collecting them, and soon after their marriage there came forth a stream of novels, short stories, poems, and books of etiquette, all of which were coyly credited to either Clara Moreton or Mrs. H. O. Ward.⁸

After her husband's death, Mrs. Moore came under the influence of John W. Keely, one of history's most successful charlatans, whose "experiments" in perpetual motion she would underwrite for the rest of her life. Keely was a former mechanic and a carnival barker, and both professions came in handy as he beguiled investors with double-talk about protoplasm, sympathetic vibrations, primitive atomic motion, and his lucrative "hydro-pneumatic pulsating vacuo machine."⁹ Mrs. Moore fell hard for this patter and became his principal public defender. Her *Keely and His Discoveries: Aerial Navigation* (London, 1893) is the most lucid statement of his ideas as well as a classic case study of childlike gullibility on the part of an otherwise first-rate intellect. All this was deeply distressing to her family, and her son publicly

pronounced her insane.¹⁰ Keely died in 1898, his promises unrealized, and few weeks later she died too. Wags could not resist the temptation of suggesting that she died of a broken heart.

If Clara Jessup Moore is remembered at all today, it is as Keely's dupe. But she turns out to have been an architectural patron of fierce intelligence and conviction. We can now see that she was deeply distressed by Furness's architecture and—more damningly—by his attitude. Of course, Victorian discretion ensured her respectful silence and for decades she smoldered in silence. This changed in 1892, when she decided to move permanently to London and to sell her Philadelphia house. She announced the sale the same week that she published her *Social Ethics and Society Duties: Thorough Education of Girls for Wives and Mothers and for Professions*. She wrote the book, reviewers noted, "under her usual nom de plume of H. O. Ward."¹¹ Here she addressed with startling frankness the issues that a modern woman might face, from divorce to "home treatment of the insane." Whether or not she felt liberated by the frank subject matter or her farewell to Philadelphia, she now was able to tell the story of Furness and her house. She decently veiled it by anonymity, but anyone who knew her and her house (and all of Philadelphia society did) would know exactly whom she was talking about.

The extract should be quoted in its entirety:

Another opening for women is house architecture. No one knows so well as a woman the advantages and disadvantages of the arrangements of the interior of houses. The hundred little things thought trivial by a man, are by a woman known to be important. She knows the steps it saves to have the storeroom in the right place; the inconvenience of having her linen-closet without a window to light it, though it be but a small circular one, opening from a well-lighted bath or dressing room. A house, no matter how exquisite in ornamental details, may be made dark and dismal for want of proper forethought in its plan. It is easy to light dark closets from the rooms that adjoin them; but when the skylight has been wrongly constructed, it is not easy to light dark halls and staircases. For lack of forethought in an architect, one of the most beautiful homes that he built was wanting in the first requisites for cheerfulness, comfort, and convenience. A window had to be cut on the first flight of stairs, which was as dark as an underground passage in one part. A hot-air pipe passed through the wine-cellar. The enormous plate-glass windows would have required machinery to move them without breaking the chains; and consequently, until each plate was cut in two, they were always out of repair. The metal grooves of the sliding doors were placed below instead of above; and visitors invariably stumbled over them, even if the inmates of the house ever escaped. With four furnace fires in full blast, the house could not be kept comfortably warm, in the coldest weather, without closing the doors of the picture gallery and billiard-room. The rooms which were to have been decorated to correspond to the furniture and hangings (Louis XVI., Louis XIII., and Greek the samples of stuff sent), were all in one architectural style, with no attempt to conform to the orders given. But the crowning error was in the position of the house. After the plan of building had been decided upon, which was a copy of a Boston residence, the wife of the owner of the site purchased an adjoining lot in order to have a southern exposure for the grounds, and to prevent the possibility of a wall being built up against the dining-room windows. Returning from abroad, she found that her forethought had been of no avail. The house was built with the lot on the north, and no way of entering it save from the street or from the stable ground. "How do you like your new house?" she was asked. The reply was, "I feel as a woman would feel who had ordered a comfortable home costume, and had received a ball dress."

When a man yields to his wife in the choice of an architect, giving up his preferences for one of more experience, the wife has a right to expect from the architect as faithful attention to her wishes in her absence as if she had been on the spot to see that they were carried out; and not leave to carpenters the selection of tiles for which shades of various colours had been sent,—nor decorations made *à fantaisie* when styles of certain periods had been ordered. Think of a library for which furniture and hangings had been commanded as purely Greek as they could be made, containing a fireplace in carved wood, reaching up to the ceiling, better suited for an English baronial hall! Of course, the Greek furniture was countermanded by cable despatch to Paris, where it had been ordered. The architect, in expressing his surprise at the evident disappointment of the wife, said, "I wonder that you do not like it. Every one who has seen it admires it very much." The only expression which the wife gave to the intense annoyance occasioned by this interference with her plans was manifested in the question she put in reply: "Did you, as the architect, construct your plans to please every one or to please me?" "Oh, anything that you do not like I can change to please you," was the answer. "No, I will have nothing changed. I do not wish to have my husband troubled about any increase in the expense." "But I can make out the bills in a way that he will never know of the increased expense," was the answer. The wife looked her surprise, but said nothing; and the architect continued, "Did you never hear of the sea-captain who rendered an account one item of which was for a pair of trousers? 'No,' said the ship-owner, 'I can't pay for your trousers;' and he scratched the item out. The next time the ship came in, the captain's bill was looked over, and pronounced all right. 'No trousers here,' said the ship-owner. 'Yes, yes, they are there, but you can't find 'em,' chuckled the captain."¹²

What a trove of detail in 800 words! That Clara was speaking about her own house, there can be no doubt. It did indeed boast a painting gallery and billiard gallery to the rear, which could be shut off if necessary. And it was pushed to the south of its lot, leaving a vacant strip to the north, as one can see in the 1875 *Hopkins Atlas of Philadelphia*. It even had that “fireplace in carved wood, reaching up to the ceiling, better suited for an English baronial hall,” intruding upon Mr. Moore’s library.

We learn a great deal here about the Bloomfield Moore house, and we should take the items in ascending order of importance. First, Mrs. Moore confirms that the house was indeed by Furness himself, and was not a Furness & Hewitt collaboration, just as Sullivan concluded. Next we learn that it was Mrs. Moore who personally selected Furness, not her husband, who preferred an architect “of more experience.” Mr. Moore was right to be concerned.¹³ Furness had just left the firm of Fraser Furness & Hewitt, where he had been subject to the counsel and criticism of his senior partner, John Fraser, an architect universally regarded as “a well-regarded master of his profession through all its minutest details—practical & theoretical.”¹⁴ Fraser was not likely to bring a heated pipe through a cool wine cellar, or to put raised metal grooves in the floor, or to neglect the lighting of the stair hall, or to commit any of those other beginner’s blunders that scandalized Mrs. Moore.

What we do not learn is how the Moores came to Furness. They were longstanding members of Philadelphia’s First Unitarian Church, where Rev. William H. Furness, the father of the architect, preached. When Rev. Furness retired in 1875, Bloomfield Moore helped to organize the commemoration.¹⁵ But this alone would have not have persuaded the Moores to entrust a young architect with a house costing \$40,000 and involving a comprehensive scheme of interior decoration. Mrs. Moore had to have seen

something that enticed her. Perhaps it was the nearby house of Lucy Hamilton Hooper, which had just been completed and which boasted walls “frescoed from the first floor to the roof” from Furness’s drawings.¹⁶ Hooper, her fellow woman writer, was an editor of *Lippincott’s Magazine*, to which Mrs. Moore contributed. And likewise Mrs. Moore likewise had Furness fresco her walls, as we see in the run of bright flowers skipping up alongside the stair.

If we do not learn the beginning of the story, we learn its astonishing conclusion. No sooner was the basic plan settled than Mrs. Moore went abroad, leaving Furness to carry out her instructions about decorating the interior.¹⁷ She wished her rooms to be in certain period styles—“Louis XVI., Louis XIII., and Greek”—and the furniture and hangings were to be coordinated accordingly. But upon her return, and to her amazement, these various rooms were “all in one architectural style” and, what was worse, not in one that she recognized. Instead, Furness had inflicted upon her “decorations made à *fantaisie*.” Of course, the principal reason that we admire Furness today is just that *fantaisie*, and presumably this is why Mrs. Moore sought him out in the first place.

In the end, it was Furness’s jaunty highhandedness that most infuriated Mrs. Moore. When he offered to alter the house to please her, she haughtily refused, insisting that she did not wish her husband “troubled” by the additional expense. Here she played the martyr, burdening Furness with the knowledge that his poor client was suffering nobly at his incompetent hands. So she hoped. The very last thing she expected was that Furness would offer to conceal the cost of any

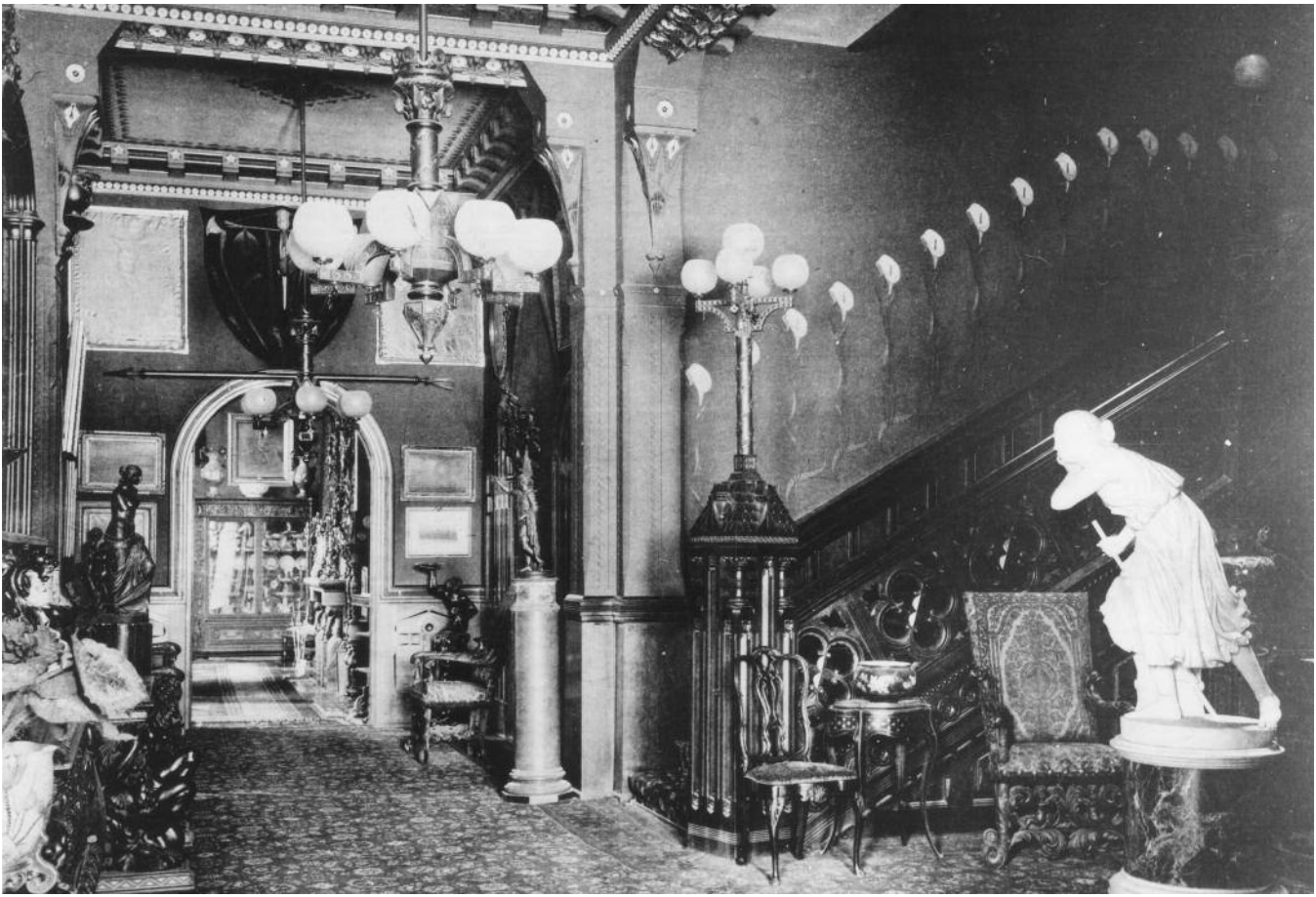
alterations by juggling his accounts. The indecency of Furness’s offer, and the sheer vulgarity of his anecdote (one imagines her stiffening at the word *trousers*) must have been deeply shocking. It is notable that this is the only time in her



Adolphe Weisz, *Clara Jessup Moore* (1824-1899), 1877. Philadelphia Museum of Art.



L to R: Bloomfield Moore House, view from the dining room into the picture gallery and library with fireplace. Published in *Artistic Houses*, 1883. Frank Furness, architect.



Stairhall of the Bloomfield Moore House, with fresco of flowers visible alongside the stair. Published in *Artistic Houses*, 1883. Frank Furness, architect.

account that she provides dialogue, recalling words that she must have nursed resentfully across the decades.

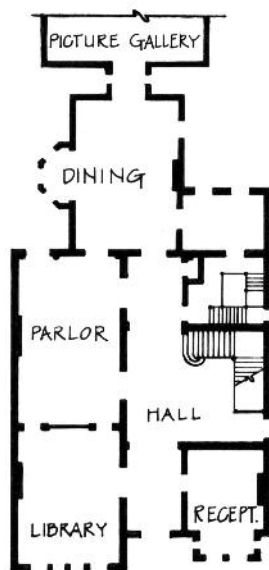
Finally, we learn here something that is genuinely stunning, given our image of Furness as the most imaginative and original of Victorian architects: the Bloomfield Moore house was “a copy of a Boston residence.” But even this should not surprise us. Furness’s architectural juvenilia is filled with pastiches of buildings by his mentor, Richard Morris Hunt. Perhaps the house in Boston was the richly carved one just completed by Hunt for Martin Brimmer, who like Moore was a great collector of art.¹⁸ It is quite possible that Mrs. Moore saw the house and admired it; and it is certainly in keeping with her imperious character that she would have insisted on a copy of it. (This would explain the recurrence of details from the Brimmer house in Furness’s work of the early 1870s).¹⁹

If so, and it seems likely, then the Bloomfield Moore façade would have been an essay in what the critic Montgomery Schuyler referred to as Hunt’s “staccato style,” his highly animated version of the Neo-Grec style, characterized by deeply incised ornament, expressive linear detail, bold chamfering, and an abstracted use of Greek elements.²⁰ It is a theme that preoccupied Furness in the early 1870s, and we see it in his monument to Edward Burd Grubb in Burlington, New Jersey, and his Dr. John J. Reese House in Philadelphia. These are splinters of the same architectural ideas that he was exploring in more concentrated and lavish form in the Bloomfield Moore House.

It is a delight to have at last the record of a conversation between Furness and a client. One constant theme in all the reminiscences of Furness is his caustic, pungent use of language, frequently expressed in highly picturesque profanity. He was too well-mannered to curse in front of a lady, but as Mrs. Moore’s remarks show about “the captain’s trousers,” he knew how to get a rise out of her, just at the edge of public decency. This adds to our picture of Furness’s roguish charm, his raciness and also his instant ability to convey his point with an instructive parable. Clearly he absorbed the power of those parables from a childhood spent listening every Sunday to the sermons preached in his father’s Unitarian church.



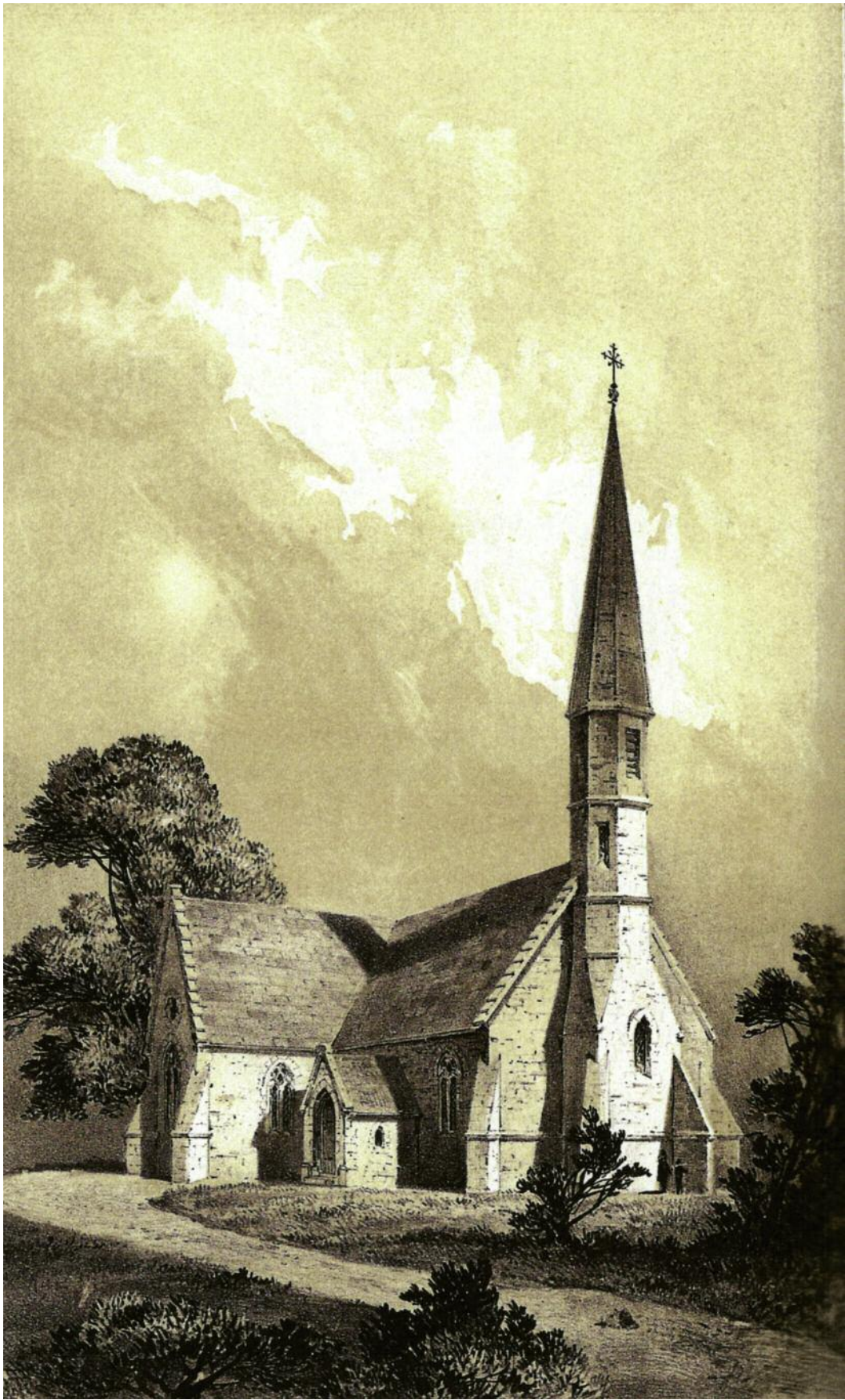
This article is gratefully dedicated to James F. O’Gorman, Hyman Myers, and George E. Thomas, who began the great and still ongoing hunt for a photograph of the Bloomfield Moore house forty-four years ago.



L to R: Reconstructed floor plan of the Bloomfield Moore house; Martin Brimmer House, Boston. Richard M. Hunt, architect; Dr. John J. Reese house, 266 South Twenty-First Street, Philadelphia, 1874. Frank Furness, architect. Photo by Andrew Pinkham.

Notes

1. Louis H. Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: American Institute of Architects, 1924), pp. 190-191.
2. Albert Kelsey, an architect who knew both Furness and Sullivan, confirmed in 1924 that the Bloomfield Moore house was indeed the "flower by the roadside." "Men and Things," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (April 18, 1924), p. 8, col. 5.
3. Michael J. Lewis, *Frank Furness: Architecture and the Violent Mind* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), pp. 106-108.
4. "The present front of Ohio freestone is to be removed and a new front of Indiana limestone substituted." The new owner was Francis T. S. Darley. See "Among the Builders," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (July 1, 1895), p. 4.
5. "Johnson Art Moved," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (June 17, 1933).
6. These photographs also served as the basis for the set of *Ball of Fire*, the classic Gary Cooper-Barbara Stanwyck movie.
7. "Mr. Moore's Library," *Wilmington (Delaware) News Journal* (July 24, 1878), p. 4.
8. "MOORE, Mrs. Clara Jessup," in Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century...Leading American Women in All Walks of Life* (Buffalo, Chicago, and New York: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), pp. 515-516.
9. "Keely of Motor Fame is Dead," *Philadelphia Times* (November 19, 1898), pp. 1-2.
10. "Mrs. Moore's Son Says She's Insane," *Philadelphia Times* (December 15, 1895), p. 12.
11. "New Publications: Mrs. Bloomfield Moore's Social Ethics and Social Duties," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (November 28, 1892), p. 5.
12. Mrs. H. O. Ward, *Social Ethics and Society Duties: Thorough Education of Girls for Wives and Mothers and for Professions* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1892), pp. 240-242.
13. The firm of Fraser Furness & Hewitt dissolved on September 1, 1871 and by December of that year Furness had already secured the Bloomfield Moore commission. It appears in a list of projects in hand in a Furness sketchbook, where it is annotated as costing \$40,000 and earning a fee of \$2000.
14. Letter of recommendation by General S. V. Bénet in support of John Fraser's application to serve as Supervising Architect of the Treasury, March 7, 1877. Bénet's letter is one of several by prominent Philadelphians in support of Fraser, all speaking highly of his practical skills. National Archives, Record Group 56, Series 209, Box 12, Recommendations of Division of Appointments, Application for Appointments, Heads of Treasury Offices, 1830 - 1910.
15. *Exercises at the Meeting of the First Congregational Unitarian Society, January 12, 1875: Together with the Discourse Delivered by Rev. W. H. Furness, Sunday, Jan. 10, 1875, on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of his Ordination, January 12, 1825* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1875), pp. 4-6.
16. The house of Robert and Lucy H. Hooper, previously unknown to Furness scholars, stood at 1502 Locust Street. The architects were Fraser Furness & Hewitt but when the house was sold some three years later, the sales advertisements made a point of mentioning both the architectural firm as well as the specific contribution of Furness in decorating the interior. "For Sale, No. 1502 Locust Street," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (March 7, 1873), p. 8; "Important Sale," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (March 24, 1873), p. 3.
17. For a reconstruction of the floor plan, see George E. Thomas, Jeffrey A. Cohen, and Michael J. Lewis, *Frank Furness: The Complete Works* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991), pp. 168-169.
18. Like Brimmer's house, the façade of Moore's house involved detailed stone-cutting. Furness's masons were Atkinson & Mylhertz, the same expert stone carvers who created the façade of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. See letter, Atkinson & Mylhertz to Fairman Rogers, April 18, 1878, archives of PAFA.
19. This makes all the more prophetic Jeffrey A. Cohen's stress on the Brimmer house as an early source for Furness. See his "Styles and Motives in the Architecture of Frank Furness," in *Frank Furness: The Complete Works*, pp. 99-100.
20. Montgomery Schuyler, "The Works of the Late Richard M. Hunt," *Architectural Record* V, no. 2 (October-December, 1895), p. 104. Schuyler suggested that Hunt's "staccato style" first announced itself in Boston in 1870, "and a very startling announcement it seemed."



Perpendicular Style, Design VI as published in *Hart's Parish Churches*, 1857.

Hart's Parish Churches

NOTES ON AN OVERLOOKED AUTHOR & ARCHITECT OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL ERA

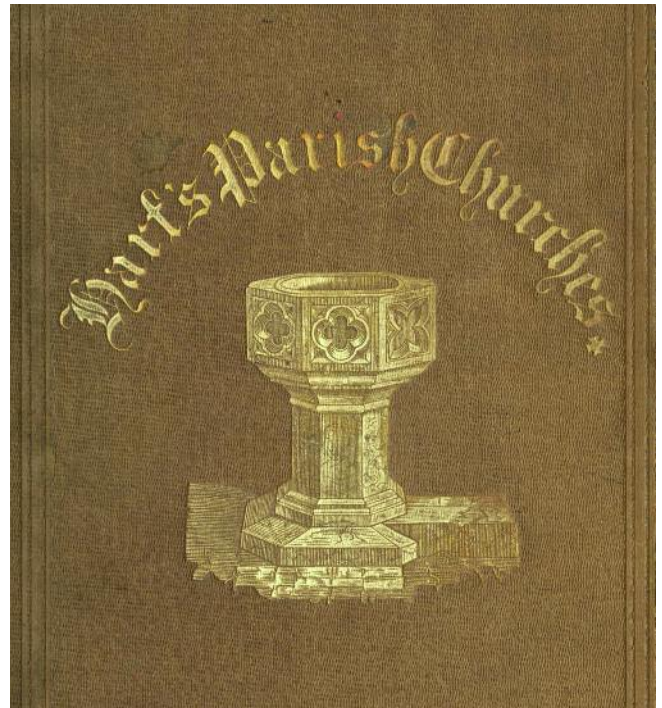
John H. Carnahan and James F. O'Gorman

Despite a lamentably brief lifespan and career, J. Coleman Hart (1828-1862) carved out for himself a noteworthy place as an interesting and innovative architect working in the Gothic Revival style. He was born in New York in 1828, is listed in the 1850 federal census as an architect living in Jersey City, off and on had an office in New York City during that decade, and died in Jersey twelve years later.¹ During that time we know that he supplied San Francisco with its first Presbyterian church edifice, produced a handsome book on parish churches adopting English Gothic styles, gave a lecture to an audience at the fledgling American Institute of Architects that ended with a discussion by Leopold Eidlitz, Richard Morris Hunt, Richard Upjohn, and Henry Van Brunt, all members of his audience. He saw erected from his drawings at least three churches in northern New England, two of which are of unusual character.

Hart's training is undocumented, but he probably spent an apprenticeship with William H. Ranlett who was born in Augusta, Maine, and moved to New York in 1840.² There he moved briefly into the office of Joseph C. Wells, a recent English immigrant. In 1847 the first installment of Ranlett's *The Architect* appeared; this serial publication featured smooth-walled blocky forms onto which were affixed ornamental details denoting the various styles in which architects could work. When in 1849 Ranlett left for Gold Rush San Francisco, "with fifty dwellings and stores, all complete, ready for setting up and use," he is said to have turned over his office to Hart, then only twenty-one.³ Ranlett did not return to New York for some five years.⁴

Out in San Francisco, the Rev. Albert Williams planned to accommodate his start-up Presbyterian flock in something better than the tent used at the time for services. Through the generosity of a parishioner with a connection to De Witt & Company, wholesale merchants in New York, he ordered a church from New York City. According to *The Annals of San Francisco* of 1856-57, it was pre-built then disassembled in New York and forwarded via Cape Horn. The edifice "was designed by J. Coleman Hart, architect, of New York" and arrived in November, 1850, ready for setting up complete with fixtures, pulpit, pews, lamps, "and a fine-toned bell." It seated 800 parishioners, and "was the first [church in the town] constructed according to accepted ecclesiastical rules, a beautiful Gothic building, with porch and belfry." Alas, after just five months the church succumbed to one of the regular fires that leveled the "frail and fluctuating" village in its first years. It was most likely a timber frame building, as were, no doubt, the dwellings Ranlett brought west a little earlier. An engraved view of the church in *The Annals* shows its west front with its porch and belfry.⁵ In bloodline terms, we can think of it as by Hart out of Ranlett.⁶

What Hart was doing for the next several years has not yet come into usable focus.⁷ He surfaces again as the author of *Designs for Parish Churches, in the Three Styles of English Church Architecture; with an Analysis of Each Style; a Review of the Nomenclature of the Periods of English Gothic Architecture, and Some Remarks Introductory to Church Building, Exemplified in a Series of over One Hundred Illustrations*. Copyrighted in 1856 and issued in 1857, it is a work whose design was lauded by most reviewers: royal octavo with cloth covers, gold stamped on the front (and spine) with the abbreviated title "Hart's Parish Churches" (by which it was more conveniently known) arched above a baptismal font copied from that at St. Andrew's at Histon in Cambridgeshire, with the same design blind-stamped on the rear. (The placement of a font on the cover was not a purely artistic decision, for, as the author reminds us, its proper location is near the entry to symbolize the baptized entering the "spiritual church." For Hart, and others, ecclesiastical design was at the service of symbolism.) Paper, page design, typography, illustrations: all were noted with approval by reviewers. In addition to orthographic drawings, the book is ornamented with six scenic perspectives, well-drawn by the author and finely reproduced as lithographs by Sarony and Company,



J. Coleman Hart, *Hart's Parish Churches*, 1857. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

some of which somewhat recall the aura of Thomas Gray's century-old "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard." The book was issued by the publisher Daniel Dana, Jr. who was also a seller of Episcopalian-oriented works.

At least two prior publications, unmentioned by Hart, seem to have directly influenced his book. In format, presentation, and some details, it appears to have been inspired by Raphael and Andrew J. Brandon's *Parish Churches*, published in parts by George Bell in London from 1846 onward. The tower of Hart's Design IV, for example, resembles that of Howell Church in Lincolnshire as shown by the Brandons. But their book focused on historical monuments whereas Hart published his own version of churches in the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular styles as defined, not without some controversy, by Thomas Rickman in 1817. In 1850 in New York, English-born Frank Wills published his *Ancient English Architecture, and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church of the Present Day*. Although Wills did not fully accept Rickman's terminology, he, too, may well have given Hart the idea for his own book. Under the inspiration of English examples Wills illustrates a number of churches he designed that grew out of his research. None of Wills's designs is seriously followed in the works depicted by Hart, except for the similar style in which they are presented.

For Hart, there was not "a cause so holy as that of church building." He cites Samuel Taylor Coleridge's definition of a church edifice as "the petrification of religion," and he was to end his AIA lecture by demanding "unity in religion, unity in architecture, and the union of both." (His emphasis.) It goes without saying that the religion he meant was Episcopal and the architecture he espoused, English Gothic. This contrasted

sharply, for example, with Irish-born Charles P. Dwyer's *Economy of Church, Parsonage and School Architecture*, published in Buffalo in 1856, where the approach is practical and non-denominational. Hart's text is the result of scholarship. He cites or quotes from much of the recent English writings on Gothic architecture and ecclesiastical design including those of William Bardwell, Mathew Bloxam, Edward Boid, James Dallaway, Frederick Apthorp Paley, John Louis Petit, George Ayliffe Poole, John Ruskin, and above all Rickman, not to mention quotations from the works of Byron, Pope, and Shakespeare, besides Coleridge. (There is no reference to either of the Pugins.) Hart established the romanticized medieval spirit of his thesis on the title page, where he quotes lines from the English prelate-poet, Frederick William Faber:

Taste and art, rejecting heathen mould,
Shall draw their types from Europe's middle night,
Well pleased if such good darkness be their light.

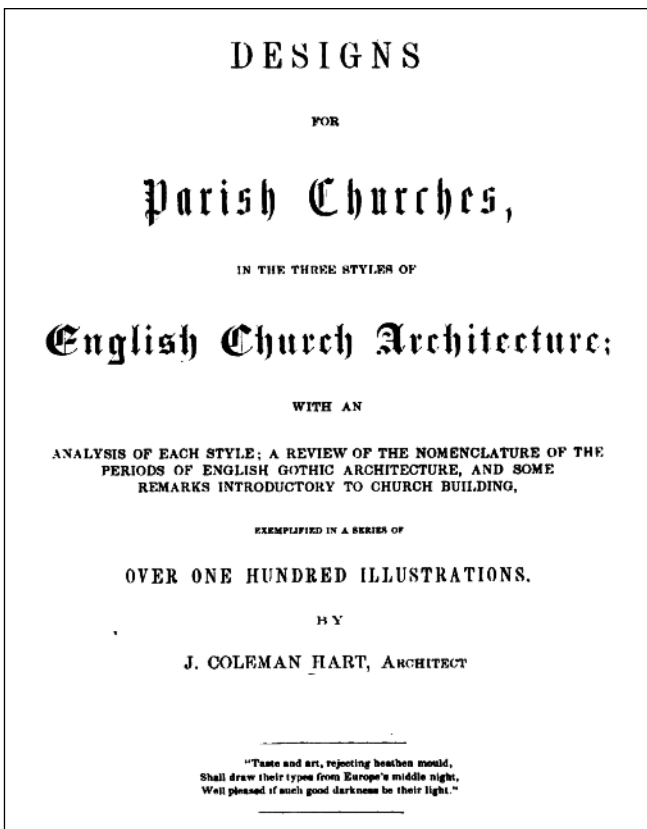
There is no record that our author ever visited England, but his preface acknowledges his dependence on English publications and reports that none of his countrymen has discussed in print Rickman's resolution of English Gothic into "three great periods." His survey of the literature leads him to defend those stylistic designations. He then demonstrates his book-learned understanding of those styles in a series of six original ecclesiastical designs, two for each period. His Introduction discusses the parts of the church edifice from orientation (the altar on the east, the entrance on the south, etc.) to plan to lectern, all at the service of symbolism. A section on nomenclature leads to his discussion of each of his designs given in plan, elevation, section, details, and his own elegantly rendered perspective.

The work was widely and generally favorably reviewed by the American ecclesiastical press, and even garnered a brief notice from a German periodical.⁸ The *New York Evangelist*, for example, reported that the

elegant volume...furnishes complete directions for those who wish to adopt either [sic] of these styles, and will do much to introduce a pure and noble architecture into this country, where the popular taste is in danger of being corrupted by the great number of buildings erected in a fantastical, finical, or pretentious style.

The Church Review thought "it will do much to educate the mind of the Church up to a truer conception of certain great principles not arbitrary but eternal." The *American Church Monthly*, however, took a more jaundiced view: "We are always inclined to look with suspicion upon works published by architects," it said, for the motive behind them is a lack of business. Hart's is "entirely too slight and superficial to be of much service to anyone but himself." Actually, the book's ultimate lack of influence stemmed, as we shall see, not from its content but the time of its arrival. A glance at the gauche ecclesiastical designs in Charles P. Dwyer's contemporary publication will confirm the quality of Hart's own.

While his countrymen in general found favor with Hart's designs, they failed to pass the acid test of the *Ecclesiologist*, organ of the strict English Ecclesiological Society. Its reviewer's long evaluation noted with displeasure that Hart adopted the "Rickman terminology for the styles in preference to our own." The opening of the review is guardedly favorable: "we welcome...the handsome volume now before us...Its



Title page of Hart's *Parish Churches*, 1857.

somewhat verbose title accurately describes its contents,” in which the author quotes “extensively from Cis-Atlantic works.” However, the reviewer found

little novelty in the letter-press...and nothing that would be worth quoting for English readers...[although no doubt it] will have an important influence for good among Transatlantic church builders.

Hart would have more influence, however, the review goes on to say, if he had illustrated ancient Gothic monuments (as had the Brandons) instead of his own designs. Such would have

instructed and improved his readers’ taste...and...would have saved his book from the importation of being in some sort an elaborate advertisement of his own architectural skill.

After a point by point dismantling of Hart’s pictured designs, the reviewer sums them up as

the attempt of an architect, who has never had the advantage of seeing English architecture, or has failed to apprehend the genius of the style, to work up borrowed detail into an architectural whole.⁹

There are some infelicities in the designs and contradictions in the presentations. The *Ecclesiologist*, for example, pointed out that

It is a most singular thing that the south wall of the chancel [in some designs] should be shown as completely blank. In a northern latitude this is surely most incomprehensible,

a blankness Hart defended in the text but avoided in two of his three standing works. As for Design III, the west tower

is a small square broached into a narrow octagon, with an octagonal spirelet, and is little more than a staircase turret, or pinnacle, aping the place of a regular tower.

Another “in no way recalls, to an English eye, a First-Pointed village-church,” using the *Ecclesiologist’s* name for Rickman’s “Early English.” It might be noted too, although the reviewer did not, that despite Hart’s text correctly locating the traditional and appropriate placement of the baptismal font as near the south entrance of a church as possible, the ranks of pews shown in his many plans make that impossible.

Hart’s Parish Churches was a failed attempt to change the Brandons’ Anglican Nationalism into American Episcopalianism. As its title indicates, the publication was a product of the English-influenced parish church revival dating from the 1830s, which had run its course by the time Hart’s book appeared, when the focus of the profession had changed with a new generation of architects, nationalism and new materials had arrived on the scene, and Eclecticism began to replace historical orthodoxy. The book represented the culmination—the swan song—of an era, rather than a germinating influence. Despite what impressed reviewers said about it, Hart’s attempt to import orthodox English Gothic church design was apparently ignored by the profession. Frederick Clarke Withers’s re-interpretation of the west façade of Hart’s Design III in his St. Michael’s, Germantown, Pennsylvania, of 1858, may be the exception that proves the rule. As Phoebe Stanton wrote in her basic work on the American Gothic Revival in which she saw no need to mention Hart, the

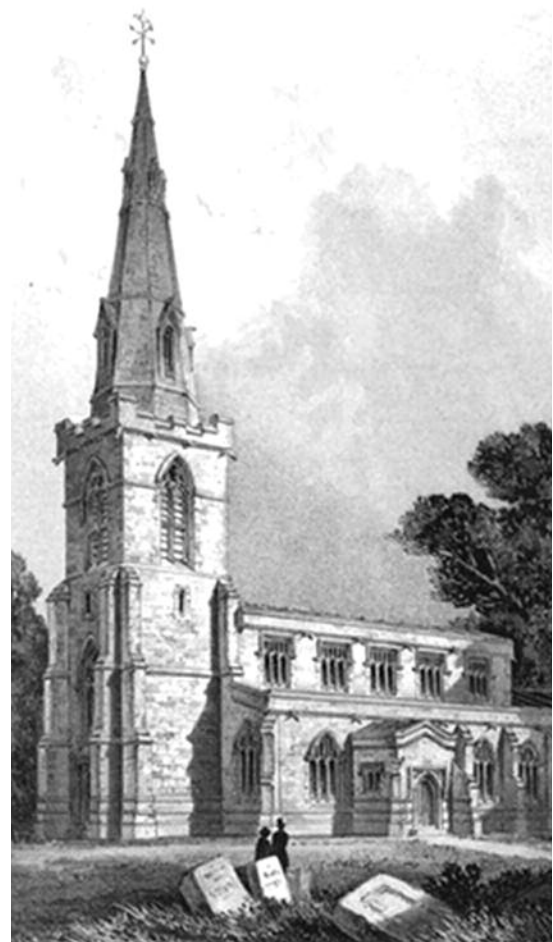
symbolism of [English] Gothic architecture and the methods for its study were irrelevant [by the 1850s] to American revivalism.¹⁰

Hart’s publication coincided with the founding of the American Institute of Architects of which he was an early member. He reiterated his pious allegiance to the religious symbolism of English Gothic architecture in a paper he read to the fledgling association in 1859, a presentation reported in full in the *Crayon*, the house organ of the AIA After establishing that “Building is now a craft, architecture an art” (thereby recognizing the divergent status of builder and designer achieved in this country by mid-century), he proclaims that the Renaissance marked the “downfall of art... [when] pagan architecture usurped the place of Christian.” After a sweep through history he concludes with a plea for “undivided attention to the study of Gothic...The religion to which we owe so many blessings.” In his book he demonstrated his allegiance to English Gothic; here he is content to speak of the style in general. His meaning was variously interpreted. From an audience that included much better remembered colleagues came divergent views on style and what Hart had said about it: concurrence from Leopold Eidlitz (“The Renaissance was but a blind return to the classic styles.”); Richard Morris Hunt thought the speaker had “substantially proved that Gothic architecture should give way to another style”; Henry Van Brunt could accept Gothic for ecclesiastical design but not for domestic. He was struck by the barbarity of the domestic architecture of the “purest Gothic age.” Richard Upjohn, the medievalist from the older generation, surprisingly “could not but acknowledge that many of the most impressive Christian monuments were not Gothic.” As he recommended the study of all styles, “for the purpose of adapting the beauty contained in them,” Upjohn gave notice of the ensuing age of colorful Ecclesiasticism that was to swamp Hart’s pious orthodoxy. The change is made evident by comparing Hart’s designs with those published by anglophile Henry Hudson Holly in his *Church Architecture* fifteen years later. Because of the continuing importance of the members of his audience, Hart’s AIA lecture is the one aspect of his historical presence that is discussed in recent literature.¹¹

Hart not only wrote and talked about church architecture in the late 1850s, in these years he designed, to present knowledge, three standing edifices, only one of which follows completely his promptings in *Parish Churches*, and that is St. Luke’s Episcopal, St. Albans, Vermont, 1858-60.¹² The congregation began the building process when the committee in charge proposed to ask the “Bishop of the Diocese” for a “plan for a new church edifice.” That prelate was none other than John Henry Hopkins, architect of Trinity Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, 1823, an example of naïve “Gothick” design, and author of the *Essay on Gothic Architecture for Use of the Clergy* of 1836, the first American publication on the subject. In that book Hopkins explained that he was frequently asked to provide church designs but found it neither “convenient nor practical” to do so; hence his book. Although his name appears in the minutes of the building committee, the bishop apparently decided it would be inconvenient to supply a design, for in March, 1859, that committee examined “two plans drawn for the Parish by J. Coleman Hart,” and then adopted one of them. Part of the reason Hart has lacked historical presence is that his name has been omitted or corrupted, or his work attributed to others.¹³

As it stands, the church in St. Albans does not reproduce verbatim any of Hart's published designs. Although the entrance tower is copied, minus its spire shown in his perspective but not his elevations, from Design VI for a Perpendicular church, it is moved to the north corner of the west front rather than on axis with the nave as in the book.

Gothic, as represented in St. Luke's, Hart's other known churches, while pointed and conventionally planned, are not the easily recognizable progeny of those in his book. Two other existing, small Episcopal churches are documented as Hart's work: St. Michael's in Brattleboro, Vermont and St. Mark's in Ashland (formerly Holderness), New Hampshire, both dating



L to R: Church Street, St. Albans, Vermont c. 1900. St. Luke's Episcopal Church is seen on the far right. New York Public Library. J. Coleman Hart, Design VI, Perspective, Perpendicular Church, 1850.

Thus the plan seems closer to that of Hart's Early English Design II. The church exterior is composed of rock-faced, random-coursed local "calico" stone. The gable over the nave flares out above the aisles. Along the one-story exterior, lancets, one per interior bay, alternate with two-step buttresses until, on the south, they are interrupted by an entrance porch with its pointed board and batten door.

The ceiling of the nave within might have been derived from Plate V of Raphael and J. Arthur Brandons' *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages* of 1849 minus the decorative bosses and longitudinal ribs to be found at the church in Norfolk they illustrate. The lower roof of the chancel, on the other hand, is of smooth, curved struts echoing the lancet of the great eastern window over the altar. The smaller lancets along the sides lead to another grand window in the west front. The richly ornamental rood rises on center from an arch-braced timber at the entrance to the chancel.

Despite his commitment to the orthodoxy of English

from 1857-58. Although in plan and massing they somewhat reflect his published designs, they otherwise depart from them. Those were to be masonry structures in the manner of English Gothic churches, while these two are constructed of an exterior of exposed rectangular timber framework infilled with brickwork. Cost was probably a factor in this change, and Hart might have been recalling a timber frame for his San Francisco church, but there could have been another: in his book he says (erroneously, as was pointed out by one reviewer) that the Gothic began in Germany then spread to France and England, and one of the first notices of St. Mark's reported that was "in a German style of architecture."²⁴ Both these churches seem configured by English ideas but erected as much like *Fachwerk Kirken* as half-timbering, which would be rare in an English church. It seems there are no others like them from this era in the vicinity.

St. Michael's Episcopal in Brattleboro, like St. Luke's in St. Albans, was also misattributed in the nomination for the

National Register where it was given by tradition to Richard Morris Hunt, a native of the city.¹⁵ In November, 1857, agents of the church signed a contract with Joel Bullard to build a church edifice, to be finished in July, 1858, following the “drawings and specifications of J. Coleman Hart.” (They no longer exist.) The church was moved in 1953 and has been added to in recent years, but it preserves much of Hart’s original touch.

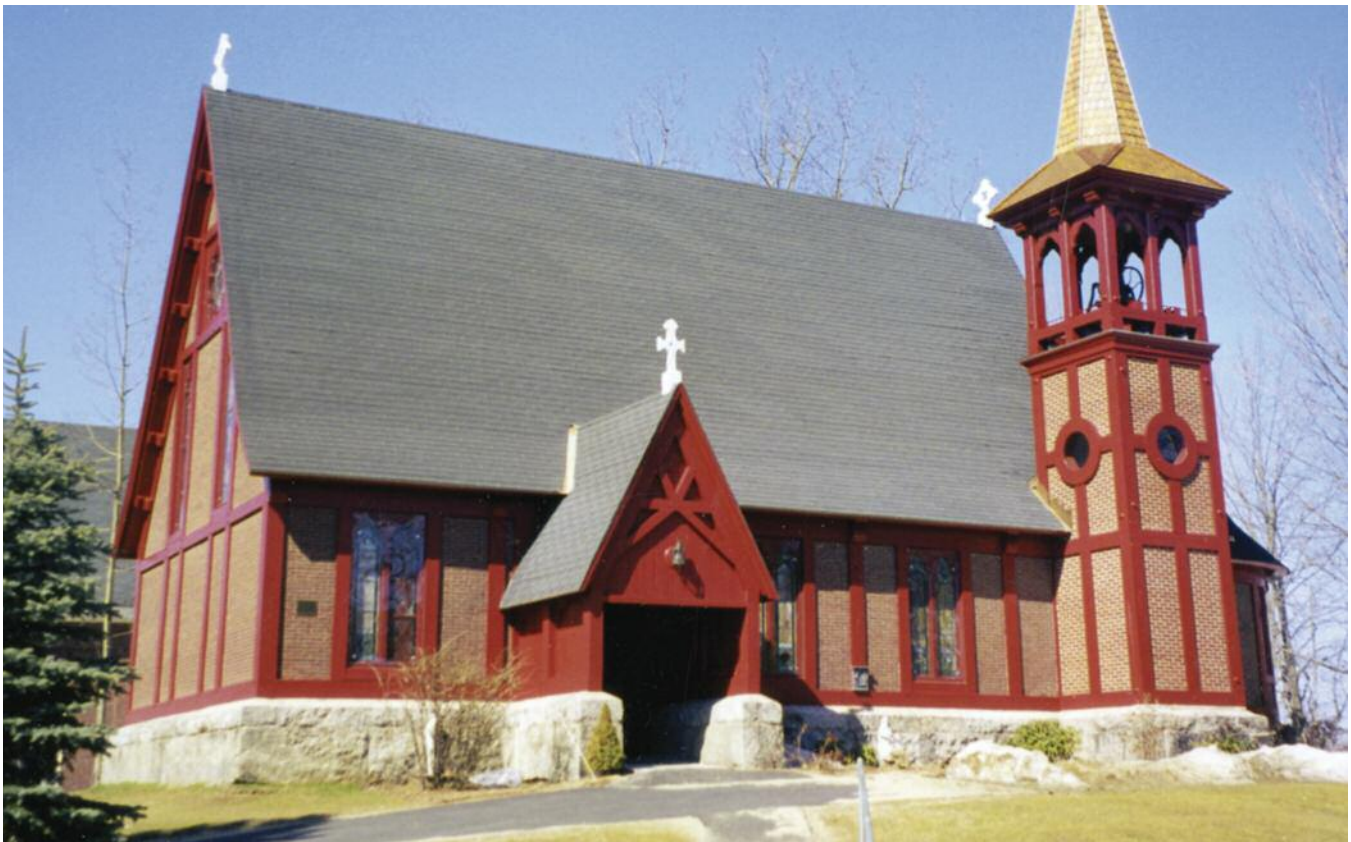
St. Michael’s is formed of a broad five-bay nave and two aisles with a canonical south entrance porch and, eastward, a narrower flat-ended chancel. On the exterior, in place of the absent tower and spire that one might expect, a vintage photograph records the presence of a small, open belfry riding the ridge of the main gable apparently above the chancel arch. It has not survived. The building, which originally sat on a fieldstone foundation (replaced by brick after the move), rises as exposed timber and common bond brick walls divided into rectangular grids across their exterior surfaces. Within is an open gable above the nave supported by slender timber posts upholding a series of scissor trusses reinforced by collar and tie beams. Side aisles are defined as separate from the nave only by crucks springing longitudinally between posts and a lower shed roof supported by simple triangular trusses. The chancel is elevated and lit by a triad of trefoil openings. Subtly lit by a minimum of other trefoil stained glass windows, the almost delicate stick-work forest within the spacious edifice combines with the checkerboard exterior walls to produce a fetching architectural effect that might be called unique were it not for St. Michael’s equally fetching fraternal twin at Ashland, New Hampshire.

St. Mark’s in Ashland, with its singular nave, is smaller than St. Michael’s with its basilica plan. It grew out of a meeting held in December, 1857, that instructed the Rector, Joshua R. Pierce, to begin planning for a new church.¹⁶ Drawings by Hart (now also apparently lost) were approved in February, 1858, a building committee appointed,

and the cornerstone laid in August. The first services were held at Christmas, although the building was not consecrated until 1863. The plan is a modified version of Hart’s published Early English Design I in which the western organ chapel is omitted, the chancel is extended eastward into a half cylinder, and a tower is added to the southeast corner of the nave. That nave is covered by a tall gable with flared eaves over soffits emphasized by moldings and brackets; the east end is crowned by a half cone with flared eaves that is set lower than the roof of the nave. The exterior walls, rising from an emphasized stone base, consist of timber posts and beams forming rectangular panels infilled with common bond brickwork. The



Top to bottom: Interior of St. Michael’s Episcopal Church, Brattleboro, Vermont. Photo by Jeff Woodward. St. Michael’s Episcopal Church, Brattleboro, Vermont. Photo by James F. O’Gorman.



Top to bottom: Exterior of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Ashland, New Hampshire. Courtesy St. Mark's Episcopal Church. Interior of St. Mark's Episcopal Church. The chandeliers and tie rods are later additions. Photo by James F. O'Gorman.

tower rises three stories with circular openings in the second and an open belfry in the third. It is topped by an octagonal spire resting on a low hip roof. The church is placed on a low hill so that the picturesque composition looks best on approach via an angle from the lower street.

Inside, the single nave rises up within the steep gable roof supported by kingpost trusses (now constrained by tie rods) that form five bays reflecting the spacing of the framing posts of the exterior. The fact that the pew arrangement is not copied from the book allows for the proper placement of the font near the south entry porch. The curved roof of the raised chancel is supported by two trusses, the easternmost identical to those in the nave; that at the entrance, different from the others, marks the division between the two spaces by means of an arch-supported collar beam, a translation into wood of the "chancel arch" Hart discusses at length in his *Parish Churches*. Windows are cinquefoils set single, double, or triple as behind the altar. In the overall effect, the skeletal structural pattern of the timbers exterior "bleeds" through to the interior to form the delicate linear cage-work infilled with flat surfaces that define the space. The light and airy interior is an excellent example of splendid effect with simple means.

These churches were standing by 1860 when Hart worked out of New York City. Had he lived beyond his thirty-four years, he may have produced much more of interest, but between 1860 and 1862 his residence is given as Chester Township, New Jersey. The 1860 Federal Census lists him as a thirty-two-year-old "hired man." In April of that year he deeded his house to his wife. The notice of his death in December, 1862, called him a "farmer" who died of consumption. It is probable that the fatal illness overtook him as it did so many others in New York and other cities at mid-century (including one of his children and his uncle, which

may suggest he was particularly vulnerable), at a time when urban physicians had just begun “to recognize a causal connection between decaying organic matter and such diseases as cholera and tuberculous.”¹⁷ He may have rusticated himself in the Jersey fields hoping to recover, but it was too late. His fine book and his three known parish churches form a worthy monument to his talent.



Notes

1. Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, Church of the Advent Register; New Jersey State Archives, Return of Death, Vol. C, p. 674.
2. According to Jacob Landry’s research on the 1847 competition for the design of a Washington Monument for New York City, a J. C. Hart, whom Landry suggests is our man, submitted two proposals: one for a Gothic design and the other a Corinthian column surmounted by an enclosed statue. Apparently no drawings survive. Landry, “The Washington Monument Project in New York,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28 (December 1969), 291-97; Landry, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 141. There was, however, a Wall Street lawyer in the city named Joseph C. Hart. Contemporary newspapers cite a “J. C. Hart, Esq.” as a speaker at the dedication of the site of the monument later that year. Our Hart would have been about nineteen then, certainly not yet entitled to the stature of Esquire.
3. Such portable structures parallel that published in 1840 by John Hall as “A Portable Cottage,” Plate XIX in his *A Series of Select and Original Modern Designs*. As Thomas Gordon Smith points out in his 1996 essay in the Acanthus Press reprint of Hall’s works, Hall copied the design from John Claudius Loudon’s London *Encyclopedia of Architecture* of 1833. See also Charles P. Dwyer, *The Economic Cottage Builder*. Buffalo: Wanzer, McKim & Co., 1856, 124.
4. Robert C. Muehlberger, “William H. Ranlett and The Architect,” MA Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1967; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 3, 1849. Hart is listed at 86 Nassau Street in 1850-53 while Ranlett is listed there in 1850 (Dennis Steadman Francis, *Architects in Practice, New York City, 1840-1900*, New York: Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records, 1979.) While we know Ranlett had left for San Francisco at the end of 1849, he may have kept the office in his name until he decided to stay out west for a while. Although in October 1852 he was said to have been appointed architect of the public buildings of California according to the *New York Times* for October 20, 1852, and listed himself as such in the San Francisco city directory for 1854, the architect of the Custom House, at least, was G. J. F. Bryant. Ranlett is last listed in the San Francisco directory for 1854. Muehlberger confused this J. Coleman Hart with a cousin of the same name. *Hart’s Parish Churches* was much more than a reworking of the Brandons’ publication, as Muehlberger wrote.
5. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nesbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855 (c. 1854), 691-92; Albert Williams, *California Life Illustrated*, New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1883, 66-67; and Harold Kirker, “Eldorado Gothic: Gold Rush Architects and Architecture,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 38 (March 1959), 43.
6. For context see Charles E. Peterson, “Prefabs in the California Gold Rush, 1849,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24 (December 1965), 318-24.
7. From 1853 to 1859 Hart gave his home address as Glenn Park, Westchester County, New York, although he had an office in the city (at 167 Broadway) during those years. Little has come to light about this period, but he might have been involved with one or both the following projects: “Plan of Building Sites, Glenn Park... 1852” (Office of the County Clerk, Westchester County, New York: see *Laws of the State of New York* III [Albany: J. B. Lyon and Company, 1913, Chap. 635, 1688-89]) or “Glenn Park, Map and Description, and Drawing of the Botanical Garden...1854” (a real estate brochure at the Westchester Historical Society). In the latter, one of the proposed streets is named Hart Avenue.
8. *Organ für christliche Kunst*, 8 (Cologne 1858), 42; *New York Evangelist*, (May 28, 1857), 171; *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register* July 1857), 297; *American Church Monthly* (1857), 233-5.
9. *The Ecclesiologist* 18 (December 1857), 367-69.
10. Francis R. Kowsky, *The Architecture of Frederick Clarke Withers*, Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980, 47, 170n60. Kowsky calls Hart “John.” Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, 180.
11. *The Crayon* 6 (March 1859), 84-89. Paul R. Baker, Richard Morris Hunt, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980, 115; Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre*, Oxford University Press, 2002, 70.
12. National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form, St. Alban’s Historical District, 1979; Glenn M. Andres and Curtis B. Johnson, *Buildings of Vermont*, Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2014, 211-12. The authors are indebted to Carolyn Fouts for copies of the relevant pages of the church’s Annual Meeting Minute Book.
13. The writer of the National Register of Historic Places nominating form for the St. Albans Historic District in which St. Luke’s stands obviously read no further than the reference to the bishop in the committee minutes, for in that nomination one finds the church given to the Rev. Hopkins.
14. The *Farmer’s Cabinet* (of Amherst, New Hampshire), December 21, 1859, 3: “J. Coleman Hart of New York was [the] architect.”
15. Paul A. Carnahan, *The History of St. Michael’s Episcopal Church*, Brattleboro: The History Committee, 1982, 30-33. Our thanks to Jeanne Crosby and especially Alan Lewis for research assistance, and to Maggie DeVries and Jeanne Hablanian of Wellesley College for ongoing support.
16. “Laying of the Cornerstone of St. Mark’s Church at Holderness,” *Winnepesaukee Gazette*, July 23 and August 20, 1859: “The architect...is J. Coleman Hart, of New York City.” The authors are indebted to David Ruell for his model National Register form and other kindnesses.
17. Maria Farland, “Decomposing City: Walt Whitman’s New York and the Science of Life and Death,” *ELH* 74 (Winter 2007), 799-827.



View of Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia, 1905. New York Public Library.

William Noland

THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA ARCHITECT

Christopher V. Novelli

William Noland was one of the leading lights of Virginia architecture at the dawn of the Edwardian era. While working in partnership with engineer Henry Baskervill from 1897 to 1917, he designed numerous high-style public and private buildings in Richmond and surrounding areas. Many of these are still landmarks today. Noland's work embodied a new scholarly approach to architectural design which stressed academic correctness, stylistic purity, and above all, a return to the classical tradition. He played a leading role in promoting the principles of Beaux-Arts design in Virginia and was one of the chief proponents of the grand classical vision which became the dominant paradigm for American architecture after the turn of the century.¹ Noland's ability to create elegant, sophisticated designs in the new classical taste made him a favorite of Richmond's high society. Richmonders praised Noland and Baskervill for bringing "a new spirit into local design."²

Richmond's West Franklin Street was the setting for most of Noland's and Baskervill's landmark buildings. After the Civil War, Franklin Street became the city's most fashionable residential thoroughfare, lined with the townhouses and suburban mansions of Richmond's Gilded Age elite. Architecturally, the street presented a rich pageant of antebellum and Victorian styles. Franklin Street was the social center of Victorian Richmond, and even though Monument Avenue (Franklin Street's westward extension) rapidly developed after 1901, Franklin remained the center of gravity for Richmond society until around the First World War.

Looking at the larger picture, Noland was working in a unique city during a unique time. Briefly the capital of a nation, Richmond suffered a massive conflagration at the end of the Civil War known as the Evacuation fire. The fire reduced the city's financial and manufacturing districts along the river to smoking ruins, and images of the devastation were spread far and wide through illustrations in the printed press. Though Richmond rebuilt quickly after the War, the damage to perceptions of the city took longer to heal. As Richmond's grand avenue during the Victorian era, Franklin Street's buildings and architecture were not only symbols of civic pride but reflections of the city's image.³

The New Academic Approach to Architecture and the Grand Classical Vision

Noland's work reflected new trends in American architecture as architects and their patrons began to seek a more sophisticated look based on historic European precedents and

the classical tradition in particular. By the 1890s, a major shift was beginning to occur in east coast cities like New York away from the picturesque eclecticism of previous decades toward designs which were more disciplined, historically accurate, and classical. But it was more than just a change in fashions. A younger generation of academically trained architects was taking a new approach to design that stressed stylistic purity, academic correctness, and an adherence to historic period models, or prototypes. This was the approach taught by the prestigious École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) in Paris, considered the leading center for architecture training in the world. By the end of the nineteenth century increasingly more American architecture students were starting to study abroad at the École des Beaux-Arts. At the core of the École's philosophy was the idea that the great architectural traditions of the past should serve as a basis for new design. Even though the Beaux-Arts teaching method was based not on styles but on a system of developing designs, it became virtually synonymous with monumental classical edifices.

As America started to become a world power at the end of the nineteenth century, many felt that a new, more sophisticated architectural expression was required which reflected America's new national dignity—an architecture whose styling displayed a new sense of order, restraint, and discipline. Even though an interest in classicism was already beginning to manifest itself in large eastern cities like New York, it was the overwhelming success of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, popularly known as the Chicago World's Fair, that made grand classical architecture a national obsession. The Exposition, with its acres of gleaming white classical buildings, demonstrated a new vision of order and harmony based upon a commitment to classical principles. The unified classical vision revealed at the Columbian Exposition inspired a generation of architects and urban planners across America, and the image of the white classical city became the new dominant paradigm.

As America rose to a position of greatness on the world stage, many envisioned America as a new cultural power as well. This school of thought was associated with the concept of the American Renaissance, which held that America was the heir of Western civilization and the great traditions of Western art and culture. Central to the idea of the American Renaissance were the beliefs that "all great art borrows from the past" and that "the art of the past could provide useful sources for the development of a national American art." In the field of architecture, historic European and American

"...if I can ever become anything of a master in my profession, I should prefer to devote my talents to building up the New South, as far as the New South will let me."

WILLIAM NOLAND

styles and building types were borrowed and adapted for modern American needs. The American Renaissance was nationalistic yet cosmopolitan—it drew upon European precedent but attempted to give it an American cast.⁴

William Noland: The Making of a Virginia Architect

Virginia's first licensed architect, William Noland was one of the principal promoters in Richmond and in Virginia of the architectural values associated with the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the grand classical vision manifested at the Columbian Exposition. Noland once wrote that just as one would not write a poem mixing unrelated languages, one should not design a building composed of dissimilar styles.⁵ Noland's comparison of architecture to language was apt. Central to the *Beaux-Arts* design philosophy was the idea that only similar stylistic vocabularies should be used together and that just as words follow rules of proper vocabulary and grammar, architectural forms should follow rules of proper usage and arrangement.

Described as a "quiet, modest Virginia gentleman," William Churchill Noland came from an old Virginia family in Hanover County.⁶ He was born on June 4, 1865 at Airwell, his family's ancestral home since the seventeenth century.⁷ During the Civil War, his father, Callendar St. George Noland served as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army. Even though Noland's family had known gentility before the War, the collapse of the plantation economy afterwards, together with the death of Noland's father in 1878, when William was thirteen, brought reduced circumstances to his family.⁸ For his senior year, Noland attended the Episcopal High School of Virginia, a private boy's boarding school near Alexandria. He graduated in 1882.⁹ For financial reasons, Noland was unable to attend



L to R: William C. Noland, c. 1900. Virginia Historical Society. Henry E. Baskervill, c. 1910. Courtesy Ethel Baskerville Powell.

a college or university or to receive a formal education in architecture. That said, formal academic programs in architecture were rare in the United States during the late-nineteenth century. The first architectural school in the U.S. was founded at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston in 1865; the first in the South was at Tuskegee in 1893.¹⁰ Those who could afford it attended the *École des Beaux-Arts*. However, the usual method for training was through the apprentice system.¹¹

After graduating from high school, Noland moved to Philadelphia to pursue a career in architecture.¹² By October 1882, he was working in the office of architect Theophilus Parsons Chandler, Jr.¹³ Chandler had been in the *Atelier Vaudremer* at the *École* and later became known for his Gothic-inspired buildings. He founded the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and in 1890 he founded and became the first director of the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Architecture.¹⁴ While Noland was working in Chandler's office, he would have met two other

young aspiring architects: John Stewardson and Walter Cope. Stewardson had attended the *École* for a year in the *Atelier Pascal*.¹⁵ He returned to Philadelphia in September 1882 and started working in Chandler's office as a draftsman in October. Walter Cope started his career in the office of Philadelphia architect Addison Hutton as an estimator and draftsman prior to working in Chandler's office.¹⁶ Walter Cope and John Stewardson founded the firm of Cope & Stewardson in June 1885.¹⁷ Noland had joined their firm by January 1886.¹⁸ Even though Noland never attended the *École*, he was able to absorb its principles indirectly through Chandler and then Stewardson, who had both studied there.

Cope & Stewardson became one of Philadelphia's most prominent firms. They are perhaps best known for their work in the Collegiate Gothic style at Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Bryn Mawr. Their projects, however, encompassed a number of styles and building types.¹⁹ Cope and Stewardson stressed the innovative use of historic precedent for meeting modern needs—the philosophy of the *École*. The value Cope and Stewardson placed on foreign travel and the close study of historic prototypes directly influenced Noland.

Noland furthered his education in Philadelphia by joining the T-Square Club, a social and educational club for young architects. Founded in 1883, the T-Square Club of Philadelphia sought to elevate architectural standards through education. It gave young architects without formal training a way to gain experience by holding monthly inter-club exhibitions and drawing competitions modeled after the *École*. It was one of many architectural clubs that formed in the 1880s and 1890s which sought to raise design standards and the status of the profession.

Cope and Stewardson were two of the club's founding members.²⁰ The club exposed Noland to current issues and ideas in the profession and brought him into contact with the wider community of architects in Philadelphia. Noland was an active member, and in 1886 was elected to serve as both Secretary and Treasurer. The club participated in public exhibitions at The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts as well as the Salmagundi Club in New York and the New York Architectural League.²¹

While Noland was in Philadelphia he studied classical architecture from a French edition of Vignola's *Rules of the Five Orders of Architecture* (*Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*). Vignola was the standard guide for students of classicism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²² Noland also kept up with current trends, reading *The American Architect* and *Building News*.²³

Even though Noland received his architectural training in the North, he remained passionately loyal to Virginia and the South. Noland was greatly concerned about the image of

Virginia and wanted to see it regain some of the prestige it had lost after the Civil War. When he was twenty-one, Noland wrote in a letter to his mother:

This week past, I have been thinking of my plans for the future...and the thought has come to me...if I can ever become anything of a master in my profession, I should prefer to devote my talents to building up the New South, as far as the New South will let me.²⁴

The next week, he expressed further hopes for helping to restore Virginia's image:

Now I want to boom Virginia. I want to see her acknowledged the mother of men that can hold their own under the new state of affairs since the war. I also want to see the houses, that you all occupy well furnished and well ordered as they were once...²⁵

While Noland was in Philadelphia, his former employer, Theophilus Chandler, advised him that the best way to acquire the profession was to

go sometime hence into a New York office, where they do more real work, and good work too, in a year than Paris does in ten.

Chandler also advised Noland to "go to France and Italy in the summer holidays and sketch and travel."²⁶ Noland followed Chandler's advice and tried to obtain a position in New York with the firm of Richard Morris Hunt. He was not successful—likely because he lacked a university education.²⁷ By 1888, he was working in the New York office of Edward Kendall.²⁸ Kendall was among the first generation of American architects to study at the École and in the 1890s became president of the American Institute of Architects. Noland became disenchanted with New York, and by June 1890, he had returned to Philadelphia.²⁹

Torn between deciding whether to stay in Philadelphia or return to Virginia, Noland eventually decided to return to his native state even though he knew that a career in Virginia might mean more obscurity.³⁰ Following Walter Cope's advice, Noland began independent practice as an architect in Roanoke, Virginia in 1891. He became discouraged with Roanoke, however, and by 1893 he had moved to Richmond.³¹ Unfortunately, 1893 was the year of the financial panic that plunged the country into an economic depression for most of the decade.

It was during this period that Noland decided to again follow Chandler's advice and further his architectural education with a trip to Europe. The trip was for one year: from August 1, 1894 to July 27, 1895.³² Noland divided his sojourn between England, France, and Italy, and appears to have traveled with his friend, Emlyn Stewardson—John Stewardson's younger brother, who had joined the firm in 1887 with a degree in civil engineering.³³ Noland made numerous pencil drawings and

watercolors, and took precise measurements of the ancient buildings and monuments. Some of his renderings still survive and display a highly refined technique.³⁴

By July 1895, Noland had returned to the U.S. By November, he had opened an office on the sixth floor of Richmond's Chamber of Commerce building, located in the heart of downtown Richmond at the corner of Ninth and Main streets.³⁵ Once Noland arrived in Richmond, he led an active social life and was a favorite escort at parties.³⁶ To help establish himself in Richmond, Noland gave lectures on European architecture to local groups, like the Woman's Club. The written introduction to one of these lectures survives and demonstrates that Noland had a full command of European architectural history.³⁷

Noland & Baskervill, Architects & Engineers

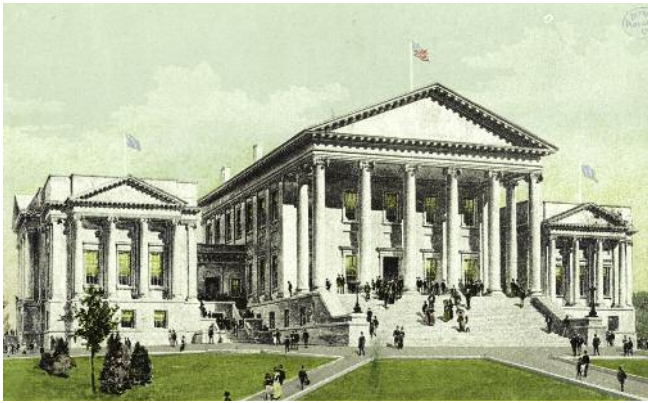
In 1897 Noland entered into partnership with Richmond engineer Henry Eugene Baskervill, forming the firm of "Noland & Baskervill, Architects & Engineers." Noland was thirty-two and brought to the partnership six years of experience as a practicing architect plus nine years of experience apprenticing and working in architectural offices; Baskervill was thirty and brought to the firm a degree in electrical engineering plus experience in engineering and construction. They had both graduated from the Episcopal High School together in the class of 1882.³⁸

From a prominent Richmond family, Baskervill attended Cornell University and received a bachelor's degree in



City Hall, Richmond Virginia, 1900. Library of Congress.

electrical engineering in 1889.³⁹ Afterwards, Baskervill returned to Richmond and began his career as an assistant city engineer. He was listed in *Chataigne's Directory of Richmond* as an engineer as early as 1892. Baskervill was one of five assistants under City Engineer Wilfred E. Cutshaw.⁴⁰ The City Engineer's Office was not only in charge of paving and grading the roads, but was responsible for all municipal building projects, including schools, markets, armories, and even the City Hall. In fact one of Baskervill's projects at this time was helping Cutshaw manage the construction of the new City Hall, completed in 1894. Designed by Detroit architect Elijah Myers, Richmond's Gothic Revival City Hall was (and still is)



Top to bottom: Virginia State Capitol, c. 1865, prior to renovation; after renovation and enlargement in 1904 by Noland and Baskervill, architects. New York Public Library; The Capitol building today. Photo by author.

a massive structure of gray granite, picturesquely adorned with Gothic towers, gables, and finials. According to Baskervill's daughter-in-law, the City Hall project sparked his interest in architecture, but his lack of architectural training compelled him to consult library books to perform his duties.⁴¹ Cornell's curriculum for a degree in electrical engineering included a number of courses in mechanical design, but none in architectural design or history.⁴² In 1894, Baskervill drew the floorplans for the Howitzer Armory, which was erected by the City and completed in 1895. The floorplans still survive and show that Baskervill was a proficient draftsman.⁴³ In 1895, Baskervill drew the plans, wrote the building specifications, and superintended the fireproofing of the Davis Mansion, now known as the White House of the Confederacy.⁴⁴ The specifications still exist and demonstrate that by 1895, he was also an accomplished specification writer. Baskervill was still an assistant city engineer in 1896, the year before he partnered with Noland.⁴⁵

Thus incorporated, Noland & Baskervill inaugurated a new era in Richmond's architectural history. Patrons no longer needed to go to New York or Philadelphia to find talent, but could now find a local architect who could produce designs comparable to what the Vanderbilts were building in New York. According to Richmond architect Mary Harding Sadler, Noland and Baskervill brought to their work "a knowledge of the highest current architectural standards embodied by the most prominent firms of their time."⁴⁶ By November 1897, the firm had an office on the top floor of the Chamber of Commerce Building—the same rooms previously used by Noland for his own office.⁴⁷ Noland, with his years of experience at Philadelphia and New York architectural firms and first-hand knowledge of European prototypes gained from his travels abroad, handled the architectural design work; Baskervill mainly handled the engineering and business aspects.⁴⁸ This would have included the structural and electrical engineering, and probably other mechanical systems as well. This division of labor was reflected in the name of the firm: "Noland & Baskervill, Architects & Engineers."⁴⁹ Since Baskervill had experience drafting and writing building specifications, he may have also done some of this work for the firm prior to their hiring draftsmen.

Owing to the larger-than-life persona of Thomas Jefferson and the iconic significance of the Virginia State Capitol as the nation's first classically styled government building, Richmond's ties to the classical tradition have always run deep. Jefferson's Capitol was, in fact, one of the two buildings that re-launched Richmond's tradition of grand classical architecture after the turn of the century.⁵⁰ In 1902, a five-member Capitol Building Commission announced a competition for the renovation and enlargement of the Capitol with new flanking wings to house the General Assembly. The three firms chosen in 1904 to undertake the project were John Kevan Peebles of Norfolk, Noland & Baskervill of Richmond, and Frye & Chesterman of Lynchburg, effectively linking together the three leading firms in the state. The design of the wings was based upon Peebles's original design, though with later changes. Because Noland and Baskervill were located in Richmond, they had more responsibility for construction supervision and final details.⁵¹ The building was occupied by January 1906, and the careers of Noland and Baskervill were secured.

The prestige associated with the Capitol renovation was enormous and launched Noland's career as a society architect.

Even before the Capitol was completed, Noland and Baskervill began to receive hefty commissions for churches followed by requests for mansions and country estates by Richmond's Edwardian elite. During their twenty-year partnership Noland and Baskervill worked on over 180 projects.⁵² Their repertoire encompassed a wide range of building types, including townhouses, churches, office buildings, hospitals, schools, commercial buildings, country estates, and even train stations. Nearly half of the firm's projects were residential.

Noland was primarily a classicist. For his religious and residential commissions, he employed a wide range of European and American classical dialects including Beaux-Arts (i.e. French Neoclassical), Colonial Revival, Italian Renaissance Revival, English Baroque, and Roman Classical. Noland was one of the chief promoters of the Beaux-Arts style in Virginia and introduced it as a style for houses in the Richmond area. Noland almost always used classical styles for public and commercial buildings as well as for his residential projects on Franklin Street and Monument Avenue.⁵³ Cases where Noland departed from the classical tradition included service buildings, buildings on secluded country estates, and projects where he was adding to existing Gothic Revival churches or church complexes.⁵⁴

Although Noland and Baskervill designed and remodeled buildings all over Richmond, the largest concentration of these was on West Franklin Street, with twenty-one known projects distributed over a twenty-one block span.⁵⁵ Franklin Street was analogous to New York's Fifth Avenue as the preferred address of the local elite and a setting for architectural display. Richmond's wealth after the Civil War was derived mainly from the tobacco industry, and as prosperity increased during the 1880s, Franklin Street became the home of bank presidents, factory owners, and railroad barons. In the 1890s, it became the setting of Richmond's most prominent men's and women's clubs and the site of its grandest hotel.

The Jefferson Hotel was the first monumental classical building erected in the city after the Civil War. Richmond tobacconist Lewis Ginter hired the New York architectural firm of Carrère and Hastings to design a grand hotel comparable to those he had seen during his travels abroad. The hotel they provided appears to have been the first major expression of Beaux-Arts design in Virginia. The Jefferson Hotel was begun in 1893, the same year as the Columbian Exposition, and opened with great fanfare in 1895. The gleaming white edifice of the hotel freely combined elements from the French and Italian classical traditions, embellished with French Rococo flourishes. The hotel became an instant landmark and a symbol of "Richmond reborn."⁵⁶

Adorned with the Jefferson Hotel, Franklin Street easily eclipsed all other thoroughfares as Richmond's showplace and confirmed the city's place as a leader of the "New South." The phrase "New South" was coined in the 1880s and was a popular slogan associated with the spirit of progress which accompanied the South's economic expansion after the Civil War.⁵⁷ After the War, the South rapidly transitioned from an agricultural, slave-based economy to an industrial-based economy, and began to compete with the North economically and culturally. Expressing this "new Southern sophistication," progressive Virginia businessmen commissioned lavish public and private buildings in the latest styles.⁵⁸

However, when one examines the architectural milieu of Richmond during the 1880s and 1890s, it becomes evident

that the largest and most prestigious commissions such as the Jefferson Hotel and the new City Hall usually went to northern architects. One reason was because Richmond did not have many architects. The 1900 Richmond City Directory listed only twelve other architects—all one-man firms.⁵⁹ Noland & Baskervill was the only partnership.

Noland's and Baskervill's commissions for houses of worship on Franklin Street were Temple Beth Ahabah at 1111 West Franklin (1903-1904), Second Baptist Church at 9 West Franklin (1904-1906), and St. James Episcopal Church at 1205 West Franklin (1911-1913). All three buildings were monumental expressions of academic classicism. With their



The Jefferson Hotel, c. 1898. Carrère and Hastings, architects. Library of Congress.

porticos of giant columns, these sacred edifices imbued Franklin Street with a new classical grandeur.

Noland and Baskervill were selected to design the new Beth Ahabah synagogue through a design competition held in May 1903.⁶⁰ Beth Ahabah is regarded as one of the finest classically inspired synagogues in America. It was one of a number of classical revival synagogues built after the turn of the century. As a domed classical building, Beth Ahabah had two local antecedents, both by noted architect Robert Mills: Richmond's Monumental Church (1812-1817) and the old Richmond City Hall (1814-1816). Domes had been popular in European synagogues and became popular in American synagogues during the nineteenth century, particularly in Byzantine Revival examples.⁶¹

According to architect Robert Winthrop, who knew Harold Calisch, the son of Rabbi Edward Calisch of Temple Beth Ahabah, Noland's original design for Beth Ahabah was for a classical temple-form building without a dome. The dome was added at the request of Rabbi Calisch, who thought it would be more appropriate for a synagogue.⁶²

Noland designed the Second Baptist Church in the form of a Roman temple in the Corinthian order. Baptist

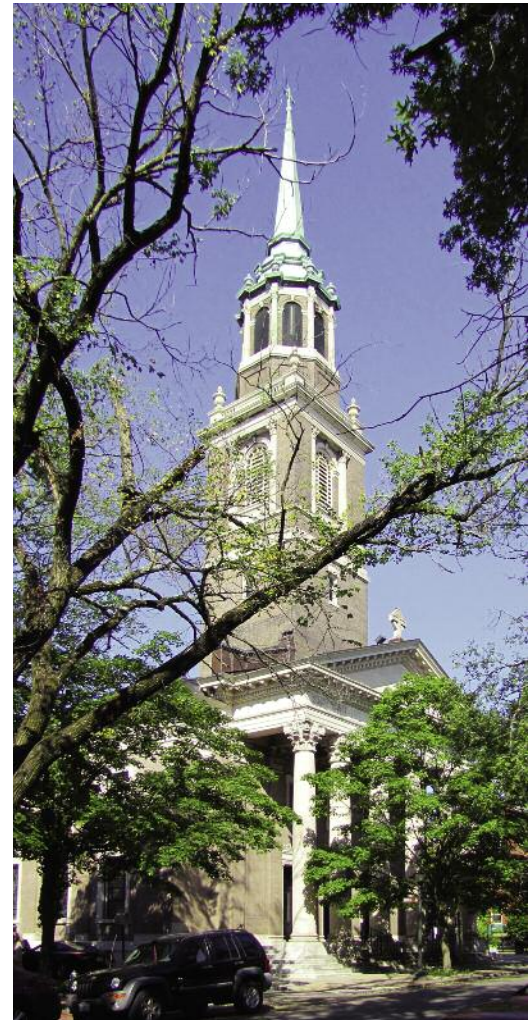
congregations in Richmond had a long tradition of building temple-form churches. The previous Second Baptist Church (1840-1842) by Thomas U. Walter had been a Greek Revival temple in the Doric order with a steeple. Noland's new Second Baptist Church, however, appears to have been an academically updated and Romanized version of Richmond's St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Grace and Ninth streets, minus the steeple. Built in 1845, St. Paul's is also a Corinthian temple, though in this case, Greek Corinthian. St. Paul's was designed by Philadelphia architect Thomas S. Stewart and modeled after St. Luke's Church in Philadelphia, also by Stewart.⁶³

St. James Episcopal Church forms the focal point of an eastward vista down Monument Avenue. Noland and Baskervill were selected to design the church in October 1910, and in the initial vote, the congregation favored a Gothic style design. However, after the building committee met with Noland and heard his preliminary design ideas, the vestry decided against Gothic. The next month, Noland & Baskervill presented the committee with two classical designs—with and without a steeple. They selected the steeple design. Noland's steeple incorporated elements, such as the corner urns and octagonal belfry, from James Gibbs' St. Martin-in-the-Fields

in London, which in turn drew its basic form and some detailing from Sir Christopher Wren's St. Mary-le-Bow, London. Noland's use of the balustrade between the base and belfry appears to come directly from St. Mary-le-Bow.⁶⁴

Noland & Baskervill became Richmond's most sought-after firm for elegant architectural settings in the new classical taste. A cluster of four neighbors on the 900 block of West Franklin hired them for residential projects. Frederic W. Scott and E. T. D. Myers Jr. commissioned new houses on adjacent lots. Next door, Ashton Starke and S. Dabney Crenshaw hired the firm to update their 1880s townhouses with elegant classical interiors.

One of the commissions which best represents Noland's work is the Beaux-Arts-style residence he designed for Frederic and Elisabeth Scott at 909 West Franklin.⁶⁵ Designed and built between 1906 and 1910, the exterior of the Scott house takes its theme from Marble House in Newport, Rhode Island. Marble House had been designed by the École-trained New York architect Richard Morris Hunt for Alva and William K. Vanderbilt and completed in 1892. Marble House, in turn, drew its inspiration from the Petit Trianon at Versailles. In keeping with the hearty aesthetic appetite of the times (and perhaps his client), Noland embellished the



Clockwise: Second Baptist Church (1904-1906); St. James Episcopal Church (1911-1913); Temple Beth Ahabah (1903-1904); Noland and Baskervill, architects. Photos by author.



L to R: Exterior of the Frederic and Elisabeth Scott house (1906-1910); Scott house carriage house (1902). Photos by author.

limestone exterior of the house with sumptuous displays of French neoclassical ornament. Instead of articulating the front bays of the house with Corinthian pilasters as at Marble House, Noland treated the two bays on either side of the portico as vertical units of stacked decorative elements. With its classical columns and cornices, the Scott house stood in sharp contrast to the towers and turrets of the Richardsonian Romanesque houses around it.⁶⁶

The interior followed a traditional central hall plan, but with a centrally positioned Imperial stair opposite the entrance. The wide central hall continued the French neoclassical styling of the exterior and opened onto two formal rooms on each side. Following the fashion set by the most opulent dwellings of the time in New York and Newport, the formal rooms were designed as a period room museum, showcasing the great styles of Western architecture. The

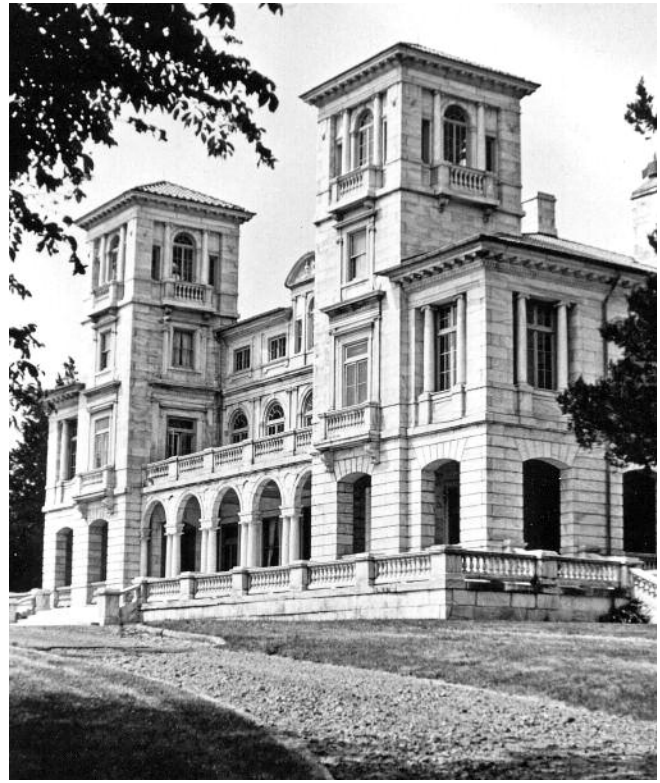
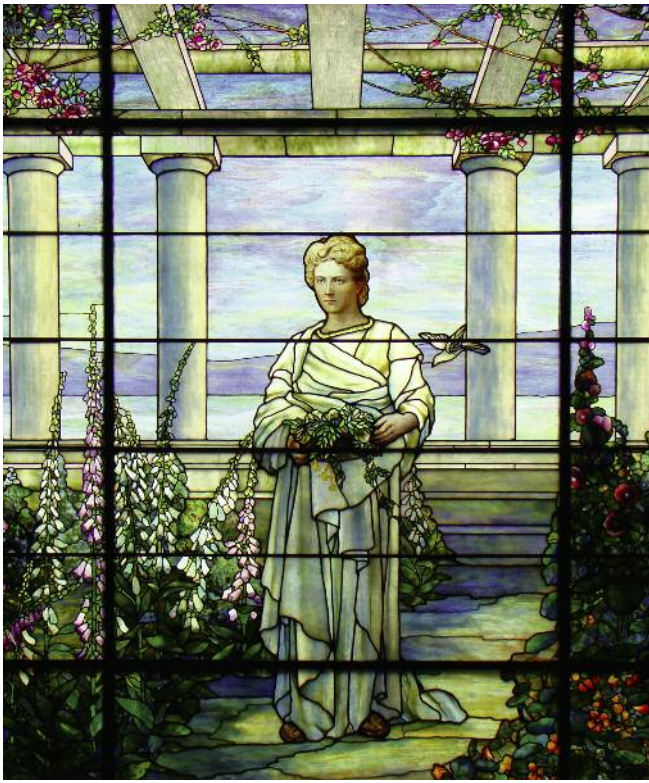
drawing room was Louis XVI. The den was Italian Renaissance. The library was Tudor, and the dining room Adam. Moreover, Frederic Scott had suites of furniture made to match the styles of the rooms. The Scott house is one instance where Baskervill is known to have worked with a client on the details of their house; Baskervill and Scott were friends.⁶⁷ It is not known if Baskervill did the same with other clients. Predating the main house, the 1902 carriage house drew from the rural vernacular tradition of late medieval French farmhouses and was one of the first examples of the Norman Revival in Richmond, if not the first.

Even grander than the Scott house were the country estates Noland designed for both Frederic Scott and Richmond millionaire Major James H. Dooley on Afton Mountain in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. The estate Noland designed for the Scotts was Royal Orchard (1911-1917) in Albemarle County. Built of rock-faced stone, Royal Orchard was in a rustic medieval style, complete with battlements. According to the Scott family, Baskervill stayed there the summer it was under construction, sending progress reports to Europe where the Scotts were vacationing.⁶⁸

Dooley's estate, Swannanoa (1911-1913), featured the grandest residence the firm ever designed—a palatial Beaux-Arts-style villa clad in white Georgia marble. Swannanoa has been acknowledged as one of the few Virginia houses that rivaled the Gilded-Age “cottages” of Newport or the vast country places of Long Island.⁶⁹ Architecturally, Noland combined influences from the Villa Medici in Rome and Richmond's Jefferson Hotel. Set upon a rusticated base, the façade is marked by a pair of Italianate towers which flank an arcaded center section. The interior features a central hall as at the Scott house, but at a larger scale and with walls of polished polychrome marble. Both houses feature a grand Imperial staircase opposite the entrance, and both were designed to have a luminous stained glass window at the stair landing. The



Interior Central Hall of the Scott house. Photo by author.



L to R: Detail of the stained glass window by Tiffany Studios at the interior stair landing of Swannanoa, the Dooley estate in Nelson County, Virginia. Exterior of Swannanoa. Noland and Baskerville, architects. Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

landing at Swannanoa features a large window by Tiffany; the corresponding window intended for the Scott house was never built. Also like the Scott house, the formal rooms at Swannanoa were designed in different period styles—a French parlor, a Renaissance dining room, and a Moorish smoking room. Prior to designing Swannanoa, Dooley had also hired Noland & Baskerville to design a terraced formal garden and picturesque outbuildings at his Richmond estate, Maymont.

Finally, Noland’s Jefferson Davis monument on Richmond’s Monument Avenue is one of the city’s most well-known memorials. The structure recalls the tradition of Roman victory columns, such as Trajan’s Column, and bears a close resemblance to Carrère and Hastings’ 1890 competition entry for the Battle Monument at West Point, which also featured a single monumental column topped by statuary in front of a colonnaded exedra.⁷⁰

One reason Noland and Baskerville may have obtained so many large commissions so quickly—other than their involvement in the Capitol renovation—was because of their social backgrounds and connections. They were both from old Virginia families and belonged to many of the same social clubs and churches as their clients. Noland led an active social life and was well aware of the importance of social networking in securing patronage. Noland, Baskerville, and many of their clients, were members of the Commonwealth Club, Richmond’s most prestigious men’s club.⁷¹ Noland and some of his clients were also members of the Country Club of Virginia, founded in 1910. Additionally, Noland and Scott attended St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, discussed previously. Baskerville was a close friend of Major Dooley as well as Frederic Scott.⁷²

Another factor that made possible the firm’s success was the fact that Richmond was experiencing a wave of prosperity during the first decade of the twentieth century. The depression of the 1890s gave way to a surge in new construction after 1900 as Richmond began to transform itself into a modern metropolis modeled after New York City. The city’s first steel-framed skyscrapers began to rise along Main Street at the same time as the first high-rise apartments were going up along West Franklin Street near Monroe Park. In 1902, Noland & Baskerville served as the consulting architectural firm for one of these—the Chesterfield Apartments, Richmond’s first high-rise apartment tower, at 900 West Franklin. Noland and Baskerville were part of a great Edwardian building boom, in which classical-style buildings were being built all over the city.⁷³

A third factor that worked in Noland’s and Baskerville’s favor was the lack of any serious competition—at least locally.⁷⁴ Noland and Baskerville founded their firm at just the right moment—as architectural tastes were changing nationwide but before any other academically trained architects had opened offices in the city. Noland & Baskerville appears to have been the only local Richmond firm producing sophisticated landmark buildings in the grand classical tradition during the first decade of the twentieth century.

The highpoint of Noland’s and Baskerville’s partnership was in 1907 when they had approximately twenty-four projects. In addition to the principal partners, the firm included draftsmen and a secretary.⁷⁵ Younger architects, like Marcellus Wright and Aubrey Chesterman, gained experience in the profession by working as draftsmen with Noland and Baskerville early in their careers.⁷⁶ In 1911, the firm moved into

a new office high-rise on Main Street—the Travelers Building, completed in 1910. Noland and Baskervill stayed at this address for the remainder of the life of the firm. Most of their projects were in Richmond, but they also worked extensively around the state. After 1910, Noland began to explore new trends such as the Mediterranean Revival.⁷⁷

In 1914, at the age of forty-nine, Noland married Miss Mary Blecker Miller of Glen Ridge, New Jersey. In July 1917, he withdrew from the partnership with Baskervill due to health reasons. It was during this period that Noland acquired an asthmatic condition that curtailed his professional activities during the remainder of his life.⁷⁸ After his initial bout with illness, Noland recovered enough to open an independent practice in the Old Dominion Trust Building in downtown Richmond in 1920.⁷⁹

Since Baskervill, who was primarily an engineer, needed a designer, he formed a partnership with architect Alfred Garey Lambert, forming the firm of Baskervill & Lambert.⁸⁰ The firm designed many notable structures in Richmond, later becoming Baskervill & Son. Baskervill subsequently became known as an architect rather than an engineer. Now known simply as “Baskervill,” the firm is still one of Richmond’s leading architectural design agencies.

William Noland and the Architectural Profession in Virginia

Noland not only helped to usher in a new era in Richmond’s architecture but was instrumental in elevating architecture in Virginia from a trade to an organized profession. In fact, he

Noland was a leading force behind the founding of the Virginia chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1914 and became its first Secretary and Treasurer.⁸³ According to Noland’s daughter, Cynthia Young, Noland

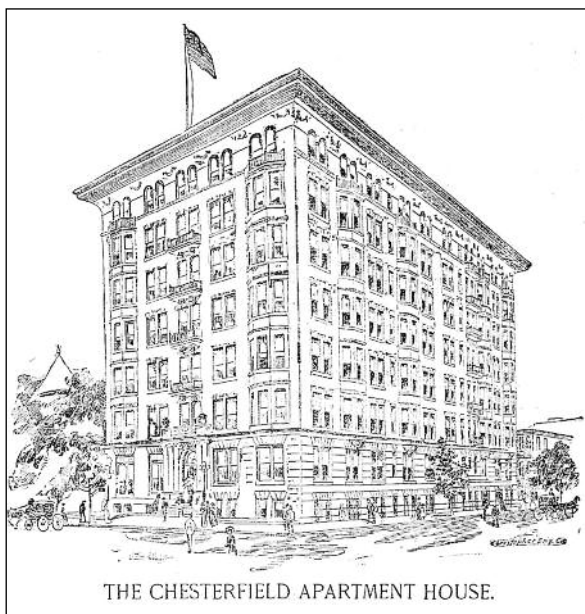
had a vision of National prestige for Virginia for he went to England to acquaint himself with the structure of Britain’s Royal Architects Society. Then he worked to establish a Virginia AIA.⁸⁴

Indeed, in 1906, Noland traveled to London to attend the Seventh International Congress of Architects, held at the headquarters of the Royal Institute of British Architects.⁸⁵ Noland wrote the original by-laws for the Virginia AIA and organized the first meeting, held at the Jefferson Hotel on September 17, 1914. The four other architects present at the first meeting were Frank C. Baldwin and Philip N. Stern of Fredericksburg, and Benjamin F. Mitchell and Clarence A. Neff of Norfolk.⁸⁶ These five were the only members of the AIA in Virginia at that time.⁸⁷ Noland became president of the Virginia chapter of the AIA in 1917.⁸⁸

Noland was also instrumental in establishing licensing standards for Virginia architects and was awarded the first license when state registration of architects was established in 1920. Before this time, anyone in Virginia could call himself an architect, just like today anyone can call himself a designer. Finally, Noland was the first Virginian given the honorary distinction of “Fellow” by the AIA in 1923.⁸⁹ Noland continued to practice until 1940 at the age of seventy-five. He died on August 18, 1951 at the age of eighty-six.⁹⁰

It has been said that Noland’s work “equaled that of architects who designed for Newport, Rhode Island or Fifth Avenue in New York City.”⁹¹ Few Richmond architects have left behind such an enduring legacy as William Noland—both in the buildings he designed and in the institutions he established. Noland helped to bring a new sophistication to Richmond’s architecture. He was a principal driving force behind the creation of architects’ associations at both the local and regional levels and the codification of professional licensing standards for architects in state law. Today, the Virginia Chapter of the AIA still celebrates his achievements with its highest honor, the William C. Noland award. By drawing from the architectural traditions of the Old World and embellishing Richmond with classical landmark buildings, Noland not

only embodied the ideals of the American Renaissance but helped to restore the image and dignity of his native state and its capital.



THE CHESTERFIELD APARTMENT HOUSE.

**PALATIAL FLATS
ON WEST FRANKLIN**

The erection of the Chesterfield apartment house marks the beginning of a new era in house building in Richmond. The people of this city have been accustomed to each head of a family having a separate establishment, suffering all sorts of inconveniences and annoyances which would be avoided under the system of flats such as the Northern people have long ago found to be the best solution of life as a tenant. This is the first modern apartment house to be built here. It will have every convenience that the Northern institution has. Besides that it will be one of the handsomest structures to be found in the State.

The Chesterfield will have twelve flats arranged for use of families. The remainder of the floor space, with the exception of the street floor and basement, will be divided into suites for the accommodation of bachelors. The office and cafe will be located on the first floor. In the basement will be a cold storage room, various storage rooms for use of tenants, doctors' offices, servants' rooms, etc.

The material will be brick, with terracotta trimmings.

The Chesterfield Apartment House, Noland and Baskervill, architects. *The Richmond Times*, 1902.

dedicated the latter half of his career to the advancement of the architectural profession in Virginia. Noland never forgot the ideals of the T-Square Club and the importance of bringing architects together into a community. He became a member of the American Institute of Architects in 1901.⁸¹ In 1911, he founded the Richmond Architects’ Association and was elected its first president.⁸²

Notes

1. This article is a development of my 1996 University of Virginia M.A. thesis, "William Noland and Residential Design on Richmond's Franklin Street." I would like to thank Dr. Richard Guy Wilson, Dr. Charles E. Brownell, Robert P. Winthrop, Dale Wheary, and Ray Bonis. Robert Winthrop's 2013 online article on William Noland is the most thorough previously published treatment of Noland to date. Robert Winthrop, "Architects of Richmond: William Churchill Noland," architecturerichmond.com/2013/04/08/architects-of-richmond-william-churchill-noland/ (accessed February 14, 2017). See also John E. Wells and Robert E. Dalton, *The Virginia Architects, 1835-1955: A Biographical Dictionary* (Richmond: New South Architectural Press, 1997); Edwin Slipek, Jr., "The Making of a Profession," *Inform* 5, no. 3 (1994): 20-27; Richard Guy Wilson, "Swannanoa," in *The Making of Virginia Architecture*, Charles E. Brownell, Calder Loth, William M.S. Rasmussen, and Richard Guy Wilson (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 342; L. Moody Simms, Jr., "William Churchill Noland: Richmond Architect," *The Richmond Quarterly* 3 (Spring 1981): 43-44. Noland has also been the topic of two unpublished master's theses: Christopher Vincent Novelli, "William Noland and Residential Design on Richmond's Franklin Street" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1996); Elizabeth Drake Updike, "Henry Eugene Baskervill & William Churchill Noland: Richmond's Response to the American Renaissance" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1987). See also John Hebble, "St. James Episcopal Church: Putting William Noland into Perspective," symposium paper, VCU Symposium on Architectural History and the Decorative Arts, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond VA., November 2011 (Virginia Commonwealth University, Cabell Library Special Collections).
2. Douglas Southall Freeman, "Henry Baskervill's Great Service," *Richmond News Leader*, December 2, 1946.
3. Some local turn-of-the-century publications such as *Picturesque Richmond* confronted this issue on the first page: "An impression prevails among many persons who reside north of Mason and Dixon's line that when the red flames of Evacuation-day laid Richmond almost entirely in ashes, that for all time she was to lie with bowed head...No mythological phoenix ever arose from its ashes in more regal splendor than this fair Capital...If you, reader, are among those who look upon Richmond as an overgrown village, we trust the accompanying 'views,' taken almost at random from various points in her streets, may cause you to come our way and see for yourself." J. L. Hill Printing Company, *Picturesque Richmond* (Richmond, Virginia: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1891), 1.
4. Richard Guy Wilson, "Part I: The Great Civilization," in *The American Renaissance 1876-1917* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 12-13, 45; Sarah Shields Driggs, Richard Guy Wilson, and Robert P. Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 26.
5. William Noland, "An Architectural Tour" (lecture for the Woman's Club, December 28, 1896, Richmond, VA), William Noland papers, Virginia Historical Society (hereafter cited as VHS), Richmond, VA. This is the only writing on architecture by Noland known to exist. He did not publish.
6. "W. C. Noland Rites Tuesday in Hanover," *Richmond News Leader*, August 20, 1951.
7. Noland was the youngest of ten children, five of whom died in infancy or childhood. Nancy Spreen (Noland's daughter) to Christopher Novelli, November 20, 1997. Noland grew up with three brothers and a sister.
8. In 1878, Noland's father died of "gout of the stomach" at the age of sixty-two. Reverend Charles Austin Joy, "Airwell," Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives, Richmond, VA.
9. "Episcopal High School of Virginia Commencement Exercises, Wednesday, June 21, 1882 at 2:45 P.M.," William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA. Noland only attended Episcopal High School for one year. He was a "first year" student when he graduated. Laura Vetter, archivist, Episcopal High School of Virginia, phone interview by author, April 15, 2014.
10. Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 66-67, 74; Wilson, *The American Renaissance 1876-1917*, 76; Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 90.
11. Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 53-81; Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 90; Slipek, "The Making of a Profession," 20.
12. Noland probably chose to work in Philadelphia because he had relatives there. Mary Young (Noland's granddaughter), phone interview by author, March 7, 1996.
13. Mother to William Noland, October 5, 1882, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA. For Theophilus Parsons Chandler, see Theodore A. Sande, "Theophilus Parsons Chandler, Jr., 1845-1928, the Discovery of an Architect from the 'Age of Excess'" (dissertation, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971); Sandra L. Tatman and Roger W. Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930* (Boston Massachusetts: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985), 139-143; J. Church and B. Laverty, Theophilus P. Chandler, Jr., *Portrait of an American Architect* (exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia: Academy of the Fine Arts, 1986), 166-168.
14. William Emlyn Stewardson, "Cope and Stewardson, The Architects of a Philadelphia Renaissance" (B.A. thesis, Princeton University, 1960), 15; Edward Potts Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania 1740-1940* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), 312.
15. Stewardson, "Cope and Stewardson," 14.
16. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, ed., *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press 1999), 5:478-479; Stewardson, "Cope and Stewardson," 15-16.
17. Stewardson, "Cope and Stewardson," 18.
18. William Noland to Mother, January 2, 1886, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
19. Adolf K. Placzek, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 1:450-451; Ralph Adams Cram, "The Work of Messrs. Cope & Stewardson," *The Architectural Record* 16, no. 5 (November 1904): 407-438; Tatman and Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects*, 165-170, 761-762.
20. Marie Ann Frank, "The T-Square Club of Philadelphia and the Debate Over a National Style: 1883-1904" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1991), 14-15; Cope was vice-president of the T-Square Club in 1883, secretary and treasurer in 1885, and president in 1894. Stewardson was president in 1885 and 1891. Frank, "The T-Square Club," 17-18.
21. William Noland to Mother, January 2, 1886, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
22. William Noland to Mother, January 9, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; William Noland to Mother, March 13, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA. Noland referred to Vignola's book as "On Architecture" in his January 9, 1887 letter noted above; however, the name of Vignola's book, originally in Italian, was *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, translated in English editions variously as *Rules of the Five Orders of Architecture* and *Canon of the Five Orders of Architecture*. Placzek, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, 4:312; Bernd Evers, Christof Thoenes, Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Architectural Theory from the Renaissance to the*

- Present: 89 Essays on 117 Treatises* (Koln: Taschen, 2003), 87-95. Noland said in his letter that he was studying from a French edition. This may have been an early edition by French architect Pierre Esquie, titled *Vignola: A Treatise on the Five Orders of Architecture; An Elementary Treatise on Architecture Comprising the Complete Study of the Five Orders (Traité élémentaire d'architecture, comprenant l'étude complète des cinq ordres)*. One might speculate that the reason Noland was studying from a French edition was because his employer, John Stewardson, had loaned him the book, which he had purchased while studying architecture in Paris.
23. William Noland to Mother, November 21, 1886, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 24. William Noland to Mother, February 13, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 25. William Noland to Mother, February 27, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 26. Theophilus Chandler to William Noland, February 20, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 27. Mother to William Noland, September 27, 1887, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 28. Envelope: Frank Noland to William Noland, November 27, 1888, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; Edward Kendall to William Noland, November 14, 1891, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 29. William Noland to Mother, June 29, 1890, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 30. Regarding Noland's decision to locate in Virginia, his daughter, Nancy Spreen wrote, "Mom once said that he made a conscious decision to return to Virginia even though he knew it would mean less money and more obscurity." Nancy Spreen to Christopher Novelli, March 10, 1996.
 31. Nelson Noland to William Noland, January 6, 1893, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; *Chataigne's Richmond City Directory*, 1893-1895.
 32. Merrill C. Lee, "William C. Noland Award Address" (address presented at a meeting of the Virginia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, Fredericksburg, VA, October 9, 1970), Cabell Library Special Collections, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA. While Noland was in France, he made friends and acquaintances with at least five English-speaking students at the École des Beaux-Arts: George, Rutter, Thomas, Semple, and Jones. George to William Noland, November 24, 1895, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 33. Noland's earliest known drawing in Europe was dated August, 1894. Noland started his tour in England. By November, he was in France. In 1895, Noland traveled to Italy. Drawings, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA. Noland's daughter, Cynthia Young, thought that Noland had traveled with a John Stewardson, Jr., but since John Stewardson died before he could marry in a tragic skating accident, it was more likely his younger brother, Emlyn Stewardson. Cynthia Young to Christopher Novelli, March 1, 1996.
 34. Forty of Noland's European drawings are located at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, Virginia. Most of them are renderings of medieval buildings, demonstrating that Noland had a knowledge and interest in medieval as well as classical styles.
 35. Someone to William Noland, July 12, 1895, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; Someone to William Noland, November 24, 1895, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; Caroline Sinkler to William Noland, January 28, 1896, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 36. His friends called him "Bill," sometimes "Willie," and even "Billy." Walter Cope to William Noland, January 16, 1891, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.; Nancy Spreen (Noland's daughter) to Christopher Novelli, March 10, 1996; D. Knickerbacker Boyd to H. Van Buren Magonigle, June 11, 1914, AIA Archive, Washington, D.C.
 37. William Noland, "An Architectural Tour." See endnote 5.
 38. "Episcopal High School of Virginia Commencement Exercises."
 39. Baskervill was born on March 10, 1867 in a Richmond townhouse on the 700 block of East Franklin Street—about a block and a half west of Capitol Square. His parents were Henry E.C. Baskervill and the former Eugenia Jackson Buffington. Like Noland, Baskervill was from an old Virginia family going back to the seventeenth century. "Henry E. Baskervill, 79 Dies; Funeral at 3 P.M. on Sunday," *Richmond News Leader*, November 30, 1946.
 40. The annual reports for the Office of the City Engineer, which listed the officers of the engineering department, only listed Baskervill as an assistant engineer in 1895 and 1896. However, he was obviously working there before then, as the signed 1894 floorplans of the Howitzer Armory attest. Perhaps the annual reports did not list junior staff but only "officers." For both years, he was listed as "temporarily employed." *Annual Message and Accompanying Documents of the Mayor of Richmond to the City Council for the Year Ending December 31, 1895* (Richmond: The Williams Printing Co., 1896), 5; *Annual Message and Accompanying Documents of the Mayor of Richmond to the City Council for the Year Ending December 31, 1896* (Richmond: O. E. Flanhart Printing Co., 1897), 5; Selden Richardson, "'Architect of the City': Wilfred Emory Cutshaw (1838-1907) and Municipal Architecture in Richmond" (M.A. thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1996), 52.
 41. Baskervill's daughter-in-law, Mrs. H. Coleman Baskerville, said that he had to check out a book on architecture to perform his duties. Mrs. Henry Coleman Baskerville, interview by Dale Wheary, April 1986. Maymont Mansion Oral History and Research Files, Richmond, VA; Robert P. Winthrop, *Architecture in Downtown Richmond* (Richmond, Virginia: Historic Richmond Foundation, 1982), 238; Elizabeth Drake Updike, "Henry Eugene Baskervill and William Churchill Noland: Richmond's Response to the American Renaissance" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1987), endnote 8.
 42. *The Cornell University Register, 1888-1889* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Press of Andrus & Church), 123-124. Cornell's curriculum for a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering was the same as for mechanical engineering for the first three years. Except for two freshman courses in free-hand drawing, the four-year curriculum for electrical engineering was strictly vocational. During his senior year, Baskervill worked with steam engines, electric motors, and telegraph machines.
 43. Howitzer Armory plans, City of Richmond Office of the City Engineer Architectural Plans and Drawings, Folder 4, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.
 44. Henry E. Baskervill, "Specifications for Fire-Proofing & Repairing the Davis Mansion for the Confederate Memorial Literary Society" (Richmond: The Times Print, March 20, 1895), White House of the Confederacy archives, Richmond, VA.
 45. *Annual Message and Accompanying Documents of the Mayor of Richmond to the City Council for the Year Ending December 31, 1896* (Richmond: O. E. Flanhart Printing Co., 1897), 5.
 46. Mary Harding Sadler, outline for slide lecture, "Maymont Explores a Richmond Architectural Firm of Excellence—Noland and Baskervill," February 10, 1993.

47. "New Subscribers Richmond Telephone Company," (new phone) *Richmond Dispatch*, November 14, 1897.
48. Driggs, Wilson, and Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue*, 177; Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 342; Winthrop, *Architecture in Downtown Richmond*, 241.
49. The division of labor was also reflected by the fact that Noland's obituaries credited him alone for the design of the firm's projects. The obituaries for Baskervill only briefly mention his partnership with Noland before focusing on his later work with Baskervill & Son. For Noland, see "W. C. Noland Rites Tuesday in Hanover," *Richmond News-Leader*, August 20, 1951; "W. C. Noland, 86, Richmond Architect, Dies," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 19, 1951. For Baskervill, see "H. E. Baskervill Dies Here; Rites Set at 3 P.M. Today," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 1, 1946; "Henry E. Baskervill, 79 Dies; Funeral at 3 P.M. on Sunday," *Richmond News-Leader*, November 30, 1946.
50. The other building that re-launched the classical tradition in Richmond was the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, designed and built between 1902 and 1906 by École trained New York architect Joseph Hubert McGuire.
51. Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 330; Fiske Kimball, *The Capitol of Virginia: A Landmark of American Architecture*, Rev. ed. (Richmond, Virginia: Library of Virginia, 2002), 39-41, 66-68.
52. Spreadsheet of the projects of Noland & Baskervill, compiled by Baskervill & Son, July 2013.
53. Noland designed three houses on Monument Avenue: the William Whitehurst house at 1832, the Samuel Bachrach house at 2003, and the Wirt Chesterman house at 2020.
54. Between 1903 and 1908, Noland and Baskervill added several buildings to the St. Andrew's Church complex in Richmond's Oregon Hill neighborhood. The existing church and adjacent school were High Victorian Gothic, and Noland followed their lead. Noland designed the Arents Free Library and the Visiting Nurses Association Building.
55. Noland's and Baskervill's twenty-one known projects on Franklin Street were: Temple Beth Ahabah at 1117 West Franklin (WF), St. James Episcopal Church at 1205 WF, Second Baptist Church at 9 WF, the Frederic W. Scott house at 909 WF, the E. T. D. Myers house at 913 WF, the Eppa Hunton, Jr. house at 810 WF, the Berkeley Apartments at 923 WF, the Chesterfield Apartments at 900 WF (as consulting architects), and the garage of the John Patteson Branch house at 1 WF. They undertook alterations and/or additions on the houses of Ashton Starke at 915 WF, S. Dabney Crenshaw at 919 WF, R. Lancaster Williams at 821 WF, Granville Valentine at 12 EF, S.H. Hawes at 422 EF, A. H. Christian at 204 WF, Frederic R. Scott at 712 WF, Mrs. Hugh Campbell at 1201 WF, Henry W. Anderson at 913 WF, and Samuel T. Morgan at 111 EF. They also made alterations to the Jefferson Hotel ballroom and the Commonwealth Club at 401-403 WF.
56. John Gibson Worsham, Jr., "Carrère and Hastings' Jefferson Hotel" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1996); Mark Alan Hewitt, Kate Lemos, William Morrison, Charles D. Warren, *Carrère and Hastings Architects* (New York: Acanthus Press, 2006), 1:79-83; Laurie Ossman and Heather Ewing, *Carrère and Hastings: The Masterworks* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2011), 74-83.
57. Wilson, *The Making of Virginia Architecture*, 118.
58. Updike, "Henry Eugene Baskervill and William Churchill Noland," 13.
59. These twelve other architects were D. Wiley Anderson, Edward H. Bissell (landscape), Marion J. Dimmock, Albert F. Hunt, Louis E. Marie, George W. Parsons, Benjamin W. Poindexter, Charles H. Read, Jr., Edgerton S. Rogers, Carl Ruehrmund, William C. West, and Peter J. White. It should be noted that Noland was not the first Richmond architect to partner with an engineer, nor the last. In the 1870s or 1880s, German-born architect Albert Lybrock, designer of Richmond's Mozart Academy of Music, partnered with an engineer by the name of Seibert. They were known as the firm of Lybrock & Seibert. *Richmond Dispatch*, Albert Lybrock obituary, January 12, 1886. Architect Claude K. Howell, who designed houses on Monument Avenue between 1906 and 1912 formed a partnership in 1909 with engineer Francis W. Scarborough that lasted until 1912. Driggs, Wilson, and Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue*, 175.
60. *The Times-Dispatch*, May 14, 1903.
61. Samuel Gruber, "Synagogues and Temples: Beth Ahabah and the Classical Tradition," *Generations, Journal of Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives Trust* 7, no. 1 (May 1995): 1-3; Samuel D. Gruber, *Synagogues* (Hong Kong: Midas Printing Limited, 1999), 106. See also Mary Harding Sadler, "Beth Ahabah: A Richmond Architect's View," *Generations, Journal of Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives Trust* 7, no. 1 (May 1995): 3-5.
62. Robert Winthrop worked with Harold Calisch at Glave Newman Anderson, Architects during the early 1970s, when Calisch was in his eighties. Calisch was working with the firm as a retired part-time spec writer. Robert Winthrop, phone interviews by author, May 29, July 10, August 29, 2014.
63. Architecturally, Noland's Second Baptist Church has much more in common with St. Paul's than with the Maison Carrée in Nîmes, France or the Madeleine in Paris—most notably a narthex with an indentation on each side to allow room for an extra column behind the front corner columns, thus giving the impression that the portico is two columns deep.
64. Hebble, "St. James Episcopal Church," 3-5; Vestry Book: St. James Church, VHS, Richmond, VA, 128.
65. Frederic Scott was a prominent financier and co-founder of the Richmond investment banking firm of Scott & Stringfellow. The presentation drawing for the house was dated 1906; the plan and elevation drawings were March 1907; and the building specifications were October 1908. The family moved in on December 10, 1910. Langhorne Gibson, Jr., *My Precious Husband: The Story of Elise and Fred Scott* (United States of America: Cadmus Fine Books, 1994), 107.
66. The design of the Scott house would have been even more revolutionary had pink Tennessee marble been used for the columns and exterior walls as originally called for in the 1908 building specifications. See Noland & Baskervill, "General Conditions and Specifications for Erection of a Residence on Franklin St. between Shafer and Harrison Sts., Richmond, Va., for Mr. Frederick [sic] W. Scott," Baskervill & Son collection, VHS, Richmond, VA.
67. According to Scott's grandson, Frederic (Freddie) Scott Bocock, Frederic W. Scott preferred to collaborate with Baskervill regarding the design details of his new house at 909 W. Franklin. Frederic S. Bocock, interview by Anne Hoffler, April 13, 2004. Anne A. Hoffler, "The Frederic W. Scott House (1907-1911): American Renaissance Architecture Comes to Richmond" (paper for ARTH 502, Cabell Library Special Collections, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA, 2004), 11. That Frederic Scott preferred to work with Baskervill regarding the design details of the house seems to have created a misconception that Baskervill and not Noland was the principal designer. Even though Baskervill had experience with drafting and a knowledge of construction, his educational and professional background was in engineering, not architectural design. A second reason for this belief may be that the successor firm of Noland & Baskervill, now known simply as Baskervill, has survived

- and has long been one of Richmond's leading architectural firms. For this reason, the name Baskervill is not only still remembered in Richmond but is well known. William Noland, on the other hand, has largely been forgotten. This amnesia regarding Noland has caused more than one writer to erroneously refer to the firm as Baskervill & Noland, and in one case, Baskervill & Nolan.
68. Hoffler, "The Frederic W. Scott House," 11.
 69. Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 342. According to Baskervill's daughter-in-law, during Swannanoa's construction Major Dooley sent him to Italy to select marble and to acquire garden ornaments and furnishings. Mrs. Henry Coleman Baskerville, interview by Dale Wheary, April 1986.
 70. Hebble, "St. James Episcopal Church," 1-2; Hewitt, et al, *Carrère and Hastings, Architects*, 1:236. Noland's design won third place in the 1896 design competition; however, the first place design proved too expensive, and Noland's design was chosen in the end. The monument was unveiled during the 1907 Confederate veterans reunion.
 71. Membership lists of the Commonwealth Club, Richmond City Directories, 1894-1898. The Commonwealth Club had been founded in 1892 and was located on Franklin Street two blocks west of the Jefferson Hotel. Some of Noland's clients held high offices within the Commonwealth and other clubs, such as president. Membership lists of the Commonwealth Club, Richmond City Directories, 1894-1898. Noland was also a member of the Richmond Art Club, of which Major Dooley was president for over a decade.
 72. Henry Baskervill was a pallbearer at Major Dooley's funeral on Saturday, November 18, 1922. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 18, 1922.
 73. "Building Boom for Richmond," *The Times-Dispatch*, January 1, 1906. Except for their five-story Virginia State Insurance Company building at Fifth and Main streets (1903), the firm never participated in the flurry of office tower building activity on Main Street. Most of those commissions went to New York firms like Clinton & Russell.
 74. Elizabeth Updike Jiranek, "Baskervill, Henry Eugene," in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, ed. Sara B. Bearss, John T. Kneebone, J. Jefferson Looney, Brent Tarter, and Sandra Gioia Treadway (Richmond, 2001), 1:379.
 75. Frances Laws was a secretary at Noland & Baskervill. Elizabeth Updike Jiranek, "Baskervill, Henry Eugene," in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, ed. Sara B. Bearss, et al., 1:380.
 76. Marcellus Wright worked for Noland and Baskervill before starting his own firm in 1912. Driggs, Wilson, and Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue*, 209. Aubrey Chesterman was a draftsman in the firm of Noland & Baskervill from 1899 until 1901, when he moved to Lynchburg and partnered with architect Edward Graham Frye. Bryan Clark Green, "Chesterman, Aubrey," in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, ed. Sara B. Bearss, et al., 3:197.
 77. Designed in 1913, the Mediterranean Revival-style Sands house at 4711 Pocahontas Avenue was among the first houses erected in Richmond's Westhampton neighborhood.
 78. Lee, "William C. Noland Award Address." Like many fashionable men of the time, Noland smoked cigars. William Noland to Mother, March 8, 1891, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 79. William Noland to E. C. Kemper, Executive Secretary, AIA, December 7, 1920.
 80. Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 354.
 81. Application for Associate Membership, American Institute of Architects, May 8, 1901, AIA Archive, Washington, D.C. In 1907, Noland served as a minority member on one of the AIA committees that revised the AIA's schedule of charges. "Report of the Committee on Revision of Schedule of Charges, AIA," *The American Architect and Building News* 92, no. 1668 (December 14, 1907): 196-198.
 82. Besides William Noland, the eleven founding members included Henry Baskervill, Marcellus Wright, Charles M. Robinson, W. Duncan Lee, Albert F. Hunt, W. Lee Carneal, William C. West, and J. A. Johnston. *The Times-Dispatch* (Richmond: October 4, 1911); "Architects Form An Association," *Concrete Age* 15 (October 1911): 26; Membership dues receipt for the Richmond Architects Association, October 11, 1912, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA.
 83. This followed two previous unsuccessful attempts by others to establish a Virginia chapter of the AIA in 1890 and in 1900. According to a brief article in the local paper, a group of five Richmond architects had met on the evening of January 23, 1890 with the purpose of establishing a chapter of the AIA. *Richmond Dispatch*, January 24, 1890. According to letters in the AIA Archives, the AIA tried to establish a Virginia chapter in 1900 but did not for lack of interest among Virginia architects themselves. Wilson, *Making of Virginia Architecture*, 128, endnote 11.
 84. Cynthia Young (Noland's daughter) to Christopher Novelli, March 1, 1996.
 85. Receipt for subscription to the Seventh International Congress of Architects, London, March 16, 1906, William Noland Papers, VHS, Richmond, VA; Lee, "William C. Noland Award Address."
 86. According to architect Merrill C. Lee, who met Noland for the first time in 1920, "Mr. Noland according to the institute records, initiated the calling of this [the first] meeting with previous weeks of letter writing. At the meeting Mr. Noland presented a set of by-laws which he had previously prepared and [had] accepted by the American Institute of Architects. They were adopted. Mr. Noland also presented a draft of the proposed charter." Lee, "William C. Noland Award Address."
 87. "The following were present, all being members of the American Institute of Architects and being the only members of the Institute in the State of Virginia at this time, viz..." Meeting Minutes 1914-1936, Virginia Chapter AIA, Branch Museum of Architecture and Design, Richmond, VA, 1.
 88. Meeting Minutes 1914-1936, Virginia Chapter AIA, Virginia Center for Architecture, Richmond, VA. Baskervill and his son, Henry Coleman Baskervill, joined the Virginia chapter of the AIA together on May 20, 1930. Meeting Minutes 1914-1936, Virginia Chapter AIA, Branch Museum of Architecture and Design, Richmond, VA.
 89. Mary Harding Sadler, "Ten Who Made A Difference," *Inform: Architecture, Design, the Arts* 5, no. 3 (1994): 22; AIA Membership file for William Noland, AIA Archives, Washington, D.C. Fellows were chosen by a jury for the first time in 1923, and there were no written nomination forms.
 90. Noland died at his home at 316 Oak Lane in Richmond and is buried in the cemetery of Old Fork Church in Hanover County. "W. C. Noland Rites Tuesday in Hanover," *Richmond News Leader*, August 20, 1951.
 91. Driggs, Wilson, and Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue*, 183.

Preservation Diary

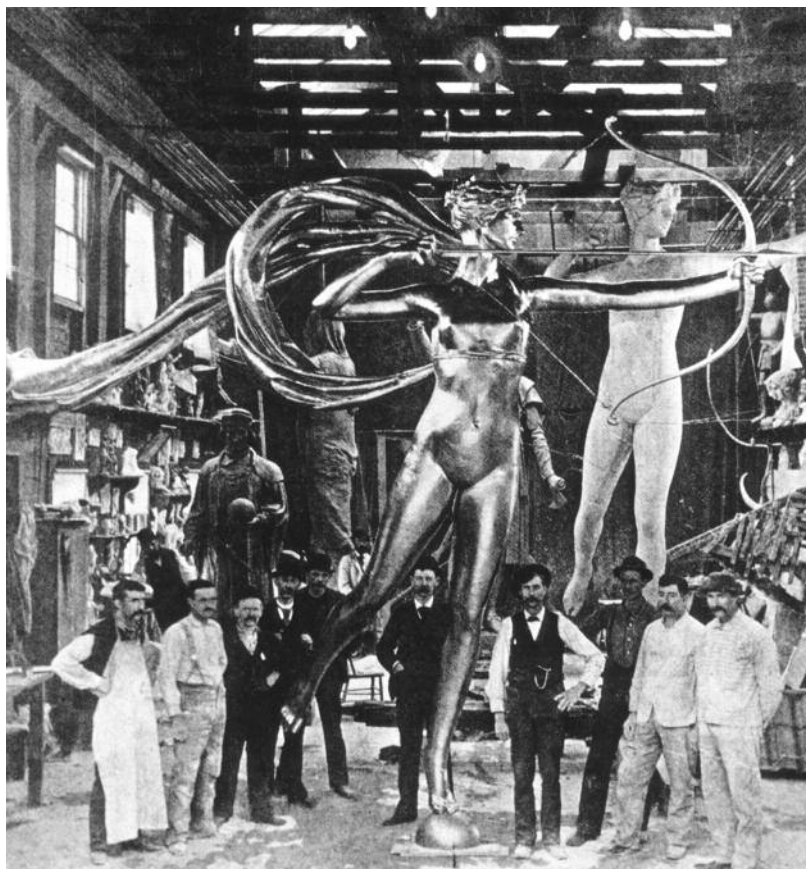
The Regilding of Saint-Gaudens' *Diana*

Cynthia Haveson Veloric

Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Diana* sits, or more literally stands, at the intersection of fine art and visual culture. Originally located on the tower of the second Madison Square Garden in New York (1890, demolished 1925), *Diana* was a glittering statue signaling the location of the mega-complex below.¹ Prominent architect Stanford White had been hired to design the Garden at East Twenty-Sixth Street and Madison Avenue, and coordinate its sculptural program. He hired his friend and eminent sculptor Saint-Gaudens to create a weathervane pinnacle that would compete in height with the newly constructed World Building. Both artistic masterpiece and an object of material culture, *Diana* was the embodiment of aesthetic, civic, and commercial ideals. Her popularity as an icon, a social magnet, a romantic vision, and a modern goddess has spanned the late nineteenth through the twenty-first centuries. However, one aspect of her appearance did not endure—her golden surface. Gilt in 1893, she weathered quickly, and for most of her life, including eighty one years at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Diana* had been known by her mottled green surface. In 2013 she received an aesthetic and structural overhaul, including a new skin of gold. The recent regilding offers an opportunity to evaluate changing aesthetic tastes, the museum's agenda on historicism, and public responses to the statue over the last one hundred and twenty years. This brief article focusses on *Diana's* regilding and subsequent viewer reaction.

Diana's original gold coat deteriorated quickly in the elements. By the first years of the twentieth century the gilding was no longer perceptible from the ground or in photos taken from high vantage points. The copper started to deteriorate as well. Considering the numerous newspaper articles, stories, and general buzz about *Diana* at the turn of the twentieth century, it is surprising that none of them mention the disappearing gold and there does not seem to have been a public or private campaign to regild her. However, several museums and private collectors bought smaller gilt bronze versions of the statue from Saint-Gaudens, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Diana's* gilding was almost completely gone by the time she was lowered in 1925 when Madison Square Garden was demolished. For seven years she languished in storage until she entered the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

There was great public fanfare about *Diana's* arrival in Philadelphia. Much would change for her—her site, her audience, and her ownership. She transitioned from an outdoor, 350 foot tower, to an indoor, much lower niche in a museum. On top of the Madison Square Garden tower *Diana* could be seen in the round. Placed against a curtained wall on the landing of the Great Stair Hall, she could only be seen from the front and sides. In this location she could no longer



Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Diana* at the Mullins Foundry, Salem, Ohio, 1893. Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire.

function as a beacon. We might concede that *Diana* lost her place as a public icon, but gained in aesthetic stature when beheld more closely in a broad niche. The thirteen foot statue, when placed at the top of a great flight of stairs, and framed by twin classical columns, still retained an aura of majesty. She commanded a privileged position and over time she became a beloved symbol of the museum.



L to R: Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Diana* atop Madison Square Garden, New York, c. 1900. *Diana* prior to restoration. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

There is no mention of regilding in the correspondence between the Philadelphia Museum of Art's director, curator, or the Fairmont Park Art Association who had defrayed costs of cleaning and transporting *Diana* to Philadelphia. Several factors may have precluded her regilding. She was transferred during the Great Depression and undoubtedly there was no money for such a project, nor would it have been considered ethically appropriate. In the 1930s there was a vogue for Americana and folk art which were visually opposite to the Gilded Age aesthetic. Most Philadelphians were not even cognizant that *Diana* had ever been gilded. She was appreciated as an antique weathervane with a mottled, timeworn appearance.

Diana lived in her natural copper skin for over eighty years. Restoration of the statue was on the museum's agenda a few decades ago but there were no funds for it. In 2013, when the possibility of a conservation grant came to the attention of the museum's senior conservator, he placed *Diana* at the top of his list. To some eyes, the sculpture had receded into its surroundings. Allied with the museum's goals to activate the collection, a project to gild *Diana* would enliven her and the Grand Staircase. By reviving her original appearance, she would become more alluring to visitors down below, something akin to the way she functioned atop Madison Square Garden.

The museum was awarded a grant from the Bank of America Art Conservation project, which "provides grants to nonprofit museums throughout the world to conserve

historically or culturally significant works of art that are in danger of degeneration, including works that have been designated as national treasures." The conservators' first task was to evaluate the physical condition of the statue. Using an interior scope, X-ray imaging and ultrasonic thickness testing, they determined where the mechanical instabilities were and where previous repair work had been performed. Tiny fragments of the original gold leaf were found and saved for reference. After removing corrosion, grime, primer, and old retouching, the conservators treated and repaired the surface to make it smooth. Next they used a yellow paint containing a corrosion inhibitor. This stage was a dramatic one as it completely changed *Diana's* appearance into something otherworldly. All of these steps led up to the most anticipated one—the application of gold leaf.

Given the debacles over the glaringly bright regilding of the *Sherman Memorial* in New York's Central Park in 1934 and 1990,² the task of regilding *Diana* required caution and expertise. I was part of the museum's curatorial team, who, along with the conservation team museum did extensive research to determine Saint-Gaudens' original goals for the finish. A further complication was that he used a variety of approaches on other gilded work, and the fact that *Diana* was now indoors. I found some answers in the correspondence between Saint-Gaudens and White in the Avery Library archives at Columbia University. We also collaborated with colleagues from the Gilders' Studio of Olney, Maryland who were concurrently restoring the *Sherman* (the third



L to R: Conservators applying layers of 23.4 carat gold leaf to *Diana*. X-ray imaging of *Diana*. Application of corrosion-inhibiting yellow paint during the restoration process. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

restoration). We shared research and tried to learn from their project, though the stresses of Central Park’s outdoor environment led to different pitfalls and solutions. In consultation, sample boards were painted, full size casts made and gilded, and then all were placed in situ to be evaluated. Once a decision was made, conservators painstakingly applied 180 square feet of 23.4 carat gold leaf using both patent leaf and loose-leaf methods to achieve the smoothest surface possible. From Saint-Gaudens’ writing, we learned he preferred a matte surface for gilt sculptures at eye level and used acids and paints for toning down the gold. The application of too much or too little toning can wash out details and textures, so toning was first tried in the shadowed areas only, and then tried over the entire surface. The consensus was that the overall toning was most satisfactory. The final toning solution was a spray application of gum Arabic and fumed silica. In order to achieve the desired balance of highlights and shadows over the sensitively modelled body, LED lights were strategically directed to these areas and washed over the freshly painted wall behind the statue. Our professional team is delighted with the results.

I was curious to find out if the gilding has given the statue a new meaning or reception. I began to evaluate the public’s reaction in newspaper articles, blogs, Facebook, and Instagram. Shortly after the re-gilding grant was announced in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on June 21, 2013, there were several posts about *Diana* on the internet.³ Most were factual or historical with a neutral or positive tone. Some even included period photos of *Diana* atop Madison Square Garden. One fine art conservation blog, however, disagreed with the intervention,

I question whether this is heavy handed. Goddess *Diana* has a history. Let her show off the testimonial conditions

and let her be what she is now, today. She will be stunning in gold I’m sure. But her historic wrinkles will be botoxed away.⁴

Philadelphia Museum of Art Instagram posts documenting the gilding process from June to November 2013 received all positive comments, and hundreds of “likes.” One comment indicated that younger, less traditional audiences were paying attention to the restoration process,

Great share y’all thanks...the preservation of these pieces is a dope art form in and of itself—appreciate the look.”⁵

Museum Facebook posts from June to November 2013 resulted in mostly positive feedback and nearly a thousand “likes.”⁶ Some noteworthy comments that show public excitement are:

Wonderful! Another great example of partnership between American business and the arts.

Can’t wait to see this—one of my favorite Philadelphia sites.

Wonderful work to protect *Diana*. I am so glad that you appreciate her beauty and adopted her. She will be marvelous again.

Interesting and thanks to Bank of America for making it happen.

Conversely, there were some Facebook followers who were not happy with the expenditure or the idea of restoration:

What a bad PR move for the museum! Gilt statues are from the robber-baron era. Take the money and bring art education back into the schools, giving some artists jobs

teaching children who would love to learn from them. Shame on the Museum.

Tell me it isn't true! I love her green and always will.

Hoping the bow and arrow is left unglit. Not sure what was original, but I too like her the way she's always been.

When the gilding and toning were completely finished in summer 2014 the museum posted before and after photos on Facebook. Whereas earlier reviews were mostly positive, the "after" commentary indicates that many preferred *Diana* with her weathered appearance.⁷ This reaction has been a component of all of the Saint-Gaudens' regildings, especially the *Sherman*. More recent Facebook posts about *Diana* show enthusiasm about her gilded beauty.⁸ The dialogue about regilding continues and is part of the difficulty in recovering a "period look" that is unfamiliar to current eyes. Thus the cycle of taste, aesthetics, and audience perception winds on.

In my view the public greatly benefits from the restoration. The gilding stimulates their visual senses; many people have never experienced a blast of 24 carat gold leaf on such a large scale at such close range. They are enticed to learn about *Diana's* history. The restoration, which can now be seen on the museum's website, is an educational tool elucidating the scientific process of restoring metals and using gold leaf.

Diana's privileged position at the top of the Great Stair landing, where she is seen by nearly every visitor, symbolically emulates her perch on the top of Madison Square Garden and has enabled her to become an icon of the museum. In a way, *Diana's* regilding brings another kind of symbolism full circle—that of the infusion of corporate money into the cultural sphere, and of an improved economy that allows for such partnerships. *Diana's* renewal points the way to an invigorated museum community.



Notes

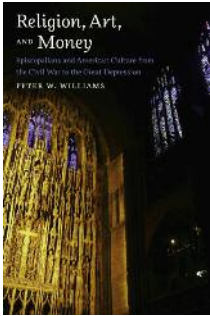
1. Elizabeth Lee, "The Electrified Goddess," *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 12-22.
2. The *Sherman Memorial*, located in Manhattan's Grand Army Plaza, was the crowning creation of Augustus Saint-Gaudens' career. It was dedicated on Memorial Day 1903. The base was designed by Stanford White. The sculptor had the memorial double gilded at his own expense partly to avoid the bronze surface deteriorating and darkening. The first regilding in 1934 did not meet with the approval of Stanford White's son, who complained to the NYC Art Commission that the work did not reflect Saint-Gaudens' original intention for a toned patina. The controversy over the gilding appeared that year in the *New York Times*. The 1990 conservation and gilding treatment received similar criticism in published letters to the *New York Times* and the Art Commission. See Mark Rabinowitz, "Gilding the Sherman Memorial," a paper presented at *Gilding at the Smithsonian*, Washington, DC, September 23, 2006. www.conservationolutionsinc.com/articles/view/5/gilding-the-sherman-memorial. In 2013 the Sherman underwent an art-historical appropriate, state-of-the-art regilding by the Gilders's Studio of Olney, Maryland, only to suffer cracking of the gold leaf a few months later. It was regilded in the fall of 2014.



Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Diana*, restored. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

3. See David W. Dunlap, "A Gilded Monument Is Mysteriously Shedding Its Brand-New Gold," *New York Times*, June 18, 2014. www.nytimes.com/2014/06/19/nyregion/william-tecumseh-sherman-monument-mysteriously-sheds-its-brand-new-gold.html
4. All Facebook and Instagram posts were collected and printed by the author in early 2014 and are available upon inquiry to the author.
5. *Fine Art Conservation* blog, June 25, 2013.
6. "Great share y'all..." Instagram, November 6, 2013, [instagram.com/philamuseum](https://www.instagram.com/philamuseum).
7. Philadelphia Museum of Art Facebook posts about *Diana* occurred on the following dates in 2013: June 20; July 20; September 26; October 5, 11, 15, 24; November 6.
8. The statue was scaffolded from January to June 2014 during the regilding. After the reveal, the posts continued on July 20, 26, 28, 30; August 4 and 21, 2014. Individual posts and comments can be accessed online at www.facebook.com/philamuseum/photos_or_posts then searching the term "Diana"
9. The author searched "Philadelphia Museum of Art Goddess Diana" on Facebook on February 6, 2017. www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=philadelphia%20museum%20of%20art%20goddess%20diana

The Bibliophile



Religion, Art, and Money: Episcopalians and American Culture

Peter W. Williams. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

In American culture of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, religion played a central role. The visitor to any city, town, or village in the United States will find that the most prominent structures, indeed the landmarks, will be churches of many denominations and many styles. Although today attendance at many of these churches is in decline, making the survival of these buildings a major preservation issue, their architectural grandeur still speaks to their historical importance.

Quite clear to any of us who examine the built landscape is that there was competition between the different Christian denominations: Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Christian Science, Catholic, Congregational, and others. Not only did denominations compete against each other, but rivalry occurred within a denomination. Within Roman Catholicism, an Italian parish might compete with an Irish parish. Some churches were for the elite while the middle- and working-classes would find other parishes more comfortable. On the exterior, the churches made their statements with size, style, towers and materials, and in the interior with stained glass, murals, tile-work, and pews.

“Taste is not only a part and an index of morality; it is the ONLY morality...Tell me what you like, and I’ll tell you what you are.” Williams includes this 1864 quote from John Ruskin, one of the most widely-read English writers of the nineteenth century, to underline the writer’s impact on not only the design of architecture and the decorative arts but his impact on taste. Ruskin stated, in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), that all noble architecture “is in some sort the embodiment of the Polity, Life, History, and Religious Faith of nations,” and he equated noble, nationalist architecture with the Gothic style. His opinion had great influence on American architecture, especially church design.

Although there are many, many books on religion in America and a number of studies of churches as a building type, Peter Williams’ book, *Religion, Art, and Money* is something different. It is a close study of a particular denomination—the Episcopal church in the United States—and a finite time period—the 1860s to 1930. The book examines not only the forms of Episcopalian church architecture and decoration but the forces behind these forms: the era’s and the nation’s social and cultural values.

As the title of the book indicates, Williams is not shy about illuminating the ties between art and money and religion, especially among the Episcopalians. The origins of American Episcopalianism lie in the Anglican

church, the very institution that the Puritans fled England to avoid. The Protestant New England colonists proclaimed a gospel of simplicity, and eschewed anything that smacked of Roman Catholicism. But by the mid-nineteenth century the Episcopalians were wealthy and powerful and willing to show it. This book charts the rise of Episcopal bishops and the construction of grand houses of worship—some were even some called “cathedrals.” There were different brands of Episcopalianism such as the “low” or the “broad;” the evangelical; and the “high” or Anglo-Catholic (the latter known as “smells and bells” for its theatrical services). If, in the nineteenth-century, you wanted to climb the social and economic ladder you probably considered becoming an Episcopalian, or, if you already were one, you might move to a more prestigious parish. Other Protestant sects, such as Presbyterianism, also connoted wealth and status. If you were Catholic or Jewish, however, you probably were not welcome in these houses of worship. Williams makes it clear that it is no coincidence that in our country, where church and state are supposedly separate, the Washington National Cathedral is an Episcopalian edifice (the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, chartered by Congress in 1893).

Williams’ book is not a survey of Episcopal church design but a selective treatment of some of the important architects and buildings. He begins with one of the most admired and influential structures, Trinity Church on Copley Square in Boston by H. H. Richardson. Central to the story of this church was the major role played by its rector, the Reverend Phillip Brooks, who was born Unitarian, but converted and became a major promoter of “broad” Episcopalianism. One might argue that Episcopal church architecture had earlier “fancy” models such as Richard Upjohn’s Trinity Church on Wall Street (1841-46), and James Renwick’s Grace Church on Broadway (1843-46), both in New York City. Williams mentions them but stays with his post-Civil War storyline; Boston’s Trinity Church and Brooks set the model. This is followed by a chapter on Ralph Adams Cram and his partner Bertram Goodhue highlighting their work at All Saint’s Ashmont in the Dorchester section of Boston, St. Thomas on Fifth Avenue and St. Bartholomew on Park Avenue, both in New York City. Cram dominated Episcopal architecture and indeed American church design through his book *Church Building*, originally published in 1894 followed by many editions. Also treated is the development of cathedrals including the Washington National Cathedral, St. John the Divine

(also known as “St. John the Unfinished”) in New York, and Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. Of tremendous help to those of us that teach is Williams’ “typology” of the American cathedral.

Williams digs into the impact of the “Social Gospel” movement, a now little-known activist episode that gripped many American denominations in the period after the Civil War. The Social Gospel attempted to improve the life of Americans both morally and materially by focusing on social problems, especially poverty, alcoholism, crime, poor housing, racial inequality and a host of other issues. The Reverend William Rainsford at St. George’s in New York City helped the immigrant poor, and George Hodges at Calvary Church in Pittsburgh established settlement houses. They exemplified what was called “muscular Christianity,” and their congregants, such as J. P. Morgan (who served on the vestry at St. George’s) shone by association. A forgotten figure in settlement house work is Ellen Starr Gates, a devoted Episcopalian who, with Jane Addams, co-founded Hull House in Chicago in 1889. All of these individuals and many more were “Progressives,” and made a major impact. Williams also discusses the founding of many schools. Some were for the downtrodden, but he focuses on the elite prep schools and their great architecture. The works of Henry Vaughn, an English émigré architect who was one of the initial co-designers of the Washington National Cathedral, are described, including the grand chapel at St. Paul’s in Concord, New Hampshire, and the imposing chapel at Groton School for headmaster Endicott Peabody.

The chapter “The Gospel of Wealth and the Gospel of Art” describes the tremendous impact of wealthy Episcopalian families such the Morgans, Fricks, Vanderbilts and Astors.

These dynasties helped change the United States from a culturally and artistically improvised nation (or so they thought) into a world power with major collections and museums. Williams treats a number of major collectors but perhaps the most intriguing are Isabella Stewart Gardner, George Booth, and W. A. R. Goodwin. Fenway Court, Gardner’s castle-collection in Boston, is very well known but less understood is her role as a devoted Episcopalian and head of the Alter Guild at Church of the Advent; she helped create an Episcopal monastic order, the Cowley Fathers. George Booth, a Detroit newspaper owner, built a huge Arts & Crafts-style house in the hills known as Cranbrook, and founded the art school there that originally was to be religiously-oriented; it featured an Episcopal church commissioned from Bertram Goodhue. The Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, rector at Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, Virginia, helped restore that building. In the 1920s, even after he had moved on, he convinced John D. Rockefeller Jr. and his wife Abby Aldrich to fund the enterprise that became known as Colonial Williamsburg. The Rockefellers, it should be noted, were originally Baptist, but much of their religious philanthropy was conducted through the Presbyterian church.

Peter Williams has produced a fascinating book, built on decades of research. It makes the church-goer or church-visitor realize that behind the stained glass, the tile on the floor and the elaborately carved pulpit that there are many stories of designers, architects and many lay, clergy and institutional patrons.

Reviewed by Richard Guy Wilson



Victoria, The Queen: An Intimate Biography of the Woman Who Ruled an Empire

Julia Baird. New York: Random House, 2016.

With pleasure I write this review of new scholarship on a familiar topic: Queen Victoria. This excellent biography is the result of diligent research in primary documents by Julia Baird, an Australian journalist. Ms. Baird braved daunting secrecy at the royal archives at Windsor Castle, where material more than a century old was fiercely guarded. This book reveals a picture of Victoria’s relationships with her family and the companions of her widowhood, her character as mother and queen, and her struggle to balance work and family while political forces demanded her leadership. At age 18 she was called to rule a quarter of the world, and she did so for over sixty years, during an era of discovery and change.

The year of her death, her grandson Kaiser Wilhelm II and her youngest daughter and executrix, Princess Beatrice, tasked Arthur Benson and Lord Esher with “editing” Victoria’s extensive correspondence with the exception of the voluminous archive Beatrice sent up in smoke. (For this crime scholars have never forgiven her.) This team sanitized

Victoria, giving us a picture of a feminine lady who could barely speak without stumbling, a wife who deferred all decisions to her husband, and who grieved his death forever—all untrue according to Baird. As Prime Minister Gladstone said, “The Queen alone is enough to kill any man.”

But her strength was not apparent at the beginning of her reign. Of Victoria’s six uncles, three were in the line of royal succession and would have claimed the throne if they could. A particular worry was her uncle Ernest Augustus, next in line, who coveted the throne and inspired deep apprehension. Baird writes that he was “...the subject of great fear and gossip due to his scarred face and reams of unproven rumors that he had bedded his sister, sexually harassed nuns, and murdered a valet.” Victoria’s widowed mother provided close protection by sleeping in the young queen’s room for a period.

With the help of the first of her nine Prime Ministers, Lord Melbourne, the young queen emerged from a sheltered childhood and learned to govern.

After four years she succumbed to forces wishing her to marry which coincided with the unexpected event of falling in love with her cousin Albert from Coburg. Albert shared half her life and reigned in effect while she bore nine children. During that time, they worked together companionably at the same desk though they were not above shouting at each other in domestic and regal disputes. Albert's contribution is honored here with affection.

Their children were born almost annually. Baird describes the queen entertaining them in the nursery, playing games with them, and simply enjoying them. For me this paints a pretty picture, not only of the palace nursery, but of England, which has produced so many endearing images of childhood, especially in Victoria's era.

Many of the children grew up to occupy thrones throughout Europe. Her firstborn and namesake married Frederick of Prussia. Their first child, Wilhelm, suffered a withered, useless arm as a result of a breach birth. Baird believes that he concealed and compensated for this birth defect, and hated his mother forever because of it. As Kaiser, he made war on his grandmother's country.

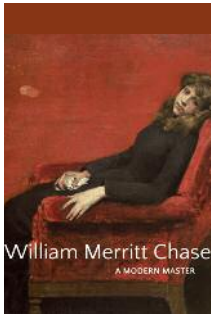
"Bertie," her first son had been a disappointment to her, and Victoria intended that he not be given any responsibilities. Nevertheless, upon her death he ascended the throne as Edward VII. His own son, George V, began a direct line through Edward VIII and George VI to Elizabeth II.

Ms. Baird restores to the record the Queen's relationships with the two men whom she spent time with during her 40 years of widowhood. Albert's equerry, John Brown, was a tall, strong man capable of hoisting Victoria's increasing weight upon her horse and then riding out with her through the countryside. Her children called him "the Queen's stallion." Baird also details Victoria's relationship with her Indian secretary or *munshi*, Abdul Karim, who made curries for her.

There is space in these 500 pages to detail everyone marching across this stage—enough to delight any reader with this compelling portrait of the figurehead of our organization.

Reviewed by Jo Anne Warren

New and Noteworthy



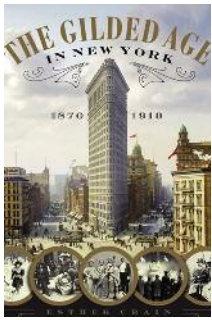
William Merritt Chase: A Modern Master

Elsa Smithgall, Erica E. Hirschler, Katherine M. Bourguignon, Giovanna Ginex, and John Davis.
Washington, New Haven and London: The Phillips Collection and Yale University Press, 2016.

As might be expected from a catalog of a major retrospective exhibition, this book provides a good overview of the work and career of William Merritt Chase; less expected, it offers much more. The overview is accomplished through capsule summaries of different phases of the painter's career, a detailed chronology, and 88 spectacular full-page color plates. The five essays contained in the book go beyond this survey, giving us glimpses into new scholarship on the painter and placing him squarely in an international context. Smithgall presents Chase as a crusader in the United States by adopting the modern (especially French) attitude that put much emphasis on aesthetics and very little on subject matter. One painting entitled *Just Onions* shows that in Chase's hand, a group of onions and pottery is enough to make a daring picture. Hirschler demonstrates that Chase built something new upon the armature of the old masters, using their compositions, coloration and brushwork to paint the new woman. Chase's "performative" teaching is

Bourguignon's topic, citing eye-witness accounts of students and patrons; Guy Pène du Bois likened Chase to a fencer as he "attacked the large canvas furiously." Davis demonstrates that early in his career Chase established an international reputation and a life-long following by exhibiting stylistically diverse works in major avant-garde exhibitions in Munich, Paris and Brussels. Fresh from studies in Munich, Chase spent a formative year in Venice and returned to it thirty-five years later as a teacher. Ginex's essay demonstrates that the artist remained connected to the city his entire life, by buying the work of contemporary and old master Venetian artists and adopting their subject matter and artistic devices in his own work. This catalog demonstrates that it took the experiences of European people, places and art to make Chase the consummate cosmopolitan American artist he became.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski



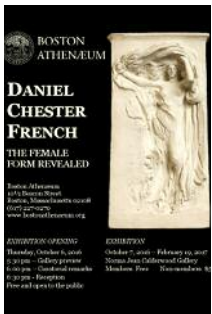
The Gilded Age in New York, 1870-1910

Esther Crain. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2016.

This large-format compilation of images from Gilded Age New York straddles the terrain between picture book and history book, but does so precariously. The author publishes a wonderful blog, “Ephemeral New York” that posts and captions photographs, illustrations and the occasional ad drawn from newspapers, archival sources, and twenty-first century media such as Google Street View. She evokes the ever-changing city with this shorthand form of documentation. But not everything that works so well in the blog transfers to a book. *The Gilded Age in New York, 1870-1910* organizes its hundreds of images and captions into nine chapters, on such topics as “A City of Newcomers” and “The City at Play and at Rest.” Each chapter includes text organized as a rough chronological narrative interspersed with shorter vignettes on specific incidents. The images are marvelous, ranging from woodcuts published in the burgeoning illustrated press, to colored lithograph advertisements to all kinds of professional photographs. The captions always describe the subject depicted, but often only cite the source of the image in

a vague manner. For example, a color photograph of the aftermath of snowstorm is captioned as showing Broadway between Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth Street in 1905. Skeptical about a color photograph taken in the depths of winter in 1905, I examined the scanty photo credits at the back of the book, and learned that this image comes from the Library of Congress and was colorized by Sanna Dullaway. Hmmm; dramatic effect over historical accuracy. Similarly, the essays are compilations of colorful details drawn from ill-cited period sources, strung together with some very basic historical narrative. To be sure, I found very few errors in the text or captions. Rather than proofreading the book, I let myself be captivated by the profusion of pictures and the wealth of incidents. Crain has uncovered so many fascinating images and put them together into such a sensible framework that I cannot demand more. This is a book to be pored over but perhaps not swallowed whole.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski



Daniel Chester French: The Female Form Revealed

David B. Dearing. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 2016.

This is the catalog for an exhibition held at the Boston Athenaeum focusing on female allegorical and symbolic sculpture by Daniel Chester French. Full disclosure: the curators of the exhibition, Donna Hassler of Chesterwood, French’s home and studio in Stockbridge, MA, and David Dearing, the curator of the Boston Athenaeum, were fellow classmates of mine in graduate school and remain friends and colleagues. The two are experts in American sculpture, and as the introduction states, they want to make a “fresh scholarly investigation” of French’s process of conceiving and realizing allegorical forms through the female body. I am confident that a less biased critic would agree that this catalog, with the essay by Dearing, delivers on its promise. While acknowledging that his categories are intertwined, Dearing places sculpture from all periods of French’s career into one of five groups: “classical”—symmetrical, balanced forms showing serious expressions; “baroque”—in which the symmetry and balance of the classical is enriched by symbolic attributes, such furniture and animals; “emergent”—in which the form literally emerges from the background; “exuberant”—works that depict an

energetic woman, often in motion; and “poetic”—works in which the form seems to completely embody the allegory. Using photographs of finished monuments, as well as plaster casts and rarely-seen preparatory maquettes from Chesterwood, Dearing demonstrates how French worked with the female form, clothed and unclothed, to embody ideas. Thus, for example, we can see how French’s maquettes for the monumental sculptures depicting the four continents for the United States Customs House in New York City went from barely-differentiated lumpen forms with appendages to fully-realized ethnic types dominant over their accompanying staffage of people, animals and art. Dearing touches upon issues of racial profiling, stereotyping, and misogyny inherent in making the female form stand-in for allegorical ideas, but does not dwell on them. Such brief treatment is excusable in this catalog, which is a mere 70 pages long. We come away with a good understanding of French’s process and product, and most probably, the same kind of enjoyment French and his patrons took in the female form.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski

Editorial

(e) (ducare)

Sitting around the Faculty Lounge this past winter (while wearing one of my other hats) a fellow design teacher taught me something I never knew. He said that the entomological root of 'educate' is 'to draw out'. I was surprised. Surprised I never knew this and surprised that the root of educate did not mean drilling in. What a wonderful idea that in teaching we are there to *draw out* ideas, knowledge, experience and thought that already dwells—perhaps not yet connected to their consciousness—within the students. The reservoirs are just there to be tapped.

At *Nineteenth Century* magazine, we also seek to draw out and make meaningful that which was already there. Each article in this issue represents a new corpus of knowledge based on tapping into disparate sources and bringing them together here. Some of these are actual discoveries and others bring to light buried treasures.

In these perilous times it is nice to be reminded that language still has meaning and words still do have power.

Warren Ashworth



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Errata

Vol. 36, No. 2:

p. 18, "none of the artists had studied the birds from life," to "none of the artists had studied the birds from life **in South America.**"

p. 22, "He had **traversed** the Atlantic..."

p.23, footnote 37, "The set of hummingbird pictures in the collection of Richard Moogian (**now in the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art**)....But **this set** may not be the Peto group."

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Milestones

A Penny for Your Thoughts

Anne-Taylor Cahill

How much would you pay to receive a letter by post? In the U.K. prior to 1840 it involved an exorbitant fee. Oddly, the sender of the letter did not pay the postage; the recipient paid. To pre-pay a letter was considered a social slur on the receiver. The implication being that one was too poor to pay. Thus to receive a letter required some financial wherewithal. If the receiver could not pay the letter was returned to the sender. Sadly, this was all too common.

For the working classes, postage often cost a full day's pay. There were stories of mothers sending children to the local pawn broker to sell a few items of clothing to obtain sufficient funds to pay for receiving a letter. Often the word 'dread' was used in relation to receiving mail. This was not only because of high postage fees but also because people usually did not send mail for frivolous reasons. Illness, death or some other tragedy were the usual reasons to send mail making "no news is good news" a popular expression.

On the other hand, various methods of postal fee evasions were developed. Clever young romantics sending a love letter could make various designs such as hearts and sunshine on the cover of a letters so that the beloved would know that he/she was well and still loved the receiver. With peace of mind, the receiver could refuse the letter yet still get the message.

Another method of avoiding postage was the use of franking. Franking was simply the use of one's signature on a letter cover to pay the postage. Only the Queen and members of Parliament were allowed this privilege. Yet often people would write the name of any MP on their envelope and their letter was promptly delivered free of charge. Eventually, the General Post Office caught on and kept copies of all MP signatures so that franked letters could be verified.

Sad tales, such as pawning clothes and other similar stories began to create a clamor for cheaper postage. Perhaps the saddest story is that of a woman whose husband was in jail. He sent his wife a letter; she could not pay. The postmaster accepted her silver teaspoon as payment. It was her only silver



L to R: The Penny Black stamp, postal reformer Sir Rowland Hill.

teaspoon and its value in pawn could have kept her family fed for two months. Pamphlets and posters demanding cheaper postage rates began to circulate. Emotions ran high. Reformers went so far as to declare the postal system "wicked" because it kept apart families separated by distance. Postal fees were a threat to the family and thus to the Empire itself! Happily, reformers like Sir Rowland Hill, pushed through a reform agenda in Parliament and in 1840 the Penny Post was born. Now for just a penny a letter of half an ounce could go anywhere. The family and the Empire were saved! With the new rules letters were to be prepaid using the Penny Black

adhesive stamp. The Penny Black was an elegant black stamp with the bust of the young Queen Victoria. This stamp was introduced May 1840, the month of Queen Victoria's 21st birthday.

The new system was a smashing success. The volume of mail increased 120% in just 3 months. Moreover, a new industry of "postal accoutrements" sprang up. Stamp boxes, letter holders, lap desks, and myriad books on how to write a proper letter

became the rage. So pleased with themselves about their new endeavor, the English included all of their "postal accoutrements" in the Great Exhibition of 1851 at the Crystal Palace.



For further reading:

Catherine J. Golden
Posting It (2009).

Douglas M. Muir
Postal Reform and the Penny Black (1990).

Eleanor C. Smyth
Sir Rowland Hill, the Tory of a Great Reformer (1907).

Note: Eleanor Smyth was Sir Rowland's daughter

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