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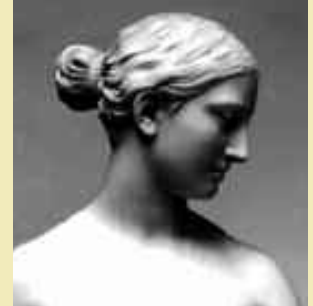
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Hereford Light postcard, c. 1911.

Contents

- 3 “Little Treasure Chamber
of Perfect Works”**
Influence of the Uffizi’s Tribune
Gallery on British and American
Arts and Letters
Sirpa Salenius



- 10 English-American Identity
and the Gothic Revival**
The Episcopal Churches of
St. James the Less and
St. Mark’s, Philadelphia
Anna Nau



- 20 Agecroft Hall**
From Elizabethan Manor House
to Victorian Country House
Chris Novelli



- 28 William Bailey Lang’s
Highland Cottages**
as Endorsed by A. J. Downing
James F. O’Gorman



Departments

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 34 Local Focus
<i>Roswell Gleason,
Massachusetts
Metalsmith</i>
<i>Anthony Sammarco</i> | 42 The Bibliophile
<i>Tara Leigh Tappert</i>
<i>Brian Coleman</i>
<i>Joyce Mendelsohn</i> | 46 Contributors |
| 38 Preservation Diary
<i>The Hereford Inlet
Lighthouse</i>
<i>Warren Ashworth</i> | 45 New & Noteworthy
<i>Ann-Taylor Cahill</i> | 47 Victorian
Travel Tales
<i>Murder on
Maiden Lane</i>
<i>Sally Buchanan Kinsey</i> |



Johann Zoffany, *View of the Florence Gallery* (1772-1778/79). Windsor, the Royal Collection

“Little Treasure Chamber of Perfect Works”

INFLUENCE OF THE UFFIZI’S TRIBUNE GALLERY ON BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARTS AND LETTERS

SIRPA SALENIUS

For centuries, Italy has attracted foreign travelers for a number of reasons, ranging from health to religion to self-improvement to pure pleasure. In medieval times pilgrims dominated the travel scene, soon to be followed by law and medical students in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, merchants and diplomats in the fifteenth, and humanist scholars in the sixteenth.¹ In the eighteenth century – known as the golden era of the British tour of Continental Europe – travel to Italy had become an almost mechanical practice.

Florence soon became one of the Grand Tour’s main destinations, on a par with Rome and Paris. The travel motives of visitors now included the study of art, cataloguing Italian masterpieces, and purchasing art works for their own growing art collections.² In the nineteenth century, Italy became associated with art and culture in the minds of Continental luminaries such as the authors Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Stendhal (pseudonym for Marie-Henri Beyle), and Madame de Staël, as well as British and American writers as such Lord Byron, Mark Twain and Henry James. All these visitors flocked to cities like Florence to see in person the original art works they had never seen in the original but had only viewed in copies or engravings or had read about in fictional works and travel letters.

The foremost attraction for these foreign cultural tourists to cosmopolitan Florence was the famous Medici art collection displayed at the Uffizi Gallery. Especially its renowned gallery known as the Tribune – with its

celebrated statues the *Venus de’ Medici*, the *Wrestlers*, and the *Dancing Faun* – triggered extreme emotional responses from many of them; in some cases, visiting the Tribune was the realization of dreams from early childhood. When stepping into the octagonal room, the visitors were dazzled not only by the magnificent art works on display but also by the splendid walls and ceiling of glittering mother-of-pearl. The social ritual of visiting the Tribune was subsequently mediated through detailed written accounts of the experience. As the nineteenth-

century British and American texts discussed in this article demonstrate, the comments focusing on the Tribune masterpieces were intricately intertwined with moral, rather than aesthetic, evaluation of art, thus revealing Victorian attitudes towards art in general and nudity in particular.

The Tribune’s importance in this process was well established by the end of the eighteenth century, by which time Italy’s popularity among the British had escalated dramatically. Florence was one of the most popular choices as a permanent residence in Italy and the ideal location for world-exploring aristocrats,

artists, and authors. The biggest curiosity in the Renaissance capital was the “Galleria,” more precisely the octagonal room called the Tribuna. Sir Roger Newdigate (1719-1806) seems to have been the first Grand Tourist to give a complete inventory of the paintings in the “register” he compiled and illustrated in detailed drawings during his visit to Florence in 1739. By 1754–55, some 120 masterpieces were recorded.³ By Newdigate’s second visit



Jean Baptiste Fortune de Fournier (1798-1864), *The Tribune Room - Uffizi*, 1850.

in 1775, one-fifth of the paintings had been replaced by others.⁴ The changes continued through the years, and written and illustrated testimonies documented the way in which the collection evolved.

Two paintings, in particular, serve as visual inventories, as well as evidence of the increasing fascination the British felt towards the Tribune. *Sir Andrew Fountaine and Friends in the Tribuna* (1715) by Giulio Pignatta depicts some of its most famous statues *Venus Victrix* and *Venus de' Medici* and paintings such as as Michelangelo's *Madonna* that frame the visitors who occupy the central position in the composition.⁵ Queen Charlotte, wife of George III, commissioned the other painting, titled *View of the Florence Gallery*, which Zoffany painted between 1772 and 1777. In this picture, the artist incorporated a group of British visitors among masterpieces of Guido Reni and Correggio and Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. Among the British figures incorporated into the painting were British consuls Sir John Dick and Sir Horace Mann.⁶ Mann, an art collector residing in Florence from 1740 to 1786, held receptions that provided opportunity for visiting aristocrats from all over Europe, Britain included, mingle with Italians of similar rank.⁷ Indeed, Florence was considered one of the most important centers for cosmopolitanism and intellectuality on the Continent. It was important to be seen mingling with the international high society as it served to consolidate one's position among European elite.

The Tribune's fame increased in the first decades of the nineteenth century when Lord Byron celebrated the *Medici Venus* in his long poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1818), which often was used as a guidebook when visiting Italy. Byron coined many of the terms to be associated with defining Italy: Venice was known as "a fairy city of the heart" and Rome as "city of the soul," whereas Florence was associated with its art collections that made one "dazzled and drunk with beauty." Further, he wrote,

We gaze and turn away,
and know not where,
Dazzled and drunk with beauty,
till the heart
Reels with its fulness;
there – for ever there –
Chain'd to the chariot of triumphal Art,
We stand as captivates,
and would not depart.⁸

Byron also referred to the classical Venus as the "Goddess in stone," dedicating several stanzas to praising the celebrated statue.

In addition to the Romantic poets – Keats, Shelley and Byron – numerous other nineteenth-century British writers headed for Florence. Among these were Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning, who chose the city as their permanent residence. Their daily life in Florence included repeated visits to local museums and art galleries, foremost among them the famous Uffizi. Elizabeth wrote to her sister, Arabella Moulton-Barrett, in

May 1847, that "divine" is the only word to describe the artworks in Florence.⁹ She also wrote about her maid's attempt to visit the Tribune to admire the well-known statues. However, as she wrote, Wilson (the maid) had only managed to go as far as the door of the well-known octagonal room before she was turned back by "the indecency of the Venus."¹⁰ When she saw the sculpture's nudity from afar, the maid had felt so embarrassed that she fled from the museum. The sight of the marble goddess and Titian's stark naked *Venus of Urbino* (1538) hanging above it were simply too much for her. In her letters Elizabeth mediated her own as well as her maid's encounter with the exquisite Florentine objects of art and reconciled the mixed emotions consisting of fears, excitement, anticipation, embarrassment, anxiety and aesthetic pleasure.

Following the Victorian rules of propriety, John Murray's authoritative guidebooks underlined the purity and innocence of the nude Venus. In the 1863 edition of his *Handbook of Florence and Its Environs*, which developed from the earlier version of the guide covering Northern Italy, the author first announced that a new catalogue of the Uffizi Gallery had just been published to replace the earlier "very meager and imperfect" version. According to the *Handbook's* estimate, the five sculptures collected at the Tribune would be "sufficient in themselves to confer a reputation on any museum of art."¹¹ Especially the celebrated *Venus de' Medici*, "an example of perfect art," was seen to draw

the attention of every visitor.¹² Murray provided a detailed description of the statue, its merits, physical features, and the significance of the female figure. In an earlier edition, from 1847, he had explicitly explained that the statue represented "the dignified" Goddess of Divine Love, which, the writer underlined, should be "distinguished



Venus de' Medici (Greece, 1st century BCE). Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

from desire.”¹³ To render the spectator further at ease in front of her nudity, Murray pointed out that the “feet are particularly beautiful.”¹⁴ In this way, the description foregrounded body parts that could be considered “neutral,” without any erotic connotation, and yet could be seen as representative of the mastery of the artist.

In the 1863 edition, Murray went beyond a mere art-historical presentation of the work and spun a story in which the nude statue was transformed into a “dignified” “noble married lady” who became the protagonist of his narrative. The wording of Murray’s text attempted to erase any possible signs of eroticism or physical desire that could be associated with the statue. To quote the guidebook:

She is evidently solicitous to discover whether she is observed. Yet the look does not indicate the timid modesty of a young girl, but the dignified anxiety of a noble married lady in such circumstances. Combining this with the position of the arms, it is impossible to conceive more feminine purity than the statue displays.¹⁵

The emphasis on the statue’s “modesty,” innocence of a young girl, “dignified anxiety,” nobility of a married “lady,” and the “feminine purity” are all conscious choices to underline the virtuousness of the celebrated *Venus*. The other statues in the Tribune introduced in the Murray guide (1847) included the *Apollino* known as the *Androgynous*, the *Dancing Faun*, the *Lottatori* or *Wrestlers*, and *l’Arrotino* or *the Slave*.¹⁶ Compared to the *Venus*, however, they seemed far less important and thus deserved a mere mention in the guide’s listing of the Tribune’s masterpieces.

Following in the footsteps of their British predecessors, Americans started to travel to Continental Europe in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The American intellectual elite, like their European counterparts, traveled there in search of culture, sophistication, and inspiration for creating their own art – in other words, self-improvement and acculturation. In the same way as the British, Americans used Lord Byron’s poetical work and John Murray’s guidebooks to introduce them into the work of Florentine art. And like their British predecessors, American travelers, in both published travel books and personal notebooks, also commented on the Tribune’s statues and paintings that they already knew from copies or engravings. For example, when James Fenimore Cooper, author of *The Last of the Mohicans*, arrived in

Florence in 1828, he immediately recognized the statues of the Tribune from a set of engravings in his father’s house. Indeed, Cooper felt as if he were approaching illustrious personages, “hat in hand, involuntarily bowing to the circle of marble figures.” As he wrote in his travel book, *Excursions in Italy* (1838),

There was a set of engravings in my father’s house that represented most of the antique statues, and for these I had imbibed the respect of a child. The forms had become familiar by years of observation, and the *Venus*, the *wrestlers*, the *dancing faun*, and the *knife-grinder*, four of my oldest acquaintances on paper, now stood before my eyes, looking like living beings.¹⁷

In a similar way, the American poet and translator of Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, exclaimed upon encountering the famous *Venus*, *Wrestlers*, and other works how the statues he had dreamed of seeing since his youth seemed to breathe and move. These Americans, who had for years looked at pictures of Florentine art, reacted with an emotionally as they finally encountered the authentic works. This overwhelming emotional response following the real-life encounter of the Tribune’s famous statues and paintings became known as “Stendhal syndrome.” A Florentine psychiatrist, Dr. Graziella Magherini, coined the name for this malady reported by nineteenth-century art tourists involving panic, euphoria, and even hallucinations as a result of an encounter with Italian art after the French writer who in 1817 collapsed in excitement in front of the art works of Florence. The American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson, for instance, reported that seeing the Florentine masterpieces made him feel “dazzled & drunk with beauty.”¹⁸

However, not everyone felt “dazzled and drunk with beauty” when first viewing Florentine art works. The American travel writer Bayard Taylor admitted that his first reaction when entering the Tribune was not rapture as he had expected; instead, he failed to see any “traces of superhuman beauty” in the *Venus*. His embarrassment in

looking at and trying to describe the figure of the nude woman to his readers was evident in his mention of the “ideal” and “faultless” form of the woman he saw, the “graceful position of the limbs,” the regular, though not handsome, face and the body that “appears small,” a mere five feet in height, which, as the author speculated, was



Hiram Powers, *The Greek Slave* (1844). Raby Castle, England.



Venus de' Medici in the Uffizi's Tribune Gallery, c. 1900.

below the average stature of a woman. The emphasis of his description, then, seems to be on providing factual information, like the height, or making vague references to the statue's form, limbs, and face. Nothing more was said of the celebrated female nude. Instead, in his travel text he moved on quite rapidly to discuss the other statues surrounding the *Venus* (the *Wrestlers*, the *Whetter* or the *Slave*) and the paintings hanging on the walls of the round room (Titian's *Venus*, Raphael's *St. John in the Desert* and near it the *Fornarina*).¹⁹ In this way, Taylor distanced himself from the object that in the Victorian era could be perceived as morally compromising. Perhaps to distance himself even further from the nude *Venus*, Taylor included the mother-of-pearl ceiling in his list of artistic creations one should admire when visiting the Tribune.

And yet, elsewhere in Florence, Taylor too was overtaken by the Stendhal syndrome, which he expressed in spiritual and philosophical terms: "Nothing is useless that gratifies that perception of Beauty, which is at once the most delicate and the most intense of our mental sensations, binding us by an unconscious link nearer to nature and to Him, whose every thought is born of Beauty, Truth and Love." He felt a similar sensation of rapture and spirituality when at the Pitti Palace art gallery he came face to face with Raphael's celebrated *Madonna della Seggiola*, the work of that "divine artist" whose Madonna

he now could gaze with a "never-satisfied enjoyment" of her "angelic loveliness." The encounter with the statue triggered the Stendhal syndrome: as Taylor wrote, "I feel an impulse I can scarcely explain – a longing to tear it from the canvas as if it were a breathing form, and clasp it to my heart in a glow of passionate love." The intensity of the emotion caused a euphoric feeling and hallucination; the work of art that aroused such extreme passion seemed to be a real person, a "breathing form," a Madonna of flesh and blood.²⁰

The American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne also appears to have experienced the an overwhelming emotional sensation when he toured the Florentine sites: "It makes me miserable with a hopeless sense of inefficiency to write about these things," he commented in his notebook. In his case, the excessive emotions depressed and paralyzed him.²¹

Although Hawthorne was not a great admirer of art, he nonetheless repeatedly talked about paintings, frescoes, and statues in his notebooks and letters written in Italy. During his stay in Florence in 1858, he diligently toured the museums and churches where he looked at some "ugly" pictures of Christ and some morally unacceptable paintings like Titian's *Magdalen*, a figure that in his opinion seemed to have nothing of penitence in her as she was exposing her nude breasts to anybody who cared to

look. Hawthorne also saw some “hideous” busts at the Uffizi, but was almost afraid to see the *Venus de’ Medici*, which he called the “mystery and wonder of the gallery.” When he finally spotted it in “the best room” beneath an octagonal dome, his reaction was of tenderness, “an affection, not as if she were one woman, but all womanhood in one.” As Hawthorne explained, the statue had been severely damaged: her legs had been broken into two or three fragments, “her arms have been severed, her body has been broken quite across at the waist, her head has been snapped off at the neck.” Luckily, however, the Venus had been so well restored, as Hawthorne wrote, that the damage had not affected the overall impression. The novelist was pleased not only to have finally seen the statue but also to have found her “so tender and so chaste.” The chastity of the statue formed a contrast to the naked and “lustful” *Venus* by Titian hanging on the Tribune’s wall. Through the comparison of the two Venuses, he created an explicit separation of erotic desire and aesthetic viewing of bodies. In any case, Hawthorne concluded that the Tribune was the Uffizi Gallery’s “treasure-place.”²²

Later in the month, Hawthorne recorded his son Julian’s reaction when he saw the *Venus* during his first visit to the Uffizi Gallery. It was a “feeling of utter distaste.” It made Hawthorne doubt that maybe visitors “bamboozle” themselves into the greater part of the admiration they learned to bestow on the celebrated art works.²⁰ His gaze soon wandered to one of Correggio’s *Madonnas* in the Tribune. However, even this work seemed no divine mother of the Savior but merely a young woman playing with her child. The religious sentiment, in Hawthorne’s view, seemed as absent in the Madonna as in Titian’s *Magdalen*. During another visit, though, Hawthorne observed the *Venus* more closely, so closely that he seemed to notice how the statue had “a dimple in her chin.”²³

The American artist Hiram Powers, a friend of Hawthorne, thought more highly of his own statues of women, such as the *Greek Slave* and *Eva*, than the Medici Venus. Quite bluntly he claimed that the Venus’s face was “that of an idiot.”²⁴ He was convinced that the antique sculptor had carefully studied the human figure but simply did not know how to make a face. Although Powers was highly critical of the much-admired figure, it actually greatly resembled his own (and much later) *Greek Slave*. Hawthorne, by contrast, mused that “the face was a much less important thing with the Greeks, among whom the entire beauty of the form was familiarly seen, than with ourselves, who allow no other nudity.”²⁵ Hawthorne was quite critical of Powers, who, he claimed, was fond of nudity as his ideal statues seemed to testify. Powers’s *California* was “as naked as Venus,” but luckily, as Hawthorne realized, in one hand she held a rod that “does the office of a fig-leaf.”²⁶ Powers’s

criticism of other artists, which Hawthorne suspected was triggered by jealousy, included Horatio Greenough who, according to Powers, could not make a good bust, “nor Crawford, nor can Gibson.” He objected to Gibson’s practice of coloring his statues, arguing against the use of color in marble “to the effect that the whiteness removed the object represented into a sort of spiritual region, and so gave chaste permission to those nudities which would otherwise be licentious.” Hawthorne fully agreed stating that he had himself felt the truth of the argument “in a sense of shame” as he looked at Gibson’s colored *Venus*.²⁷ Continuously, then, the gaze of the viewers and their discussions circled around the nudity of the figures, making the moral inseparable from the aesthetic evaluation of art among these nineteenth-century Americans.

Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) shattered the idea of the superiority of sophisticated European high culture. In his



The Uffizi Gallery and Vecchio Palazzo, Florence Italy, c. 1900.

travel book, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), he made being an uncultured American acceptable by ridiculing European history and cultural attainment. As Twain

writes: “We examined modern and ancient statuary with a critical eye in Florence, Rome or anywhere we found it, and praised it if we saw fit, and if we didn’t we said we preferred the wooden Indians in front of the cigar stores of America.”²⁸ By juxtaposing European masterpieces with American advertising art, he created a dichotomy of Old World – New World creativity, as two different views of artistic expression, one cultural, the other commercial. Europe stood for culture, art, sophistication and history and America for modern commercial values and taste. In their art, in Twain’s view, both Europeans and Americans, then, presented national subject matter in a typically national form.

During his visits in Florence in 1865 and 1878, Twain expressed his eagerness to see the Tribune. He wondered how the statues that “had stood in innocent nakedness for ages” were all fig-leaved.²⁹ In his opinion, nobody had noticed the nakedness before, whereas the fig leaves made the nudity much more conspicuous.

At the door of the Uffizi [sic], in Florence, one is confronted by statues of a man and a woman, noseless, battered, black with accumulated grime, – they hardly suggest human beings – yet these ridiculous creatures have been thoughtfully and conscientiously fig-leaved by this fastidious generation. You enter, and proceed to that most-visited little gallery that exists in the world – the Tribune – and there, against the wall, without obstructing rag or leaf, you may look your fill upon the foulest, the vilest, the obscenest picture the world possesses – Titian’s *Venus*.³⁰

In this passage, Twain is pointing out the hypocrisy of his contemporaries. According to him, Titian’s *Venus* “defiles and disgraces” the Tribune, whereas his *Moses* glorified it.

The Tribune also appeared in such fictional works as the American novelist Henry James’s short story “The Madonna of the Future” (1873), which is entirely set in Florence. The story revolves around an American artist and his utter failure when his creativity is paralyzed by the overwhelming presence of great artworks. At one point in the story, the protagonist visits the Tribune, “that little treasure-chamber of perfect works” where the renowned *Venus de’ Medici* stood.³¹ As James’s story demonstrates, it was common for nineteenth-century writers to include Italian masterpieces in their narratives to add symbolic meaning to their writing. The artworks were so familiar to readers at home that they immediately recognized them and could ponder on the significance they added to the interpretation of the stories.

The artists and writers mentioned here are only a few of the visitors and expatriates who had the opportunity to visit Florence. Within Western culture, as scholar Kay Dian Kriz explains, the Grand Tour had an impact on “shaping artistic tastes, forming political subjects, and profoundly affecting social memory.”³² Florence, the “divine little city” with its treasure-chamber of art, was invaluable for the careers, personal acculturation and aesthetic pleasure of many nineteenth-century British

and American visitors, many of whom themselves were artists and writers.³³ Moreover, the Grand Tour was a significant process in the identity formation of the travelers. As scholars have argued, Italy was indispensable to the nurturing of British and American artists, to the creation and execution of their national art, and to the formation of their nascent art collections. Italy provided the example of creating museums and offered a vast array of art works that could be purchased and transported abroad to be displayed in the new museums established to host Italian art collections.

As Charles Dickens wrote in his *Pictures of Italy* (1846), in Florence,

open to all comers, in their beautiful and calm retreats, the ancient Sculptors are immortal, side by side with Michael Angelo, Canova, Titian, Rembrandt, Raphael, Poets, Historians, Philosophers ... as thousands upon thousands of faces, rigid with the strife and passion of the hour, have faded out of the old Squares and public haunts, while the nameless Florentine Lady, preserved from oblivion by a Painter’s hand, yet lives on, in enduring grace and youth.³⁴

The encounter with art in Florence and particularly at the Tribune had an inestimable impact on the British and American visitors, who immortalized their reactions and emotions in the many letters, diaries, journals, travel books, and fictional works they wrote. These writings stand as a testimony of the inestimable multifaceted significance that visiting the Tribune had for nineteenth-century foreigners, while the texts simultaneously reproduce the social tendencies and moral values of the observer’s own nation.



Notes

1. Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1964), 9-10.
2. see, for example, Denys Sutton, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour: A Loan Exhibition from National Trust Collections in Aid of the Trust’s Conservation Fund* (London: Wildenstein, 1982).
3. Michael McCarthy, “The Drawings of Sir Roger Newdigate: The Earliest Unpublished Record of the Uffizi,” *Apollo* (September 1991), 160, 163. I wish to thank Francesca De Luca at the Uffizi Gallery for indicating the article to me.
4. *Ibid*, 161-62.
5. Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753) was an English antiquarian, art collector and amateur architect.
6. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 27, 133.
7. Attilio Brilli, *Quando viaggiare era un’arte: Il romanzo del Grand Tour* (Bologna: Mulino, 1995), 71. For a review of publications on the British Grand Tour, see John Wilton-Ely, “‘Classic Ground’: Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28.1 (2004): 136-65.

8. George Gordon Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1818), in *Selected Poetry*, ed. A. S. B. Glover (London: Penguin, 1954), L.
9. Philip Kelley and Scott Lewis, eds., *The Brownings' Correspondence*, Vol. 14 (Winfield: Wedgestone Press, 1998), 217.
10. *Ibid.*, 248.
11. John Murray, *Handbook of Florence and Its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1863), 68.
12. *Ibid.*, 68.
13. John Murray, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Northern Italy: States of Sardinia, Lombardy and Venice, Parma and Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, and Tuscany as Far as the Val d'Arno*, 3rd edition (London: John Murray, 1847), 544.
14. *Ibid.*, 544.
15. John Murray, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Northern Italy...States of Sardinia, Lombardy and Venice, Parma and Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, and Tuscany as Far as the Val d'Arno*, 3rd edition (London: John Murray, 1847), 68.
16. *Ibid.*, 544.
17. James Fenimore Cooper, *Excursions in Italy*, (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1838), 22.
18. Qtd. in Joel Porte, ed., *Emerson in His Journals* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982), 105.
19. Bayard Taylor, *Views A-foot or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* [1846] (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856), 352-53.
20. *Ibid.*, 355, 359.
21. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks* [1871], ed. Thomas Woodson (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1980), 286.
22. *Ibid.*, 294, 295, 297-99.
23. *Ibid.*, 350.
24. *Ibid.*, 299.
25. *Ibid.*, 310.
26. *Ibid.*, 311.
27. *Ibid.*, 281.
28. *Ibid.*, 291-93.
29. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrims' Progress Being Some Account of the Steamship Quaker City's Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land* [1869] (New York: The Heritage Press, 1962), 495.
30. Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* [1880] (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 372.
31. Henry James, "The Madonna of the Future," in *Collected Stories: Volume 1* (1866-91), ed. John Bayley (New York: Everyman's Library, 1999), 148.
32. Kay Dian Kriz, "The Grand Tour," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.1 (1997): 89.
33. Henry, James, *Henry James Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1984), 188.
34. Dickens, Charles, *Pictures from Italy* [1846] (New York: Coward, McCanna and Geoghegan, 1974), 242-42.

19 NINETEENTH CENTURY



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Interior view of St. James the Less, Philadelphia.

English-American Identity and the Gothic Revival

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES OF ST. JAMES THE LESS AND ST. MARK'S, PHILADELPHIA

ANNA NAU

The Ecclesiological Movement was a highly influential part of the 19th century revival of Gothic architecture. Ecclesiology was both an architectural and liturgical doctrine promulgated by the Cambridge Camden Society, later known as the Ecclesiological Society, founded in England in 1839. Through their journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, which began publication in 1841, the Society sought to reform modern church architecture through a revival of specific English Gothic modes. They claimed the 13th and 14th-century English parish church best embodied proper liturgical function in their arrangement – a nave with aisles, a distinct chancel divided by a roodscreen, and an altar and reredos at the east end – that allowed for the discrete separation of the sacred rites of the clergy from the laity.¹ The Ecclesiological Movement coincided with the rise of the theologically conservative Oxford Movement in Britain, and to a lesser extent in the United States, which sought to restore the “solemnity and mystery of pre-reformation worship” within the Anglican Church.²

When a small group of Philadelphians met at the estate of the merchant Robert Ralston on April 30, 1846 to establish a new Episcopal parish, they resolved to create a church that would be a model of ecclesiology.³ The result of their efforts was the modest but beautiful Church of St. James the Less, completed in 1848. Just two years later, St. Mark's Church was erected in downtown Philadelphia by a like-minded congregation. Together these two churches introduced a new form of Gothic revival architecture to America known as Ecclesiological Gothic, which combined a belief in the superiority of English 13th and 14th century parish church architecture with a preference for more conservative theological and liturgical practices.

The architectural significance of these churches as two of the earliest “mature” Ecclesiological designs in America has already been recognized by scholars, most notably Phoebe Stanton in her 1968 book *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture*. Yet the specific context of

their creation in 1840s Philadelphia has not been well established. To begin to understand why these churches appeared in Philadelphia at this time, their patronage must be examined. Unlike other Ecclesiological Gothic churches in New York and New Jersey of the same era, the decision to build St. James the Less and St. Mark's as examples of ecclesiology was led not by clergymen or architects but by these churches' vestries. It was under the leadership of two prominent Philadelphians, Robert Ralston and Henry Reed, that these two edifices were erected. While both churches' vestries embraced Ecclesiological Gothic as a means of expressing their theological convictions, they also used the particularly English architectural character of their buildings as a way to set themselves apart visually from other religious groups in the city as congregations with a distinctively English heritage.

St. James the Less and St. Mark's are emblematic of the spread of architectural and aesthetic ideas from Britain to America during the Gothic Revival, and they show the strong connection between certain segments of the (British) Anglican and (American) Episcopal Churches. By the 1840s, the American Episcopal Church was increasingly divided theologically between two general groups – the High Church congregations who were allied with the doctrines of the Anglican Oxford Movement, and the Low Church congregations who followed a more evangelical Protestantism. It was the High Church groups who were the most receptive to the architectural doctrine of the Ecclesiologists.

In the few years preceding the appearance of St. James the Less, there were at least two attempts at proper Ecclesiological Gothic edifices in other parts of the American East Coast, most notably at the Chapel of the Holy Innocents and St. Mary's Church, both in Burlington, New Jersey, and both the initiative of Bishop George Washington Doane. Additionally, Richard Upjohn's Trinity Church in New York, one of the better known early uses of Gothic Revival in the United States,



St. Michael's, Cambridgeshire.

was constructed just two years before St. James the Less. However, at these earlier churches, as Phoebe Stanton has argued, the Ecclesiological Society still found many faults, congratulating the clergy and architects at their “...first beginning[s] in the New World,” but hesitant to label them as true Ecclesiological designs following proper medieval models and with proper liturgical spaces, such as a distinctive chancel.⁴ It is this approval by the Society, as well as the Society’s direct involvement in design decisions, that makes both St. James the Less and St. Mark’s so significant in the history of the Ecclesiological movement. What is more, St. James the Less was the first example of an almost exact replica of a European medieval church in the United States.⁵ Previous studies of St. James the Less and St. Mark’s have focused on their architectural and theological significance – that is, their strict adherence to the principles of ecclesiology, the unfettered praise they received from the Ecclesiological Society, as well as their considerable influence on the spread of the “Parish Church Style” throughout the United States.⁶ Yet considering that Philadelphia did not have as large a concentration of High-Church-minded clergy and congregations as New York and New Jersey, why did these first “mature” and so highly praised Ecclesiological Churches appear in Philadelphia?

Much has been written on the use of Gothic aesthetics as a response to shifting theological and liturgical practices, yet broader cultural forces are often overlooked. Theology necessarily plays a large part in the organization

and design of any religious structure, and St. James the Less and St. Mark’s are no exception. Yet what can the creation of these churches tell us about their patrons and parishes? What beyond religious conviction may have motivated the vestries of St. James the Less and St. Mark’s to embrace this new and very English mode of architecture?

Robert Ralston and the Church of St. James the Less

The January 1845 issue of *The Ecclesiologist*, the publication of the Ecclesiological Society, noted that working drawings of three “ancient churches” had been completed and were to be sent abroad as models. In promoting their architectural doctrine, the Society felt it was important to provide drawings of model churches that could easily be reconstructed and adapted for “modern use” in parishes outside of England where architects familiar with such design were not available. The article noted that drawings of St. Michael’s, Long Stanton, a 13th century parish church in Cambridgeshire, had been sent to the United States. St. Michael’s, they felt, was an ideal model because of its small but well-proportioned size, deep chancel, simple ornamentation, and plain stone walls that were imminently suitable for a small rural parish where funds were limited and beauty desired.⁷

The plans for St. Michael’s eventually came into the hands of the prominent Philadelphian merchant Robert

Ralston. He had been put into contact with the Society through his friend Samuel Jarvis, a Connecticut clergyman who had spent some time in England as an emissary to Canterbury, center of the Anglican church. In 1846, Ralston organized a meeting to establish a new Episcopal congregation, St. James the Less, and was placed in charge of the committee tasked with selecting a site and appropriate design for the building. With the plans for St. Michael's in hand, a site was selected near the Falls Village along the Schuylkill River northwest of central Philadelphia, just a few miles from Ralston's own home, Mount Peace. A local architect named John Carver was hired to carry out the building process and by the spring of 1847 construction was underway.⁸

What is noteworthy about Ralston's substantial involvement in the construction of the church is that he maintained a continual correspondence with the Ecclesiological Society through one of its leading members, Benjamin Webb. Ralston seems to have been hesitant to approve any design decisions or even minor changes to the plans without the Society's support.⁹ As the project progressed, Webb referred Ralston to the Society's favored British architect, William Butterfield.

Butterfield helped Ralston in obtaining materials for the furnishing of the church, including Minton floor tiles and communion plate, and the architect even supplied supplemental drawings for various details such as window profiles.¹⁰ Ralston immersed himself in Ecclesiology, and the Society's close supervision of the project ensured their approval of his efforts.

Henry Reed and St. Mark's Church

Just a few months after construction began on St. James the Less, the new parish of St. Mark's was established in the area of Philadelphia west of Broad Street. The first meeting of its vestry was chaired by Henry Reed, a professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Pennsylvania. Vestry minutes show that the group much admired the efforts of Robert Ralston and the vestrymen at St. James the Less, and in fact Ralston was even present at the initial meeting and asked to serve as a temporary vestryman while the parish was being established.¹¹ From the beginning, there was a close relationship between the two churches.

The design of St. Mark's is the work of the Scottish-born Philadelphia architect John Notman, who had



Exterior view of St. James the Less, Philadelphia.

previously worked with Bishop Doane on the Chapel of the Holy Innocents in New Jersey. Notman submitted several designs for St. Mark's before the final design was adopted by the vestry. Perhaps under the suggestion of Robert Ralston, the vestry had requested a model from the Ecclesiology Society, who subsequently sent plans of the modern church of All Saint's, Brighton, designed by R. C. Carpenter. Unfortunately the drawings of Carpenter's church have not been located and the church itself no longer stands; therefore it is unclear what, if anything, Notman might have borrowed from it. However, likely influences on his design include churches he may have seen illustrated in contemporary publications, including St. Oswald's, Liverpool, by A. W. N. Pugin, as well as St. Stephen's, Westminster, London, by Benjamin Ferris.¹² Whatever the case, it is clear that the Society found the design to be a thoroughly successful one, as they congratulated Notman and the congregation on their efforts in *The Ecclesiologist*.¹³ The project solidified Notman's reputation as a prominent American architect and led to a string of further ecclesiastical commissions. While Notman certainly played a central role in the design of St. Mark's, the influence of Henry Reed must not be

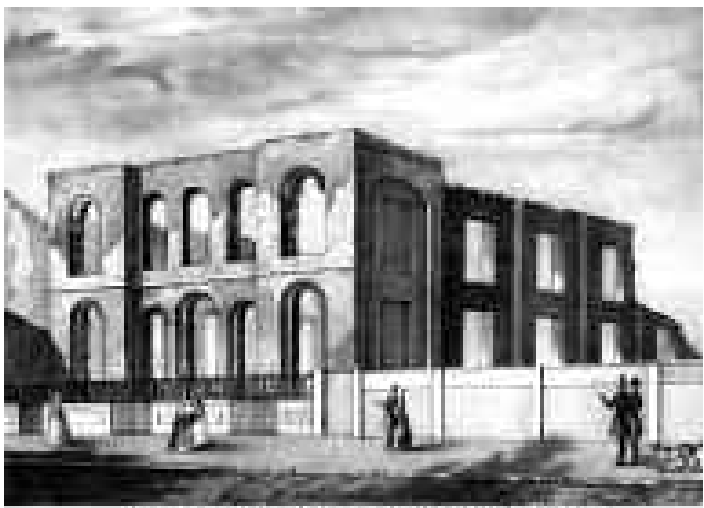
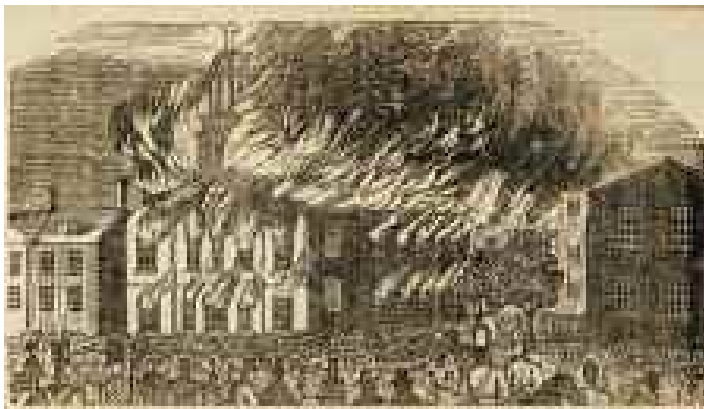
overlooked. Reed maintained a strong leadership role at St. Mark's throughout its construction and early history, until his untimely death in 1854.¹⁴

Motivations – Ethnic and Religious Tensions

St. James the Less and St. Mark's were built in a period of great change in Philadelphia. The 1840s were a decade of unprecedented urban growth and expansion of the city's textile, iron manufacturing and shipbuilding industries – and it was also a time of heightened political and social tension. Like other major American cities, Philadelphia saw steady waves of Irish immigration throughout the 1830s and early 1840s.¹⁵ These immigrants provided cheap labor that placed them in direct competition with so-called “native” workers. In 1843, a new political party was formed, known as the Native American Republican party, around concerns for the “undue political influence of foreigners” and the influx of immigrants into the city. This political and economic animosity towards the Irish was intensified by an underlying religious tension – the perceived threat to traditional Protestant American culture from the Irish Catholics.¹⁶

Tensions culminated in violent clashes known as the Native American, or Anti-Catholic, riots. Exacerbated by several years of economic depression, the growing conflict over political and religious issues pitted groups of native-born Protestant workers against Irish Catholic immigrants in two separate clashes in May and June of 1844. The riots resulted in twenty dead and over one hundred injured. As Irish Catholic immigrant life often centered on social institutions, particularly the Church, when the riots broke out it was their churches that were targeted for destruction.¹⁷

Considering this climate of anti-Catholic sentiment, one might wonder whether the medieval aesthetics of St. James the Less and St. Mark's would have been seen as too closely associated with the Catholic Church. Or, did the fact that they were inspired by specifically English models mean that any connection to Catholicism was overlooked? In both England and America, the ideas of the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists were viewed with suspicion in certain circles. Their detractors worried that the Oxford theology, with its insistence of the superiority of the medieval church and the Ecclesiologists' promotion of medieval forms and liturgy were too closely aligned with the Roman Catholic Church. The Society and its followers were quick to dismiss such accusations, especially considering the conversion of several prominent promoters of Gothic to Catholicism, particularly the Oxford theologian John Henry Newman and the architect Pugin. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, the Society's leaders, presented English Gothic architecture in very nationalistic terms, and promoted it as the most appropriate architecture for Anglican worship, distancing themselves as much as possible from the Roman Catholic society in which their ideal Gothic aesthetics had emerged.¹⁸ Frank Wills, an



RIOTS AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S, MAY 1844, AND THE RESULTING RUINS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

Riots at St. Augustine's, May 1844, and the resulting ruins of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia.



Exterior and interior views of St. Marks, Philadelphia.

American architect favored by the Society, summed up this view in 1850, writing that “the catholicity in Architecture as well as in the Church...may be separated from Popery as well in one as in the other; the dross being removed, the rest is all our own, and let us use it as our inheritance.”¹⁹

Both St. James the Less and St. Mark’s were warmly praised for their architectural beauty, and no evidence exists that the congregations were concerned with accusations of “popery” or were worried that their churches might be misconstrued as Catholic parishes. In fact, in Philadelphia there would have been little established association between the Gothic style and Catholic parishes to begin with. Like the vast majority of 18th and early 19th century churches in Philadelphia, the Catholic churches followed the city’s dominant classical architectural idiom. The church destroyed by fire during the anti-Catholic riots of 1844, St. Augustine’s, was a symmetrical brick building with a classical façade. The same year St. James the Less was completed, a new St. Augustine’s was erected in a classical design by Napoleon LeBrun. Several other Catholic churches were erected in the 1840s and 1850s that continued this preference for the Neoclassical.²⁰

In the 1840s, much of the city’s civic and public architecture was in the Classical style of notable architects like Benjamin Latrobe and William Strickland. However, the fashion for Gothic had been growing in the first decades of the century, as evidenced by the handful of early Gothic, or “Gothick,” revival buildings, such as the

Masonic Hall (1809-11), the Eastern State Penitentiary (1823-29), and the chapel at Laurel Hill Cemetery (c. 1839). Yet by the time St. James the Less appeared, there was still a much higher concentration of Gothic designs in places such as New York and New Jersey.²¹ The only earlier Gothic revival church in Philadelphia at the time was Strickland’s St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church (1823). In contrast to St. James the Less and St. Mark’s, St. Stephen’s medieval character is reflective of that early mode of the revival that incorporated applied Gothic features, such as crenellated towers and lancet windows, while still retaining the symmetrical, box-shaped plan of the protestant meeting hall.²² It was not until after the appearance of St. James the Less and St. Mark’s that other Philadelphia denominations began to build true Gothic revival churches. Thus, St. James the Less and St. Mark’s would have stood out in marked contrast against a background of Colonial, Georgian and Neoclassical monuments. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, St. James the Less was admired for its successful employment of the “early English style,” while St. Mark’s was lauded as a “perfect specimen of the quaint old English Gothic style.”²³ This English quality set the two churches apart from other denominations, and while the theological and liturgical arguments of Ecclesiology provide a clear motivation for the use of the specific architectural style, as leaders of the church vestries, both Ralston and Reed had an affinity for England that went beyond theology and may have influenced their aesthetic choices.

English-American Identity

Henry Reed was a much admired and respected intellectual figure in Philadelphia. By the time he was involved with the creation of St. Mark's, he had published several books on English writers and poets, including the first American edition of William Wordsworth's complete poetical works, in 1837. In fact, Reed maintained a close friendship with Wordsworth through frequent correspondence, and the two men shared similar theological outlooks, discussing the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists in their letters.²⁴ In

one such letter, Reed advised the poet on his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, a narrative on the history of the Church of England, suggesting an additional section on the American Episcopal Church, in which he hoped to convey the closeness of the Church of England to its "daughter Church" in America.²⁵

However, Reed's attachment to America's English heritage went deeper than religious sentiment. For Reed, patriotism for his own country meant an appreciation for its English roots. This conviction can be seen in a selection from his first letter to Wordsworth in 1836, where he writes, "I feel that I have unconsciously been taught by you a warmer and more filial attachment to old England. But what is more, in your example I have discovered the best elements of a true and rational patriotism, and guided most safely by the light of your feeling, I have a deeper love of my own country."²⁶ Henry Reed's affection for England was a sentiment he shared with his brother William, a prominent lawyer and avid historian. For example, in a lecture on the American Revolution given to the New York Historical Society in 1839, William Reed stated his belief that the United States owed much of its greatness and success to the "high dignity of character which America inherited from her British ancestry."²⁷

This unfettered promotion of Britain is notable, considering that the correspondence was taking place only some 35 years after the War of 1812. And the Reeds were not alone. It was around the middle of the 19th century that many Americans increasingly began to embrace a fondness for England that no longer meant compromising their own republican identity and American patriotism. Particularly after the ascension of Queen Victoria to the British throne, America looked upon Britain with a sense of nostalgia and stressed the countries' common heritage.²⁸ However, not all

Americans were so eager to forget their Revolutionary past. In 1839, the *Democratic Review* lamented a new popular fascination with the British monarchy, printing a letter from an English traveler to Philadelphia who, amazed at finding images of the young queen all over the American city, mused that instead of the name Philadelphia, "the name Victoria-delphia should be given it."²⁹ While this account of "Victoria fever" appears somewhat exaggerated, it is indicative of the changing American perceptions of Britain at the time and the atmosphere in which the Reed brothers' appreciation of Anglo-American relations was operating.



Henry Reed

Robert Ralston's correspondence with the Ecclesiological Society during St. James the Less's construction also illustrates his belief in the close connection between the two countries. When Ralston began his correspondence with Benjamin Webb in 1846, Webb had urged him to start an American branch of the Ecclesiological Society. Soon Ralston and other interested laymen, clergy and architects organized the New York Ecclesiological Society, in April 1848.³⁰ At their first formal meeting, Ralston gave the opening address in which he outlined what he saw as the need for guidance in American Church design. He remarked that "church edifices have sprung up on all sides, as

it were, in a night, and in every possible variety of form and deformity – without type, without model – without principles and without taste – as if the erection were everything and its uses nothing." The group soon began publishing its own journal, the *New York Ecclesiologist*. In the first two issues, a small number of recent churches worthy of emulation were highlighted, including, not surprisingly, St. James the Less and St. Mark's.³¹

Ralston's central role in the promotion of ecclesiology in the United States reflects his desire to improve the architectural character of his country and also underscores his respect for the English theorists and designers who helped him to create his own church.³² That Ralston did not question the appropriateness of erecting a copy of a medieval English parish church in the suburbs of Philadelphia indicates the level to which he saw America as an inheritor of English culture. While Ralston did not leave behind any writing similar to Reed's that would elaborate on his understanding of America's British political and cultural heritage, it is probable that he

shared Reed's views. The fact that his eldest daughter married Henry Reed's brother William in 1850 indicates a close connection between the two families. Ralston was one of Philadelphia's most successful merchants, with a thriving business that included supplying shipments of Chinese tea to Philadelphia, and left an estate worth a reported \$800,000 in 1846. While it is not known if Ralston ever traveled to England, two of his brothers had moved there in the years preceding his involvement with St. James the Less, and they both married and settled there permanently, thus establishing a personal connection to England beyond his involvement with ecclesiology.³³

Although St. James the Less appeared three years after the anti-Catholic riots that disturbed the city, Philadelphia was still sharply divided by socio-economic, racial and ethnic lines at the time the church was constructed. From the documents available, it is not clear if Robert Ralston or Henry Reed harbored any nativist sympathies. However, the nativist and anti-Catholic movements were symptomatic of a wider anxiety about the stability of American political and cultural life. Many Americans sought a sense of place in the growing political, economic and social complexity of the era, and they often attempted to define that place through ethnic or religious criteria. The erection of numerous new churches throughout the city in these years suggests the extent to which Philadelphians relied on religious institutions to create social networks.³⁴

In this context, what would the strikingly medieval quality of St. James the Less or St. Mark's have suggested to the average viewer? At the most basic level, the Gothic aesthetic would have stood in marked contrast to the city's existing Colonial and Neoclassical architecture, both religious and otherwise. More specifically, the churches introduced a new type of ecclesiastical architecture that helped to further distinguish their parishes from all others in Philadelphia. The Ecclesiologists promoted Gothic as not only a symbol of certain theological and liturgical beliefs, but also as an embodiment of English history. They saw Gothic architecture as the national architecture of England. As followers of ecclesiology, Robert Ralston and Henry Reed would have been aware of this politicizing element of the architectural doctrine. If both Ralston and Reed understood America's identity as inextricably linked to its English heritage, then Ecclesiological Gothic provided a visible manifestation of that heritage.



St. Stephen's, Philadelphia.

Thus by using a specific mode of English Gothic architecture that, according to the concepts of ecclesiology, accurately reflected their parishes' theological beliefs and liturgical practices, the vestries of St. James the Less and St. Mark's were setting themselves apart visually, theologically and liturgically from their neighbors. Yet Ralston's and Reed's personal connections to England, and especially Reed's embracement of an explicitly Anglo-American sense of patriotism, suggests that the "Englishness" of the churches went beyond religious concerns and was symptomatic of their desire to project, through the architecture of their churches, a

distinct English-American identity in an era of an increasingly diverse Philadelphian population.



This article is adapted from the author's 2009 Master of Architectural History thesis at the University of Virginia and is based on a paper delivered at the University of Kent to the 2012 A. W. N. Pugin Bicentennial Conference: New Directions in Gothic Revival Studies Worldwide.

Notes

1. The Cambridge Camden Society. *A Few Words to Church Builders*. Cambridge: University Press, 1841.
2. Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2002), 90-92.
3. Minutes of the Vestry of St. James the Less, April 30, 1846, Church of St. James the Less, Philadelphia.
4. Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 45-54; Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect: 1810-1865* (Philadelphia: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), 102-103; *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 8, no. 62 (October, 1847): 67.
5. Stanton, 91, 102.
6. See Stanton, Chapters III and VII, as well as William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and their Architects, vol. 2: Technology and the Picturesque, the Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Chapter IV.
7. "Report of the Thirty-Ninth Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society," *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (January, 1845): 23; "Ancient Models," *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 3 (August, 1844): 134; Stanton, 92-93.
8. The construction of the church building is chronicled in the vestry meeting minutes, which reveal the building committee's dedication to following the plans, with few minor alterations to materials and layout made only to reduce costs or accommodate availability. Additional primary source material is found in a collection of Ralston and Jarvis's correspondence currently held in the collection of the Connecticut State Library, portions of which are quoted in Stanton, 97-103.
9. Minutes of the Vestry of St. James the Less, June 20, 1846.
10. Butterfield also sent Ralston a copy of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, A Series of Working Designs for the Furniture, Fittings, and Decorations of Churches and their Precincts*, a collaboration between himself and the Ecclesiological Society. Many of the interior details for the church were taken from this book, including the pew designs. See Stanton, 101-104.
11. Minutes of the Vestry of St. Mark's Church, June 28, 1847, St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia.
12. Minutes of the Vestry of St. Mark's Church, June 28, 1847 – February 8, 1848; Greiff, 27; Stanton, 117-124.
13. "Progress of Ecclesiology in the United States," *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 8 (April, 1848), 285.
14. Although he may not have been as intimately involved in the architectural arrangement of the church as Ralston was at St. James the Less, the vestry relied on him for doctrinal and theological matters. He selected the dedication of the church to Saint Mark, designed the seal of the church, and wrote the church constitution, making clear its High Church stance.
15. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 51, 56-57. The decade of the 1840s alone saw a 58% percent increase in Philadelphia's population, from both within the United States and abroad.
16. Ibid., 69-70; Elizabeth Geffen, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis, 1841-1854," in *Philadelphia, A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Wigley (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), 309-327; "Progress of Poperly in the United States," *The Quarterly Review of the American Protestant Association*, Vol. II, No.2 (April, 1845): 199. Religious leaders played a significant role in this animosity, when in 1842, more than fifty Philadelphia clergymen, primarily from evangelical denominations, formed the American Protestant Association to combat the perceived threat of Catholicism in the city. It does not appear, however, than any members of the city's Episcopal clergy were part of that association, probably because the Episcopal congregations tended to be much wealthier and privileged and therefore less threatened by the cheap labor of the immigrants.
17. Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 4, 13, 26, 99.
18. Simon Bradley, "The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker," *Architectural History*, vol. 45 (2002), 339; Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 85-89, 106-107.
19. Frank Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1850), 10.
20. Thomas H. Keels, *Forgotten Philadelphia: Lost Architecture of the Quaker City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 69-71; Roger Moss, *Historic Sacred Places of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 86-90.
21. Calder Loth and Julius Trousdale Sadler, Jr., *The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975); Greiff, 59; Stanton, 55-6. Between 1840 and 1846 several important Gothic revival churches were constructed in New York City, including Trinity Church (1840-46) by Richard Upjohn and Grace Church (1843-46) by James Renwick, Jr.
22. Stanton, 46; Moss, 130-34. The original interior of St. Stephen's has been obscured by late nineteenth-century alterations by Frank Furness.
23. *Public Ledger*, June 26, 1852; "Public Improvements," *North American and United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, June 25, 1853; "City Architecture," *North American and United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, April 26, 1852.
24. Leslie Nathan Broughton, ed., *Wordsworth & Reed, The Poet's Correspondence with His American Editor: 1836-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1933); Thomas J. Scharf and Thomas Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884), 1152; "Professor Henry Reed," *North American and United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, October 12, 1854.

After Wordsworth's death, Reed continued to correspond with the poet's widow, and in fact traveled to England in 1854, visiting her and the daughter of Samuel Coolidge Taylor. It was on the return trip to Philadelphia that Reed was killed, along with 300 others, in the infamous sinking of the steamship the *Arctic*, after it collided with a French steamer outside New York.

25. Reed to Wordsworth, April 28, 1841, quoted in Broughton, 51-52.
26. Reed to Wordsworth, April 25, 1836, quoted in Broughton, 3.
27. Alan Hill, "New Light on Wordsworth's American Friends: The Poet's Relations with William Bradford Reed," *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 48, no. 191 (August, 1997), 333-34; Scharf and Wescott, 1152, 1167.
28. Elisa Tamarin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008): xxvi, 70; Paul Langford, "Manners and Character in Anglo-American Perceptions, 1750-1850," in *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership*, ed. Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinault (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 87.
29. "The Victoria Fever," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. 6, no. 19 (July, 1839), 74.
30. Stanton, 159-60.
31. "Address by Mr. Ralston of Philadelphia," *New York Ecclesiologist*, Vol. I, No. I (October, 1848): 2; "New Churches," *New York Ecclesiologist*, Vol. I, No. I (October, 1848): 39; "New Churches," *New York Ecclesiologist*, Vol. I, No. II (January, 1849): 73.
32. Ralston's commitment to Ecclesiology and the High Church branch of the Episcopal Church is even more notable since he came from a prominent Presbyterian family. His father, Robert Ralston, Sr., was a church elder at Philadelphia's Second Presbyterian Church. Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia and her Merchants* (Philadelphia: Abraham Ritter, 1860), 183; Cornelius C. Cuyler, *Believers, Sojourners on Earth and Expectants of Heaven; A Sermon Occasioned on the Death of Robert Ralston, Esq.* (Philadelphia: William S. Martin, 1836).
33. Frank William Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families," *The North American*, Philadelphia, July 7, 1916.
34. Stanton, 13-14; Warner, 61.

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Agecroft, as it stands today in Richmond, Virginia.

Agecroft Hall

FROM ELIZABETHAN MANOR HOUSE TO VICTORIAN COUNTRY HOUSE

CHRIS NOVELLI

Evoking an image of Elizabethan splendor, half-timbered Agecroft Hall, originally located in Lancashire, England, has been an American landmark since it was disassembled, brought to Richmond, Virginia, in the 1920s, and rebuilt on a hill overlooking the James River. Although Agecroft is better known for its twentieth-century history as the house that crossed the Atlantic, its history during the Victorian period is equally fascinating – for the house had already experienced another, earlier rebirth in England during the mid-nineteenth century.

Agecroft's nineteenth-century British owners, like many other newly wealthy families of the period, aspired to the lifestyle of country gentry. Starting in the 1850s, they went to great effort and expense to transform the venerable dwelling from a genuine Tudor manor house into a Tudor Revival showplace. Reflecting the contemporary fascination with the "Old English" style, they added newer, grander Tudor-style architectural features and extended one wing of the house with servants' quarters. Agecroft Hall became more "Elizabethan" with each passing year. During the nineteenth century, no one had qualms about taking an authentic Tudor edifice and touching it up a bit to make it look even more "authentic." Surviving period drawings and photographs captured this evolution. Photos from the 1880s show the interiors lavishly adorned with deeply carved oak furniture, exotic palms, porcelain, and armor, suggesting the accumulation of centuries. The English architectural press started to take notice. Agecroft was featured three times in *Country Life* magazine as well as in the book *In English Homes*. Agecroft provides a fascinating case study of the Tudor, or Elizabethan, Revival of the nineteenth century as well as the English Aesthetic movement, which dominated interior design during the 1870s and 1880s.

Agecroft's Early History

Between 1199 and 1925, the Agecroft estate was owned by five families – the Prestwiches, the Langleys, the Dautesseys, the Hulls, and the Bucks.² The earliest part of the original house before its removal was its east range, or wing, believed to date from around 1500.³ In 1527, Robert Langley III (1506-1561) inherited Agecroft from his

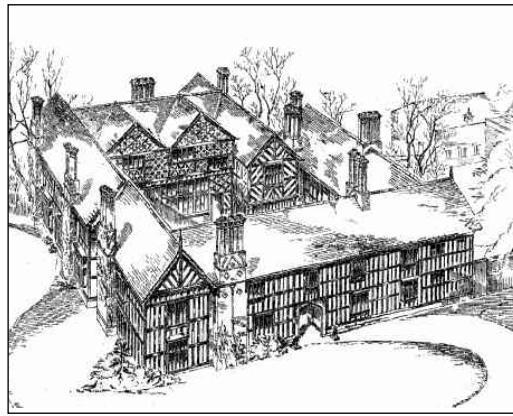
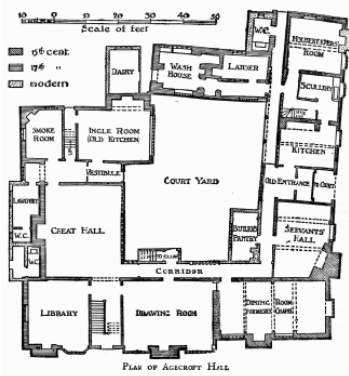
grandfather, and King Henry VIII granted additional lands to him in 1545; the fortunes of the Langley family reached their zenith during Robert's lifetime.⁴ Agecroft Hall appears to have been a modest three-room farmhouse during this period, comprised of a hall, a chapel on the south end, and a chamber above the chapel. It was built using traditional timber-frame construction, with mud and twigs between the timbers. It appears that the kitchen was located north of the hall and may have been a detached structure.

A hall with a cross wing at one end and a kitchen on the other was a standard arrangement for manor houses during the medieval period. The hall, or great hall, was traditionally used for dining, feasting, and entertaining and was the center of domestic life in the medieval household. The great hall was usually the largest room because it was where the entire household – the family, servants, and guests – dined together, demonstrating the strength and unity of the household and the wealth and generosity of its lord.⁵ The great hall was also the main room of entry, used for receiving guests.

The Elizabethan Era

When Sir Robert Langley died in 1561, his estates were divided among his four daughters.⁶ Without a male heir, his death meant the end of the Langley line at Agecroft. Robert's daughter, Anne (1536-1618), received Agecroft Hall. She married William Dautesey of London and Wiltshire (c. 1542-1622) around 1570.⁷ Agecroft then passed into the Dautesey family. William Dautesey, a first son, was a man of wealth and property and a member of England's rising gentry class. His family's wealth was derived from the wool trade.

Even though William Dautesey also owned properties in London, Wiltshire, and Essex, he made Agecroft his family seat. After his marriage, he added three wings onto the original range, giving the house a fashionable quadrangular plan with a courtyard. William built a new great hall and kitchen across from the original house and connected them with new family wings and servants' wings. William Dautesey's newly enlarged residence was an excellent example of a traditional Tudor courtyard house. With its decorative half-timbering, diamond-pane



(L to R): Floorplan of Agecroft, Lancashire, England, 1911; three wings were added by William Dautesey, giving the house a fashionable quadrangular plan with a courtyard; an impressive display of glass windows and ornately patterned gables decorates the hall range.

casement windows, and elaborate chimneys, it reflected the latest architectural fashions and improvements in building technology.

As visitors passed through Agecroft's arched entranceway, their gaze was directed across the courtyard to the hall entrance opposite, and the new hall range with its impressive display of glass windows and ornately patterned gables. This was the primary facade and the most decorated part of the house. During the Elizabethan period, decorative half-timbering reached its highpoint in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and it essentially became a vernacular art form, featuring intricate patterns of stars, crosses, and quatrefoils.

After crossing the courtyard, visitors entered the house proper, passing through the screens passage to the great hall. Whereas medieval great halls had high, open-beam ceilings, William Dautesey's new great hall was one-story, as was the current fashion, and featured a fourteen-foot plaster ceiling adorned with a grid of oak beams.⁸ Great halls were still a status symbol in Elizabethan England and the traditional setting for feasts and great occasions, but they were no longer used for everyday dining by the family.

From this point, Agecroft passed through successive generations of the Dautesey family. Although alterations were made over the years, none of these were great, and the house retained its basic quadrangular form. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the family began to experience financial troubles. Following the English Civil War, financial problems appear to have been endemic among the Lancashire gentry.

The Nineteenth Century

The earliest existing image of Agecroft is an engraving thought to be from the early nineteenth century.⁹ It shows the south and east ranges of the house as they looked before their Victorian refurbishment. The image proves that at some point (probably in the eighteenth century) the exterior of the house was covered with plaster stucco. This treatment would have reflected Georgian tastes and also protected the timber framing from the elements. The casement windows on the east range were small and

asymmetrically arranged.

The last direct Dautesey heir was Reverend John Dautesey, who had inherited Agecroft in 1748 and who died unmarried in 1813.¹⁰ At this point, Agecroft passed to a distant branch of the family, the Hull family of Chorley, a nearby Lancashire town. Since so many members of the Hull family died either unmarried or childless during the nineteenth century, the house bounced around among brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces, and second cousins. Two individuals appear to have been responsible for most of the nineteenth-century work at Agecroft, barrister John Buck and his second cousin, Captain Robert Hull-Brown. John Buck received a quarter share of the Agecroft estate in 1841 and was the full owner between 1862 and 1868. Captain Robert Hull-Brown owned it from 1878 until his death in 1904.

After Reverend John Dautesey's death in 1813, Agecroft passed to John Hull, a surgeon and distant cousin, who died later the same year.¹¹ John Hull, in turn, left Agecroft jointly to his two sisters – Margaret, who was John Buck's mother, and her sister, Elizabeth, John's spinster aunt.¹² Upon inheriting Agecroft, John's parents moved there and assumed responsibility. John was a year old at the time. He had an older brother, Robert, and two sisters, Catherine and Margaret.

The years of Margaret and Richard Buck's ownership during the early nineteenth century were a time of dramatic transformation for the entire Manchester region. In the words of historian Wes Stone,

The area around Manchester, in particular, underwent the drastic changes associated with the worst of the industrial revolution and went from bucolic pasture and arable fields to coal pits and factory smoke which could blot out the sun at noon. By the middle of the 19th century, Manchester was at the height of industrialization . . .¹³

In 1826, the Reverend Buck sold leases for coal mines at Agecroft to Andrew Knowles, and large-scale coal

mining began on the estate.¹⁴ This brought an infusion of much-needed capital to the manor.

Margaret Buck died in 1830, and in June 1834 her sister, Miss Elizabeth Hull (1779-1862), moved to Agecroft. In May 1841, at the age of eighty, Richard Buck conveyed his half share of the estate to his sons John and Robert, who then became joint owners with their aunt, Elizabeth Hull.¹⁵ In the 1841 census, Robert and John were both recorded as living at Agecroft with their aunt and three servants.¹⁶ In 1843, for some unknown reason, John Buck sold his quarter share of Agecroft to his aunt for £9,000.¹⁷ His brother, Robert, conveyed half of his quarter share to Elizabeth, as well, leaving him with an eighth share in Agecroft.¹⁸ Elizabeth now owned seven-eighths of the Agecroft estate. Reverend Richard Buck died in 1845 at the age of eighty-four.

By the early 1850s, the family had started renovating Agecroft Hall in the fashionable “Old English” style, as it was then known. The second oldest image of Agecroft that survives is a drawing in John Booker’s 1852 *Memorials of the Church of Prestwich*. This rendering shows the east range seemingly frozen in mid-metamorphosis. A number of cosmetic alterations intended to restore the original Elizabethan character of the house are evident. Most noticeable is the removal of most of the plaster stucco to reveal the underlying timber framing. Large casement windows have been installed across the facade and the smaller windows eliminated, giving the east range a more uniform appearance.¹⁹ An oriel window appeared for the first time above the arched entranceway. Furthermore, the chimney was redesigned, and the north end of the range was extended with a scullery and a housekeeper’s room. It does not seem likely that either Reverend Richard Buck or Elizabeth Hull would have been responsible for these changes; Richard was already elderly when he died in 1845, and Elizabeth was an elderly spinster. John Buck, on the other hand, was a barrister in London during the 1850s and 1860s and would seem a more likely candidate. He would have been forty in 1852. It is also possible that the idea for restoring Agecroft may have originally come from Elizabeth and then have been implemented by her nephew, John.²⁰

Remodelings of country houses had been going on since the Middle Ages. During the Victorian period, however, remodelings were more frequent and on a larger scale. This was not so much because needs and tastes were changing, but due to the fact that money was coming in faster. The Industrial Revolution generated a tremendous amount of wealth, which affected all levels of society. Older landed families often found their incomes increased as coal was found under their fields or towns spread over their property.²¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, the Agecroft estate was being heavily mined for coal. An 1850 map shows three separate mines in the immediate vicinity of the house.²²

That Agecroft was being renovated in the Elizabethan half-timbered style in 1852 demonstrates that its owners were very much aware of current architectural fashions. In fact, Elizabethan manor houses in Lancashire had



Top: The earliest existing image of Agecroft is this engraving, thought to be from the early nineteenth century. Bottom: A drawing of Agecroft that appeared in John Booker’s 1852 *Memorials of the Church of Prestwich*.

begun to be renovated as early as the 1820s.²³ Manchester’s first Gothic Revival buildings were erected in the 1850s, and a revival of half-timbered architecture began in nearby Cheshire that same decade.

Elizabeth Hull died in 1862 at the age of eighty-three. In a gesture of fierce family pride, she stipulated in her will that all heirs must take the name and arms of Dautesey by Act of Parliament or License from the Crown in order to “prevent the extinction of the name.”²⁴ She bequeathed her seven-eighth shares of Agecroft, first, to her nephew, Robert Buck, then, in case that failed, to his brother, John, and then to their sister, Catherine, and finally, if they had no issue, to her nephew, Robert Hull-Brown. Over the next sixteen years, this proved to be the order of succession at Agecroft. Unfortunately, Elizabeth’s nephew Robert died unmarried only three weeks after she did. The estate was then settled on Robert’s brother John, who became the sole owner of Agecroft.²⁵ John Buck became the first in a series of owners of the Hall to assume the name of Dautesey, in 1867.²⁶ Soon after inheriting Agecroft, he undertook extensive repairs and alterations to the house. Most of this work took place between 1865 and 1867.²⁷

The architectural evolution of Agecroft during the nineteenth century is difficult to trace because it is not

known exactly when specific alterations were made. One of the more significant changes was the reorientation of the main entrance from the east range around to the south range. By this time, the south and west ranges comprised the formal rooms and family living quarters; the north and east ranges were utilitarian servant spaces. There had always been a door on the south range, but now it became the main entrance, providing direct access to the great hall, library, and drawing room. Other changes included the addition of a butler's pantry in a corner of the courtyard and a dairy on the north range. Interior changes included the conversion of the great hall into a billiards room. The adjacent kitchen and buttery were remodeled into sitting and smoking rooms, respectively. Lavatories were also added.

The oldest known photograph of Agecroft, believed to have been taken between 1865 and 1875, shows the east

1884, Agecroft was featured in Henry Taylor's *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, published in Manchester. After the turn of the century, Agecroft was discovered by *Country Life Magazine* and was featured in October 1902 and again in April 1903.³¹ The coverage in *Country Life* made Agecroft an object of national attention. The write-ups in both issues noted that few timber houses like Agecroft were so well preserved and praised the current owner for maintaining its ancient character. In 1904, Agecroft was included in Charles Latham's *In English Homes*, a large volume published by *Country Life* with monographs and fine photographs of English houses. Agecroft was featured in *Country Life* one last time in May 1929.³²

Agecroft and the Gothic and Elizabethan Revivals
By the time Agecroft Hall was featured in *Country Life*,



The earliest known photograph of Agecroft, Lancashire, taken between 1865 and 1875.

range basically as it looked in the 1920s just before its removal. The remaining stucco had been eliminated and the two chimneys completely remodeled. The large pond visible in the foreground of the photo, though a very picturesque feature, was formed by the sinking of the ground due to coal mines below. Barrister John Buck Dautesey died at Agecroft in 1868, unmarried at the age of 56. In his will, he left Agecroft to his sister Catherine (1808-1878), the one remaining sibling.²⁸ Catherine was listed as living there in the 1871 census with four servants.²⁹ She married but died childless in 1878 at the age of seventy.

Agecroft then passed to Catherine's second cousin, Captain Robert Hull-Brown, who also took the surname Dautesey.³⁰ In 1882, he married Miss Alice Mary Schomberg. It was during their ownership that Agecroft reached the fullest flowering of its nineteenth-century rebirth. Photos taken in 1886 of the house and grounds provide a wonderful glimpse of Agecroft as a late-Victorian country house.

The architectural press began to take note. As early as

many of its ancient charms actually dated from the nineteenth century. Agecroft's Victorian transformation was a direct result of changing architectural fashions and philosophies. It was part of a national awakening of interest in England's medieval and Tudor past and the romantic revival of Gothic and Elizabethan architecture. Fueled by nostalgia, patriotism, and a religious revival, interest in the Gothic and Elizabethan styles became a national obsession which lasted from the 1820s through the end of the century. The type of timber-frame architecture that Agecroft represents, and which was revived in the nineteenth century, was a traditional type of construction that reached its high-point during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603).

The new interest in Elizabethan timber-frame architecture that began to appear in the 1820s and 1830s was part of the broader Gothic Revival movement. The Gothic Revival, in turn, was a product of the Romantic movement in the arts, a new appreciation of history, and the rising nationalism of the nineteenth century. During this period, the modern industrialized nations of Europe

began to seek styles of architecture that would best represent their unique national spirit and identity. In England, architects and patrons looked back to the last time the country had a truly home-grown national style to a time before classical influence had arrived and when native building traditions had flourished – the late Middle Ages and the Tudor period. The Gothic and Elizabethan styles were perceived as being quintessentially English, as embodying an inherently English spirit and national identity.

At first, no great distinction was made between what was Gothic and what was Elizabethan; it was all nostalgically reminiscent of “Olde England” and was loosely coined the “Old English” style. But as understanding of period styles became clearer, Gothic and Elizabethan came to be seen as two distinct entities. Since the architecture of Elizabeth’s reign was a major focus of interest during the nineteenth century, and because contemporary writers nearly always referred to half-timbered architecture as Elizabethan, this article gives preference to the term Elizabethan over the more general Tudor. The two terms, however, are largely interchangeable.

As the Romantic movement intensified during the nineteenth-century, a wave of enthusiasm for the Middle Ages and Tudor period swept England. It was suddenly fashionable to live in a “historic” and “romantic” old hall, which had only just recently been considered a cold and drafty old hall. A number of factors coalesced to foster an interest in the Elizabethan era during the 1820s. The most important single event was the Elizabethan-style coronation of King George IV in 1821. For patriotic and religious reasons the Elizabethan period was seen as the most acceptable and proper for a Protestant power.³³ The Elizabethan regalia in which George dressed all his Privy Councilors, for instance, evoked the period.³⁴

Publications also played a key role in stoking the passion for things Elizabethan. The romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott, including *Kenilworth* in 1821 and *The Fortunes of Nigel* in 1822, are widely credited with helping to fuel a growing nostalgia for the Middle Ages and Tudor period.³⁵ Even more important was Joseph Nash’s four volume work *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*. Published between 1839 and 1849, this book comprised a collection of 104 nostalgic illustrations of romantic medieval and Elizabethan manor houses. These plates, perhaps more than anything else, gave rise to the romantic notion of a lost past.³⁶

Another factor directly tied to this idea of a lost Old England was a widespread reaction against the effects of the Industrial Revolution. As towns and factories spread over fields and farms, the entire English rural tradition began to be seen as threatened.³⁷ People came to seek the visual surroundings of a pre-industrial age, and the Middle Ages and Tudor period were romanticized as part of a purer, more bucolic past.

By the 1830s, the most popular source of inspiration for domestic designs was the Gothic, Tudor, or Elizabethan manor house.³⁸ According to British

architectural historian Mark Girouard,

To the Victorians such houses conjured up images of an old-style English gentleman, dispensing hospitality in the great hall, with fires blazing in the great arched fireplaces, smoke rising from innumerable chimney-stacks, comfortable groups gossiping in ingles and oriels, and generous sheltering roofs over all.³⁹

As a result, the display of traditional timber framing, or half-timbering, became fashionable. This was made practical by the recent discovery that coal tar, a by-product of the coal industry, could be used as a wood preservative. It was no longer necessary to cover the walls of a house with plaster to protect them from the elements; a coat of tar allowed the timber framing to remain exposed but undamaged by the weather. This development, coming as it did just when fashionable people were trying to medievalize their houses, led to the “black and white work” now so closely associated in the popular mind with Tudor England.⁴⁰

Up until the middle of the century, country house life had been acquiring an increasingly religious tone, with Gothic leading Elizabethan. However, as religious enthusiasm cooled in the 1860s, the situation began to reverse.⁴¹ Reaction started to set in to the solemnity and heavy ecclesiastical tone of the High Victorian Gothic.⁴² The Elizabethan style was seen as a more relaxed and genial alternative. It embodied the accepted image of a lost “Merrie Olde England.”

Agecroft and the Aesthetic Movement

Photographs of Agecroft taken during the 1880s show the rooms richly adorned in the latest Aesthetic movement taste. The wealth of ornamental patterns, Oriental carpets, Asian porcelain, richly carved furniture, and exotica all combined to give the feeling of “artistic” eclecticism that the late Victorians aimed at achieving.

The Aesthetic movement began in England in the 1860s and sought to enrich and ennoble domestic life through the beauty and power of art. Reaching its highpoint between the mid-1870s and mid-1880s, the movement placed a new and powerful emphasis on the decorative arts, seeking to raise them to the level of fine art. The design of furniture, metalwork, ceramics, stained glass, wallpapers, and textiles were all affected. Like the Arts and Crafts movement, the Aesthetic movement was a reaction against the often poor quality of craftsmanship resulting from industrial mass production.

The Aesthetic movement was also a response to the realization that the entire world produces art and that all cultures and civilizations could serve as sources of inspiration. Objects from foreign civilizations were relished for their exotic associations. An artistically designed room was not limited to the arts of one period or country but drew inspiration from any number of cultures and styles. Now the center of an overseas empire, Britain was exposed to artistic traditions from across the globe. British designers were free to pick and choose from a rich pageant of foreign cultures and civilizations.



Agecroft's great hall as a billiard room (1886) and later as a parlor/music room with pianos and an organ (c. 1895).

Over the centuries, English great halls had largely fallen into disuse, becoming little more than entrance vestibules. The Romantic revival of old English architecture and customs included the revival of the great hall and the kind of large-scale entertaining that took place in them. The great hall was, in fact, one of the main aspects of English architecture that was thought to be uniquely and quintessentially English. Great halls received a boost when Westminster Hall was used as the setting for the magnificent coronation banquet of King George IV in 1821. Many new country houses of the 1830s and 1840s were built with great halls as part of the general revival of interest in the Middle Ages and in "old English hospitality."

Once call bell systems were invented, it was no longer necessary to have servants waiting in the hall, and families started finding new uses for these rooms.⁴³ Some halls began to be used as billiard rooms. During the first half of the century, billiards increasingly became a gentleman's game, and a billiard room became a necessity in a country house of any size. The billiard room became the nucleus of the increasingly large and sacrosanct male domain in the Victorian country house, which often included separate territories for men and women.⁴⁴

During the middle of the century, halls began to be used as informal living rooms in addition to their continued use for special occasions such as balls and dinners. They became especially popular for large house parties. By the 1850s and 1860s halls were often being equipped with organs, as well as with sofas and armchairs from which the members of the house party could listen.⁴⁵

Agecroft's great hall reflected these trends. By 1884, it had been converted into a billiard room with a large billiard table in the center beneath a six-light gas fixture. Even though the room was used for billiards, it still displayed the traditional trappings of a great hall such as weaponry and deer antlers mounted on the walls along with large portraits of ancestors in gilt frames.⁴⁶ Later, Agecroft's great hall was converted into a parlor/music room, with grand and upright pianos as well as an organ. The six-light gas fixture was replaced by two giant brass chandeliers. Comfortable chairs and sofas with tasseled

fringes were added. The floor was now covered with oriental carpets, and potted plants were introduced. Small accent tables with tasseled tablecloths were deployed around the room like islands and loaded down with picturesque bric-a-brac. Every flat surface was commandeered for the display of objects, all artistically arranged. The dense web of surface patterning which flowed over textiles and carved wooden furniture alike, together with the eclectic juxtaposition of suits of armor with peacock feathers, Asian porcelain, and wicker chairs, epitomized Aesthetic movement taste.

Agecroft Hall's Tudor-style transformation was very much a result of the changing tastes and architectural fashions of Victorian England. It was one of many half-timbered manor houses in Lancashire and across the country which received Elizabethan-style restorations on the exterior and Aesthetic movement makeovers on the interior. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Hull and Buck families went to great effort and expense to restore Agecroft's Elizabethan character, adding numerous enhancements along the way. They were ultimately successful in achieving what they were trying to accomplish; by the end of the century, Agecroft exuded Elizabethan charm from every brick and timber. On the interior, the family infused the house with an aesthetic richness that comes across even in old black-and-white photographs.

The Twentieth Century

Although Agecroft appears to have been flourishing during the late-nineteenth century, the estate around it was being ravaged by industrial development. The house had the dubious distinction of being located just outside of Manchester, a thriving center of the British textile industry, a birthplace of the Industrial Revolution. The estate also had the misfortune (or fortune, depending on one's point of view) of being located above large coal deposits. During the eighteenth century, as Manchester grew to become the cotton capital of the world, a canal was cut across Agecroft lands to transport coal to the steam engines that powered Manchester's cotton and textile mills. Coal mining at Agecroft began in 1826, and

in the 1850s the East Lancashire Railway ran a rail line through the middle of the property. After the last owner-occupant, Captain Robert Dautesey, died in 1904, subsequent owners allowed for the mining of coal underneath the house itself, which undermined the foundation.

By 1910, Agecroft was vacant and the surrounding fields consumed by nearly a century of coal mining. By the 1920s, the house had been stripped of its contents. Sold at public auction to American banker Thomas C. Williams, Jr. in 1925, the hall was dismantled and the usable portions shipped across the Atlantic in crates. New York architect Henry Grant Morse rebuilt the house on a smaller scale in Richmond, Virginia, as the home of Williams and his wife Elizabeth. It was completed in 1928. Sadly, Thomas Williams died from pneumonia a year later, in 1929, but left a generous endowment to

support the hall for the use of the people of Richmond as an art gallery. In 1967, Elizabeth moved to smaller quarters and helped to convert the house into a museum, as had been her husband's wish. Agecroft has been open to the public as a historic house museum since 1969.

Most studies of Agecroft have focused on either its twentieth-century history as the house that was moved across the Atlantic, or else its Elizabethan and early-Stuart history, which is the current mission of the museum. Little attention, however, has been paid to the house's history during the nineteenth century. Considering that many of Agecroft's character-defining architectural features which survive today are actually Victorian, this is a period of significance in the history of the house that deserves greater attention.



Notes

1. *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, William Farrer and J. Brownbill eds., 8 vols., (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1906-1914, vol. 4: 1911), 4:403.
2. The Prestwiches owned Agecroft from 1199 to about 1350, when Joanna de Tetlowe married Richard de Langley. (Joanna's mother, Alice, had been a Prestwich prior to her marriage.) The Langleys owned Agecroft until about 1570, when Anne Langley married William Dautesey.
3. According to the *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, "The house was probably begun at the end of the reign of Henry VII, or at the beginning of that of Henry VIII . . ." (*Victoria History*, 4:401). Henry VIII succeeded his father, Henry VII, to the throne in 1509.
4. Agecroft Document #117: "Letters Patent from King Henry 8th conveying lands in Pendleton and Salford co. Lancashire to Robert Langley of Agecroft, Esquire and his heirs for ever," 1545, Agecroft Hall, Richmond.
5. Mark Girouard, *Life In the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 34.
6. *Victoria History*, 4:399.
7. *Victoria History*, 4:399; Agecroft Document #130: "Settlement of the capital messuage of Agecroft, and lands &c. in Pendlebury and Prestwich, by Sir Robert Langley of Agecroft, Knight," 1561, Agecroft Hall, Richmond.
8. The great hall at Speke Hall (c. 1530), outside of Liverpool, has a similar ceiling.
9. The print is located in the Manchester Central Library. The early-nineteenth-century date is based on the observation that the men depicted in the scene are wearing pants and not knee britches.
10. He was buried at St. Mary's Parish Church, Eccles on 28 April 1813 aged 78, (Memorial inscription, St. Mary's Parish Church, Eccles).
11. Agecroft Document #222: Will of John Dautesey, 10 October 1811, Agecroft Hall, Richmond.
12. Will of John Hull, 12 May 1813, Chetham's Library (Box 8, bdl 1b no. 43, Agecroft/6/42), Manchester, England.
13. Wes Stone, *Five Hundred and Fifty Years: An Outline of the History of Agecroft Hall in Eccles Parish, Salford, Lancashire 1376-1926* (Agecroft Hall, Richmond Virginia, 1989), 35.
14. "Draft agreement for the sale of coals at Agecroft in the County of Lancaster," 1826, Chetham's Library (Bdl 11, Misc docs no. 4/14, Agecroft/11/16), Manchester, England.
15. "Surrender and conveyance of Agecroft Hall Estate from Rev. Richard Buck to Robert and John Buck esqs., 29 May 1841, Chetham's Library (Box 6 no 16 Agecroft/11/84), Manchester, England.
16. 1841 Census.
17. "John Buck Esquire to Elizabeth Hull Release in See of one undivided fourth part of a Moiety of the Agecroft Hall Estate in at Pendlebury Pendleton Prestwich and Clifton in the County of in Lancaster," 28 October 1843, Chetham's Library (box 6, no. 21), Manchester, England.
18. Will of Robert Buck, Esq., 11 January 1854, proved 29 January 1863, Agecroft Hall, Richmond. In his will, Robert left his undivided eighth share of Agecroft to his aunt, Elizabeth Hull, and after her death to his brother, John Buck.
19. Even though these large Tudor-style casement windows were a product of the mid-nineteenth century, they were quite well done and so convincingly Elizabethan that they could easily pass for the real thing.

20. The reason for this speculation is because of something Elizabeth did: In her thirteen-page will she stipulated that all subsequent owners must assume the surname Dautesey in place of their own name when they inherited the Agecroft estate. This shows that Elizabeth was an ardent traditionalist who clearly had strong ideas of her own and was not afraid of imposing them on others.
21. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 268.
22. Stone, "Five Hundred and Fifty," 41.
23. Rufford Old Hall was enlarged and refurbished in the 1820s, and Samesbury Hall received Elizabethan enhancements in the 1830s.
24. Will of Elizabeth Hull, 11 January 1854, proved 28 January 1863, Agecroft Hall, Richmond. Her thirteen-page will specifically notes her "seven undivided eighth parts or shares."
25. *Victoria History*, 4:400.
26. *Victoria History*, 4:400; *The London Gazette* (23 October 1863).
27. According to the *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, published in 1911, Agecroft was "very much modernized both inside and out in the middle of the last century, considerable repairs and alterations having taken place there about the year 1865-7." (*Victoria History*, 4:401.)
28. Will of John Buck Dautesey, 27 June 1867, Agecroft Hall, Richmond.
29. 1871 Census.
30. *Victoria History*, 4:400.
31. "Agecroft Hall, Lancashire, The Seat of Mr. Robert Dautesey," *Country Life*, October 4, 1902, 432-439; "Agecroft Hall, Lancashire, The Seat of Mr. Robert Dautesey," *Country Life*, April 4, 1903, 433-40.
32. "Agecroft Hall, The Seat of Robert Dautesey," *Country Life*, May 10, 1929, 452-459.
33. Mowl, *Elizabethan & Jacobean Style*, 202. This is why the Houses of Parliament were designed in a Gothic/Tudor style. By the 1830s, the Gothic Revival had largely displaced the classical tradition as the most appropriate idiom for high-profile government and institutional buildings in London.
34. Mowl, *Elizabethan & Jacobean Style*, 202.
35. David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1896), 404.
36. Mowl, *Elizabethan & Jacobean Style*, 213.
37. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, 68.
38. Girouard, *Life In the English Country House*, 272.
39. Girouard, *Life In the English Country House*, 272, 273.
40. Richard Muir, *Shell Guide to Reading the Landscape* (London: Michael Joseph, Ltd., 1981), 231.
41. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, 53.
42. Watkin, *History of Western Architecture*, 408.
43. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 288-290.
44. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, 34-35. The great hall of Rufford Old Hall was also used as a billiards room during the nineteenth century.
45. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 290-292.
46. The use of Agecroft's great hall as a billiards room is specifically mentioned in Henry Taylor's *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, published in 1884. (Henry Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire* [Manchester: J.E. Cornish, 1884], 54.)



Hammatt Billings, on stone by J. H. Bufford, Youle Cottage, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1837. From Wm. Bailey Lang *Views...of the Highland Cottages*, 1845.

Wm. Bailey Lang's *Highland Cottages* as Endorsed by A. J. Downing

JAMES F. O'GORMAN

Andrew Jackson Downing's seminal *Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening . . . with Remarks on Rural Architecture* of 1841 opens with this sentence: "A taste for rural improvements of every description is advancing silently . . . in this country."¹ Later he states,

The environs of Boston are more highly cultivated than those of any other city in North America. There are here whole neighborhoods of pretty cottages and villas, admirably cultivated, and, in many cases, tastefully laid out and planted. . . . [W]e regard them as furnishing admirable hints for a class of residences likely to become more numerous than any other in this country – the tasteful suburban cottage.²

The picturesque illustrations in this section show the grounds of James Perkins's Pine Bank in Brookline and James Arnold's rustic garden retreat in New Bedford. In Downing's *Cottage Residences* of the next year, "the first yet published in this country" devoted to the subject according to the author, he aimed to inspire all persons "to appreciate how superior is the charm of that home where we discover the tasteful cottage or villa, and the well designed, and neatly kept garden or grounds, full of beauty and harmony."³ For the cottage he recommended the rural Gothic style characterized mainly, he wrote, by pointed gables. For the villa he preferred the Italianate. Downing's tracts must soon have fallen under the eyes of a merchant then living in Boston, with the following result.

The editor of the *Boston Transcript* on October 21, 1845, noted that "We have been much gratified to find among the new publications on our table a neat and useful volume entitled 'Views, with Ground Plans of the Highland Cottages at Roxbury.' It is well known that these beautiful and convenient rural residences have been designed and erected by Wm. Bailey Lang, Esq." To fill out this vague bibliographical notice, the slender 9.4 by 11.4 inch folio contains five "Scenic Views" of three cottages and outbuildings drawn by Hammatt Billings and lithographed by John Henry Bufford, both of Boston, and four drawings of plans and elevations of the cottages, all built by Lang between 1837 and 1845.⁴ The publication is modest but nonetheless a manifest example of the

influence of Downing on the realization of picturesque architecture in the Boston suburbs, and it was the occasion for the noted author, landscape gardener, and rural architect to send a letter of appreciation to Lang that is published here for the first time. Although he must have written a mountain of letters over his career – in a visit to his Hudson River home about this time Fredrika Bremer reported that he wrote ten or twelve a day – only a small portion of original correspondence has survived, so any new discovery is worthy of attention.⁵ This is especially true of letters from the mid-1840s, a seemingly scantily documented period in Downing's life.⁶

Roxbury was then a rural area adjacent to the town of Brookline and the city of Boston; it is now part of the latter and by no means rural. In his brief Introduction Lang emphasized that his houses had been designed "*without the aid of any professional man*" (Lang's emphasis), that his aim in publishing them was solely "to assist in creating a taste for Rural Architecture," and that a "change is now taking place, each year bringing evidences of an increased taste for country life, and a better appreciation of natural scenery." If such rhetoric were not sufficient to show the influence of Downing, Lang's designs would certainly indicate that he was a man who knew the literature on the picturesque headed in this country by Downing's books. The Roxbury cottages are not copies. They are more elaborately planned and irregular in massing than Downing's at this point, perhaps because they were meant for real people whereas Downing was illustrating an aesthetic point, but they are certainly Downingsque. The author of *Cottage Residences* is not mentioned but everywhere present in Lang's offering. He in effect accepted the responsibility that Downing urged on his readers: that "of providing examples of architectural design worthy of emulation" in order to instill some sense of taste in rural places.⁷

Who was Wm. Bailey Lang? – the "William" usually thus abbreviated but not always. Born in 1801, in Boston, he was, according to various local newspaper and periodical notices, selling fire insurance at the age of twenty-five then became a merchant who in the 1830s advertised as a trader in English clothes. In 1831 he married Susan Hewes. In 1846 he appears as an agent for the sale of a vault under old Trinity Church. By 1851 he

had established himself locally as a trader in English iron, and a few years later left New England for New York where he continued to represent to the railroads the products of the Low Moor Iron Company of Yorkshire as well as Charles Cammell & Co. of Sheffield. In 1882 he was arrested for perjury in a bankruptcy case, although his obituary blamed it on the “base conduct of a trusted relative.” As a merry widower after the death of his wife in 1864 “he was a persistent first-nighter even after he had passed his eighty-fifth year, ... a noted gallant ... [who] seemed the better to enjoy a play if he were accompanied by a young lady.” He died in 1887.⁸

Such details bring the man’s biography in and out of focus, but they do not tell us where he acquired the architectural proclivity that led him to become briefly in mid-life a sometime domestic architect who designed not only the Roxbury cottages but a villa for himself in Stoneham, Massachusetts, in 1848 and ten years later an early Mansard mansion in

Scarsdale, New York.⁹ We must surmise that it was awakened by exposure to Downing’s urgings.

The Stoneham and Scarsdale houses are handsome – and existing – residences, but the slim publication of the Roxbury cottages is what gives Lang a place – however

small – in the history of American architecture as an example of a layman who took seriously Downing’s message of suburban development and improved taste, and acted upon it. Lang named the three cottages Youle, Bute, and Glenn, so designated because in the brief introduction to his publication he advocated naming houses in rural areas where street numbers were not to be found. There are brief comments about each cottage. Erected in 1837, Youle he believed to be “the first attempt at Elizabethan ornamental cottage architecture” in the Boston that “the novelty of the style met

with much opposition from the mechanics employed” and the final house suffered. (How often have we heard professional architects voice such a complaint!) “The



Hammatt Billings, on stone by J. H. Bufford, Bute Cottage, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1845. From Wm Bailey Lang, *Views ... of the Highland Cottages*, 1845.



Alexander Anderson for A. J. Downing, “A Cottage in the English or Rural Gothic Taste.” Wood cut from *Cottage Residences*, 1842.

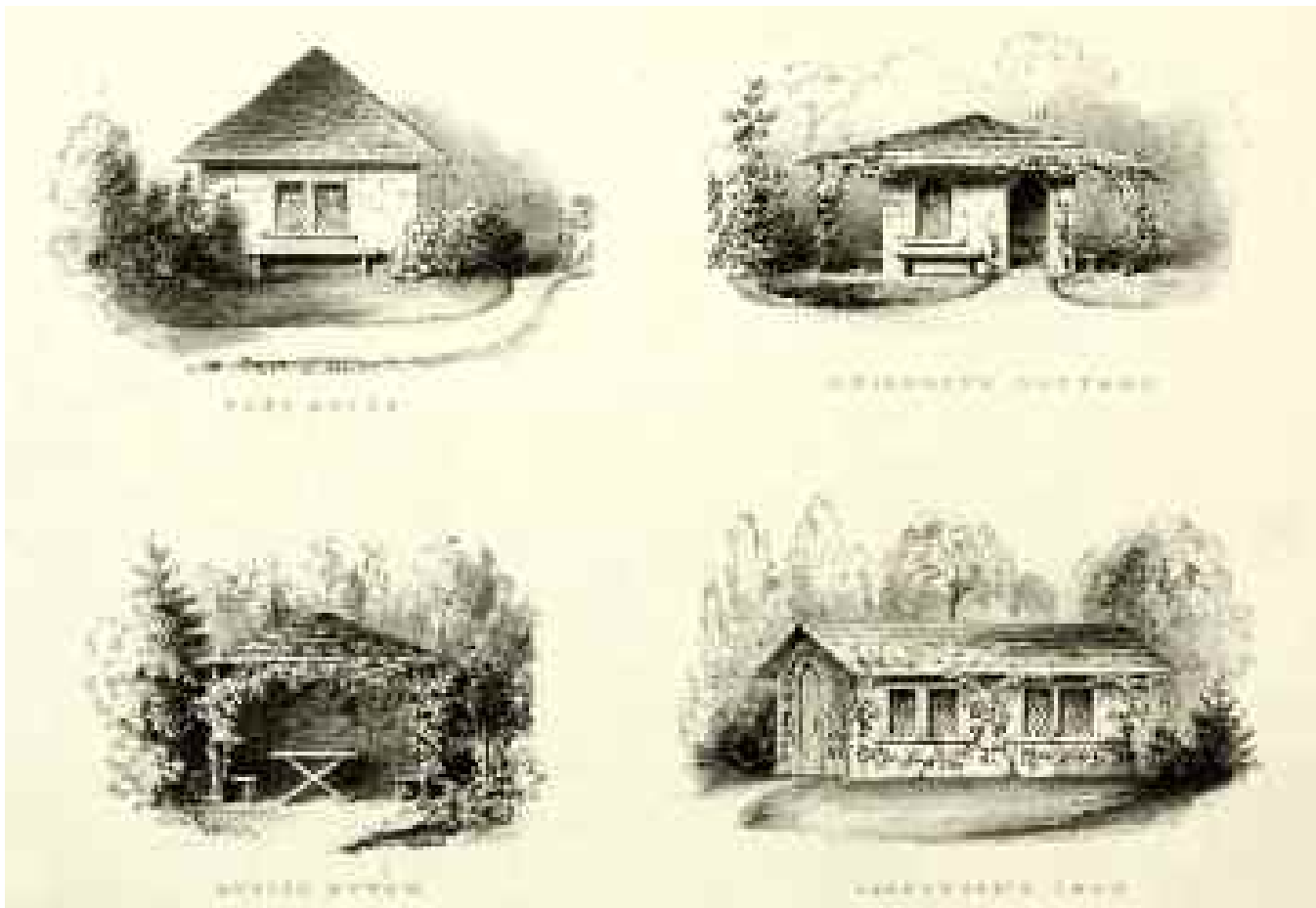
barge-boards and pendants” of Bute Cottage (where Lang lived briefly), built in 1845, “are painted in imitation of oak – the only proper color for such ornaments.” Although that treatment is straight out of *Cottage Residences*, Downing was less dogmatic about it. Lang, however, rejected Downing’s beloved ornamental chimneys because, he wrote, he could find no one capable of building them properly. Bute cottage contained a parlor, dining room, library, ten bed rooms, a good kitchen, and two cellars all set in wooded grounds dotted with a pump house, children’s cottage, carpenter shop, rustic bower, and a tall observatory tower from which one could see “the neighboring towns, the ocean, and the Hotel at Nahant,” a town up the coast.¹⁰ The illustration of Bute cottage was copied in the national press. A correspondent of the *Scientific American* reported the house “much admired in Boston and vicinity.”¹¹ “Climbing roses and ivy have been trained with much good taste” over the smaller Glenn Cottage, Lang wrote. It contained a parlor, dining room, library, kitchen, and four bedrooms, and was set in a garden that rendered the place “in summer one of the most picturesque residences in Roxbury.” Regrettably, it seems that none of the cottages has survived.¹²

The *Scientific American* concluded its notice of the book by saying, “it is remarkably well got up, and the plates are beautiful specimens of lithography.” The *Transcript* notice cited above goes on to say that “it is easy to represent beautiful edifices on paper, but these buildings . . . have been erected at a moderate cost, and have been found . . . to be well adapted for residences such as the young people of New England proudly recognize.”

Easy or not, Lang was shrewd enough to engage Hammatt Billings to illustrate his work in picturesque perspective views and John Henry Bufford to put them on stone. He could not have found locally a better pair to do so. The twenty-seven-year-old Billings was then near the beginning of an important career as jack-of-all-designs, especially architecture and book illustration, but had already made his mark.¹³ He had apprenticed with both the architect Asher Benjamin and the artist Abel Bowen, then drew for A. B. Young during the design of the Boston Customs House. By 1845 he had himself created the extraordinary Italianate Boston Museum (actually a theater) and begun illustrating the works of Jacob Abbott, Lydia Sigourney, James Jarves, and “Mother Goose,” and would eventually enrich those of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, Whittier, and other luminaries. In this period Longfellow called him “altogether the best illustrator of books we have yet in this country.”¹⁴ Billings drew for Bufford’s lithographic stones Lang’s many-gabled cottages dripping with ornament and engulfed with vegetation. And perhaps as a



Top: Hammatt Billings, on stone by J. H. Bufford, Observatory, Bute Cottage, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1845. From Wm. Bailey Lang *Views ... of the Highland Cottages*, 1845.
 Bottom: Hammatt Billings, on stone by J. H. Bufford, Glenn Cottage, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1845. From Wm Bailey Lang, *Views ... of the Highland Cottages*, 1845.



Hamatt Billings, on stone by J. H. Bufford, outbuildings, Bute cottage, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1845. From Wm. Bailey Lang, *Views ... of the Highland Cottages*, 1845.

trained architect he had something to do with their design despite Lang's denial of professional help. Lithography was still in its infancy in the 1840s, and Bufford numbered among its earliest local practitioners. At this time a resident of Roxbury himself, his major output was artistic prints, but he was no stranger to architectural subjects, having worked on A. J. Davis's *Rural Residences* in the previous decade.¹⁵ The Billings-Bufford lithographs are denser versions of the linear wood-engraved scenes executed by Alexander Anderson and published by Downing, but clearly beholden to them. In the overall careers of artist and lithographer these were minor works, but they were at the time eye-catching advertisements for the suburban esthetic advocated by Downing.

The ink was scarcely dry on those illustrations when Lang sent off to Downing a copy of his folio and received a quick and appreciative reply. Lang dated his Introduction September 1845. Although Downing's days were constantly interrupted in these years by visits from admirers, and despite the fact that he wrote to a client from his Hudson River nursery on the twelfth of November that "we are so exceedingly crowded with business at this season of the year that we cannot always take up an order at any moment,"¹⁶ on the twenty-fourth of

that month he took the time to send a letter from his Highland Gardens in Newburgh begging Lang

to accept my sincere & grateful acknowledgement for the beautiful vol. 'Highland Cottages,' which I received a few days ago. The book is most beautifully executed—and it is in the highest degree interesting as evincing with what rapidity the taste for the beautiful in country life is making progress in this country.

And, he concluded,

I am sure the public are greatly indebted to you for the specimens you have given them of the best taste of your environs in your Highland Cottages. Believe me Dear sir, with great respect, Yours[,] A. J. Downing.¹⁷

Despite such praise – and in praising Lang's publication Downing was praising his own influence – the March 1849 issue of Downing's *Horticulturist* magazine carried as its frontispiece, rather than one of the Roxbury cottages, the plan and view of Langwood, Lang's new Stoneham house, an Italianate villa of the sort Downing also championed in his various publications on rural architecture. "The exterior . . . is expressive alike of elegance and commodiousness," wrote the journal, and

“far from presenting the meager appearance shown in the plate” because for clarity the artist had removed the picturesque landscaping.¹⁸ Downing knew more about Lang’s work than just the Roxbury folio.

Downing often returned in later publications to his praise of the domestic architecture in Boston’s surroundings although he seems never to have specifically mentioned Lang’s Roxbury contribution in print. He may have had it in mind, though, when in 1848 he wrote that “for that species of suburban cottage or villa residence which is most frequently within reach of persons of modest fortunes, the environs of Boston afford the first examples in the Union.” In 1851 he again gave notice of the “the suburbs of Boston, [where] rural cottages are springing up on all sides.”¹⁹ And he voiced this observation in his letter to Lang. Between the opening and closing compliments cited above about the Roxbury publication, Downing included further remarks about the current state of those Boston environs that he had gained from first-hand observation.

I was indeed ... both surprised & delighted while I was at Boston this summer past to see the great number of buildings – in the suburbs – which were recently built & in progress – and all evincing taste. There were many it is true that were flimsy – & had too many ornaments cut out of *thin boards* [Downing’s emphasis] what they call abroad “Carpenter’s Gothic,” but there were also many that were very creditable – and all denoting a lively sensibility – to the subject in the public mind.

Notes

1. This article is dedicated to the memory of George Bishop Tatum (1917-2008), premier student of the life and work of A. J. Downing. His “Andrew Jackson Downing, Arbitrer of American Taste,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1949, is the foundation study.
2. This occurs on page 39 of the 1844 edition.
3. Pp. ii-iii.
4. *Views, with Ground Plans, of the Highland Cottages at Roxbury, (near Boston) Designed and Erected by Wm. Bailey Lang*, Boston: Printed by L. H. Bridgham and H. E. Felch, Water Street, MDCCCXLV.
5. David Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 281-82. To his list of collections can now be added the letter published here, and one dated 24 August 1841 reproduced in Charles B. Wood Bookseller, Catalogue 150, item 20. It is tipped into a copy of the *Theory and Practice* that Downing sent to the Royal Botanic Society of London in thanks for appointing him a corresponding member. Tatum (page 71) found the earliest reference to this honor in 1845. My thanks to Charles Wood for alerting me to the 1841 letter and to David Schuyler for additions and corrections to this note.
6. Tatum listed just two letters from 1845, and apparently added none in later writings. Neither he nor David Schuyler have much to say about these years.
7. Schuyler, 1, 91.
8. Obituary, *New York Times*, 1 August 1887. This credits Lang with “many of the more elegant villas of Roxbury, Mass.,” which “were built under his personal supervision or from his original designs,” which is probably a bit of a stretch. Other biographical details come from items collected in Historical American Newspapers and American Periodical Series databases as well as Fultonhistory.com.
9. Carole Zelle and Martha Coons, *Stoneham: A Shoe City*, Stoneham: Stoneham Historical Commission, 1981, 59-61, and Diana Marszlek, “A Women’s Club is Now Truly Historic,” *New York Times*, 27 July 2008.

In *Cottage Residences* Downing had written that ornamental details “may be cut out of thick plank,” and then added emphatically “never out of inch boards.” Although Carpenter Gothic buildings are now often linked to Downing, it is clear from his disdainful reference in this letter that he aimed to draw a sharp distinction between the works of trained men of “taste” and the products of vernacular builders. Although he must have visited the Boston area before publishing his *Theory and Practice*, and mentioned laying out the grounds for a house near Boston in October 1842,²⁰ the letter also makes clear, perhaps for the first time, that he had visited the area in 1845.

Lang’s cottages at Roxbury and his book with illustrations by Billings and Bufford should be understood as local extensions of Downing’s message and so endorsed by him, albeit privately. With the publication of his Highland cottages Wm. Bailey Lang produced a Boston work inspired by Downing, one that gave evidence that he was responding to Downing’s call for apostles of taste who would show the way to improving rural architecture, and he must have been very proud to have received proof in this letter from Newburgh that he had succeeded.



10. “Highland Cottages for Sale,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 30 March 1847. Lang sold out and moved to Stoneham.
11. *American Agriculturist*, November 1845, 345, and *Scientific American*, 20 March 1847, 206. The latter contains a more extensive description of the Bute and Glenn cottages.
12. See “Fort Hill History: The William Bailey Lang Cottages,” on line.
13. See James F. O’Gorman, *Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammat Billings of Boston, 1818-1874*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.
14. H. W. Longfellow’s Journal, 9 January 1847, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Am 1340.
15. See David H. Tatham, “John Henry Bufford, American Lithographer,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (April 1976), 47-73. Billings and Bufford came together a few years later when the lithographer produced the view of the 1848 Boston Water Arch designed by the architect.
16. Jacquetta M. Haley, ed., *Pleasure Grounds: Andrew Jackson Downing and Montgomery Place*, Tarrytown, New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1988, 32. Downing may have often used such an excuse for slow delivery. Tatum notes such a statement from 1839 (“Downing,” 60). Another press on Downing’s time by the mid-40s was the many people who came personally to Newburgh to get advice. They arrived daily to interrupt him, he said. See George B. Tatum, “Introduction: The Downing Decade,” in George B. Tatum and Elizabeth Blair McDougall, eds., *Prophet With Honor, The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1989, 30.
17. Private collection, Portland, Maine. Published by permission. Thanks to Pamela Scott who discovered it.
18. *The Horticulturist* 9 (March 1849), 400, 435. See also the notice in the *Rome [New York] Sentinel*, 21 March 1849.
19. W. Barksdale Maynard, “Thoreau’s House at Walden,” *The Art Bulletin* 81 (June 1999), 309.
20. Tatum, “Downing,” 299. Jane B. Davies later suggested the identification of that residence as that of John B. Angier in Medford. Schuyler, 76.

Roswell Gleason, Massachusetts Metalsmith

ANTHONY SAMMARCO

When one thinks of silver plate in the United States, names such as Rogers, Reed & Barton, and Lunt come to mind. However, few realize that among the very first attempts at silver-plating base metal in this country took place on Washington Street, near Four Corners, in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in the mid-nineteenth century.

Roswell Gleason (1799–1887) was born in Putney, Vermont, a son of Reuben and Abigail Fuller Gleason, and came to Dorchester as a young man to be apprenticed with William Wilcox, a tinsmith at Four Corners, who also kept a tavern opposite the Second Church in Dorchester¹ (On Sundays, before and after the services, Wilcox was said to sell rum to his fellow church members.) Dorchester was a bucolic town just south of Boston that had been founded in 1630; the town had farms and country estates as well as an industrial beehive along the Neponset River where some of the very first mills in New England were located, among them a grist mill (1634), gunpowder mill (1674), paper mill (1728) and chocolate mill (1765), all utilizing the water power of the dammed river. In 1822, after Wilcox's untimely death, Gleason was able to conduct business on his own.² His shop produced examples of the popular tin and pewter items that were used in literally every home of the period.

But it was the introduction to America of Britannia

ware that put Roswell Gleason on the road to fame and eventual wealth. Britannia ware (sometimes called *britannium*) was first produced and marketed in England around 1770 under the name "Vickers White Metal" by manufacturers in Sheffield.³ It is a pewter-type alloy typically composed of tin, antimony, copper and sometimes lead and other metals that are combined to form a pliable substance that can withstand constant use.⁴ Through experimentation, Gleason was to make a large

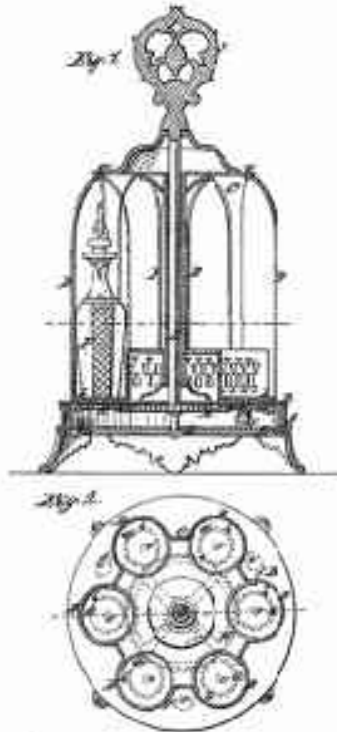
array of Britannia ware table and serving pieces that had a more durable quality than the softer pewter.

Gleason's business was successful enough that he was able to move to a new factory just west of the former Wilcox Shop at the present site of Mother's Rest, on the Upper Road (now Washington Street) just south of Four Corners in Dorchester. The new factory would eventually employ numerous workmen and was to produce a high-quality Britannia ware that was not only sold locally but was also shipped by barge, boat and train throughout the eastern seaboard. Gleason produced candlesticks, whale-oil lamps, syrup jugs, water pitchers, teapots, coffeepots and caster sets that became a welcome if not elegant staple in most households. The design and quality of his

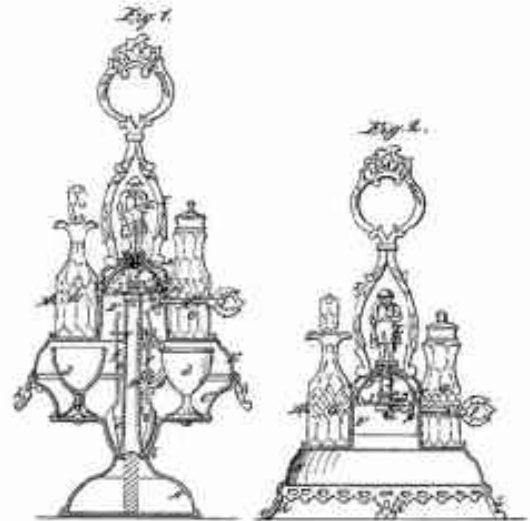
products was recognized by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association with a medal in 1837, for fine



E. Gleason,
Table Caster,
N^o 15,946. *Patented Oct. 21, 1856*



R. Gleason Jr,
Caster and Egg Stand
N^o 25,218. *Patented Mar. 8, 1859.*



Witness.
George B. ...
...

Inventor.
R. Gleason Jr.

Edward Gleason and Roswell Gleason, Jr. both held patents, which included an elaborate hexagonal Gothic Revival revolving castor and a combination table castor and egg stand.

specimens of clock tin, as well as buyers from Stowell & Company and Lows, Ball & Company, two fashionable Boston shops that carried a full selection of his pieces. The popularity was largely due to the fact that “the lightweight vessels appealed to the buyer because they more closely resembled silver than the old-fashioned pewter.”⁵

In the late 1840s that Gleason learned of even more beautiful wares that had a polished surface that made them look as if they were made from the finest solid silver. Urged by his friend Daniel Webster, Gleason sent his sons, Roswell Gleason Jr. (1826–1866) and Edward Gleason (1829–1863), to England to study the process of silver plating. They returned after a short while with not only the knowledge to produce silver-plated metal but also with English workmen who were trained and skillful in the process. “In 1849 he...increased his business by introducing the art of silver plating, and was the pioneer of that business in America,” wrote venerable historian Benson J. Lossing.⁶ With the establishment of this new line in his already successful business, Gleason made

silver tea services available for those with fancy tastes but not the money to purchase solid silver services. With the availability of silver plate, Gleason revolutionized the silver industry and made cruets, pitchers, serving pieces, and complete services available at a fraction of the cost of solid silver, employing a force of one hundred twenty-five men.⁷

It was precisely the ability of Gleason’s adaptation to changing public tastes and the changing methods of production that enabled him to revel in phenomenal success. It helped that he was ably assisted by his sons. Edward Gleason was awarded three United States patents beginning in 1856 for an elaborate hexagonal Gothic Revival revolving castor, known as a “magic castor” that opened by touching the finial. Roswell Gleason, Jr. had patents for pieces he invented that included an inkstand in 1856, a silver plate cake and fruit basket also in 1856 and a table castor and egg stand in 1859.⁸

Roswell Gleason’s career was aided by his marriage to Rebecca Tucker Vose (1805–1891) of Milton, daughter of

Reuben Vose and his wife Polly Willis Vose. His success as a businessman allowed him the finest material comforts. On Washington Street, just south of his factory, he built a splendid Gothic Revival mansion, known as “Lilacs,” for his wife in 1837. The house was one of the finest in Dorchester, with superb panoramic views from the rear piazza of Dorchester Bay and Boston Harbor.⁹ The estate was complete with a stable and graperies and had white lilacs planted about the property from cuttings secured from Mount Vernon, President George Washington’s estate in Virginia, for which the house was named. With a playing fountain and an impressively large carriage drive, the estate was not just an elegant country seat but also testimony to Gleason’s ability as a businessman. He was among those listed in the book *Rich Men of Massachusetts* in 1851 and was honored and esteemed in Dorchester. His continued financial support of the Christopher Gibson School located on School Street opposite his estate was widely appreciated, and he was to serve as captain of the Dorchester Rifle Company, a local drill company composed of Dorchester residents who met at Mount Bowdoin to engage in sham battles and to feast on lavish dinners prepared for the occasion.

Gleason was successful and popular, but his manufacturing career was soon to end. Both sons died relatively young and within three years of one another.¹⁰

The Civil War ended the shipments of Gleason’s wares to the Southern markets, and an explosion in his factory in 1871 caused tremendous damage. Unable or possibly unwilling to continue without the assistance of his sons, Gleason closed the silver plate and Britannia ware factory in 1871 and retired to a life of ease as near a millionaire as had ever been known in Dorchester. He continued his support of local charities, including the Second Church in Codman Square, where he attended both morning and afternoon services every Sunday but unlike his wife never officially joined as a member of the congregation. He eventually went blind but maintained a sense of duty to the end. His death was said to have come suddenly, and he was buried in his family lot in the Codman Cemetery, the parish burial ground of the Second Church on Norfolk Street, just west of Codman Square. The family – the only surviving child being Mary Frances Gleason Vandervoort (1825–1885) – maintained Lilacs as a virtual museum, with many Gleason-produced items among the family’s proud possessions.¹¹ A fire destroyed a portion of the house, and rather than rebuild, the house was moved to face east towards Dorchester Bay, and the former carriage drive to the stable was cut through by the city of Boston and renamed Ridge Road (now Claybourne Street).

The wealth amassed by Roswell Gleason during the nineteenth century enabled him to live in comfort and to



L to R: Silverplated dinner bell, c. 1850. A small pewter whale oil lamp c. 1825. Dorchester Historical Society.

maintain a large estate; however, it was the lands of that estate that made the greatest fortune for the family, since land values skyrocketed after the annexation of Dorchester to the city of Boston in 1870, and land in the right location proved to be the best investment one could make.¹² But Lilacs still stood atop the hill at the corner of Park and Claiborne Streets, not just as a reminder of the man who built it but also as a monument to the silver-plated empire he created on Washington Street in Dorchester.

Epilogue

In November of 2010, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, installed the Gleason Rooms as part of the Heide Family Galleries in the new Art of the Americas Wing at the museum. Acquired in 1977 from Mary Vandervoort Hall Bowker, the great granddaughter of Roswell Gleason and the last family member to live at Lilacs, the parlor and dining room woodwork, black marble mantels and fireplaces had been stored for over two decades before being reassembled as a superb example of the home of a prosperous mid nineteenth century Boston industrialist and his family. The house had featured an impressive Gothic Revival exterior with lancet windows; its interior, however, was purely classical with Greek Revival designs drawn from the Minard Lefever 1835 design manual *The Beauties of Modern Architecture*. With a few pieces of Gleason-owned furniture, the original brass gasoliers, and an assemblage of period-appropriate paintings, and late Empire mahogany furniture and reproduction Wilton carpeting and Madras muslin curtains, the two rooms evoke the splendor of the early Victorian age. As a complement to the rooms, the museum installed an interactive touch-detail screen that shows the factory and showroom on Washington Street in Dorchester, along with selections from the copiously illustrated “R. Gleason & Sons” 1866 silver plated catalog showing everything from caster, egg and fruit stands to baskets, candlesticks and butter and sugar dishes to the kettles, tea and coffee



In 1837, Roswell Gleason built “Lilacs”, a Gothic Revival mansion for his wife Rebecca Tucker Vose. The home was named for the many white lilacs planted on the property from cuttings secured from Mount Vernon.

pots and services that allowed nineteenth-century Americans to enjoy gleaming tableware at a fraction of the cost of solid silver, nicely illustrating the means by which new wealth such as the Gleasons’ was often amassed in the Victorian era.



Notes

1. John Barber White, publisher, Lillian May Wilson, editor, *Genealogy of The Descendants of Thomas Gleason of Watertown, Massachusetts 1607-1907* (Haverhill, MA: Press of The Nicholas Print).
2. *Births, Marriages and Deaths of Dorchester to the End of 1825* (Boston, Rockwell and Churchill, 1890): “William Wilcox Died Sepr. 16 1820 Aged 39” and was buried in the Old South Burial Ground on the Dorchester Turnpike (now Avenue).
3. Charles H. Montgomery, *A History of American Pewter* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), 39; Wikipedia, “Britannia Metal.”
4. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Micropaedia, 2002, 15th edition).
5. Roswell Gleason made numerous forms in Britannia ware. William O. Blaney, “Roswell Gleason – A Report” (*Pewter Collectors Club*, vol. 5, p. 32); J. B. Kerfoot, *American Pewter*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1926), 48.
6. Benson J. Lossing, *The History of American Industries and Arts* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1876), 264.
7. *The American Series of Popular Biographies*, Massachusetts Edition (Boston: Graves & Steinbarger, 1891).
8. *Scientific American*, vol. 11, no. 23, February 16, 1856: 1. The article describes an “Improved Ornamental Caster” and includes an etching with “the combination of egg cups with the castor in such a manner as to increase the elegance of the whole design.”
9. *The Taxable Valuation of Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1869* (Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, [c. 1870]). Gleason’s personal property was listed at \$45,000 and his taxable real estate at \$71,600.
10. Edward Gleason (1829-1863) had married Augusta M. Depew of Peekskill, New York in 1862; Roswell Gleason, Jr. (1826-1866) died unmarried.
11. Mary Frances Gleason (1825-1885) married William Vandervoort (1810-1858), a resident of Tonawanda, New York, whose company Vandervoort & Company provided staves and oak timber for the Boston market.
12. Dorchester was annexed to the city of Boston on January 4, 1870.

Preservation Diary

The Hereford Inlet Lighthouse

WARREN ASHWORTH

As did Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis so did Phyllis Catanoso. Both were (or had been) married to important government officials and both were saviors of local landmarks. Jackie O: Grand Central Station; Phyllis C: the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse in North Wildwood, New Jersey – reflecting the indisputable fact that without interested people with powerful political connections stepping in, preservation would not be where it is today.

It was in the early 1960s that both women recognized their opportunity to come forward and lead their respective battles. At that time, the First Lady was busy saving many local landmarks in Washington, D.C., and lobbying “to have Congress pass a law establishing something on the order of *Monuments Historiques* in France.”¹ This is the very same time that North Wildwood Mayor Catanoso and his wife Phyllis were looking into ways to preserve the heritage of their town at the southern tip of New Jersey and its tradition as a vibrant fishing port. Their proposals, which got little local traction, included saving the lighthouse and the neighboring lifesaving station. While the scale of the two wives’ undertakings was vastly different, their uphill battle was not.

The history of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis’s involvement with Grand Central in the 1970s is well known to preservationists, with numerous legal appeals culminating in 1978 with the United States Supreme Court declaring that New York’s Landmark Law was constitutional and that cities did have the right to protect the public environment by designating certain properties as landmarks. Yet in spite of that victory the decline of the building continued due to the apathy of its owners. Grand Central would suffer indignity after indignity until ownership of the building was transferred and it was repaired and refurbished in the 1980s by its new owners.

Phyllis Catanoso’s history with the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse follows a remarkably similar trajectory. Even

Inset: Paul Johannes Pelz, c. 1875.

after she and her husband had prevented the lighthouse from being demolished in the 1970s, it was not until the eighties that she was able to organize volunteers to restore it. There were many years when their efforts were barely managing to maintain the building until a transfer of stewardship reversed its decline.

But the stories of both buildings had a happy ending.

The Origins of the Hereford Inlet Light

While some coastal lighthouses date back to the early eighteenth century, it was during the nineteenth century that Congress undertook a significant lighthouse construction program in response to the foundering of increasing numbers of ships. The regular loss of life and cargo off of Cape May, New Jersey, led Congress to identify the nearby Hereford Inlet – part of the Atlantic barrier island chain – as a suitable outpost for a lighthouse. Land there was purchased in 1872 from one of the local “whaler yeoman” families and a two-story wooden light station with a tower topped by a cast iron and glass lantern was built in 1874; the lighthouse commenced operation in May of that year. The architect was one Paul Pelz.²

The top of the lighthouse tower was 57 feet above grade and the building was comfortably outfitted with two bedrooms, living and drawing rooms and a large kitchen, as well as the ancillary spaces required in a lighthouse. The construction was timber post-and-beam framing. The wall cavities were nogged with mortared brick (except in the wooden tower, which had to remain flexible). Lighthouses range from first order to sixth order with first order being the largest, used for major coastal beacons and sixth order for river lights. A fourth-order lighthouse in this location provided a beam that eventually could be seen thirteen miles out to sea. However, the original beacon had a much shorter range due to inefficiency of the fuels and the lack of modern glass refraction technology. Lard was the original fuel used at Hereford, whale oil



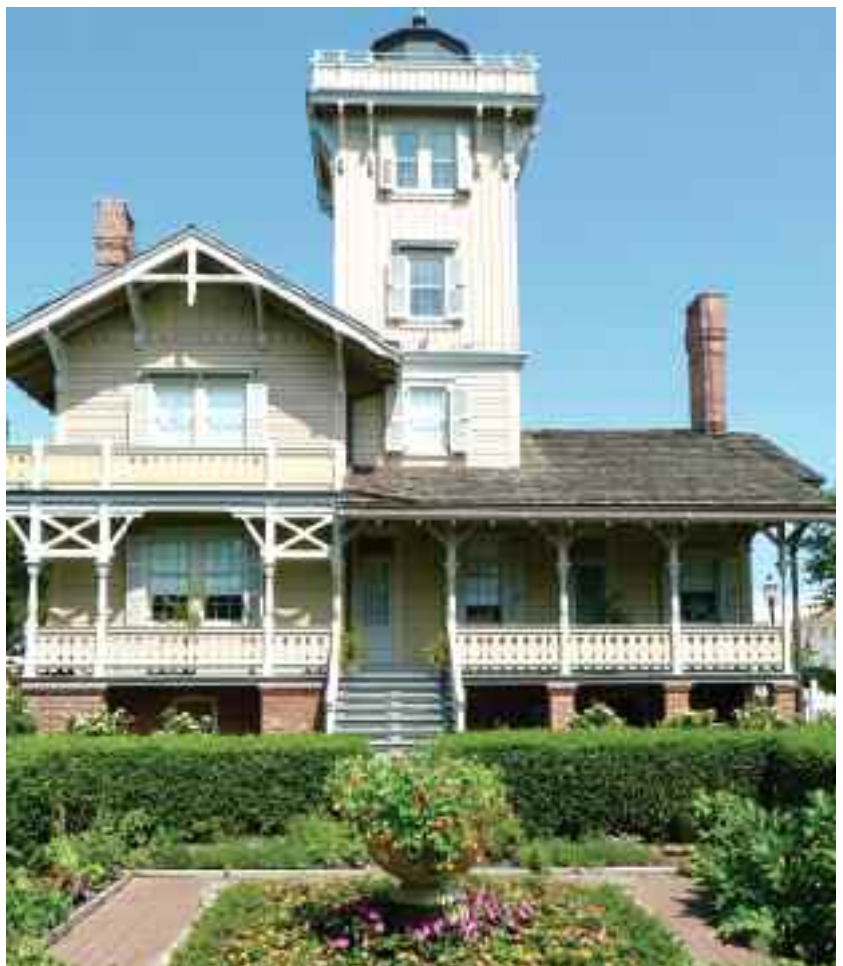
having become too expensive for lighthouse beacon fuel by 1874. In 1885 it was changed to kerosene, which had by then become the standard. While the fairly inert lard was stored in the lighthouse tower, kerosene was much too volatile to be stored inside the building and a brick fuel house was built next door when the fuel source was changed over. The beacon was electrified in the early 1930s. Fresnel lenses, invented in France, caused a revolution in light focus and magnification and eventually almost every lighthouse in the world acquired one. Hereford's Fresnel was installed in 1924 and today is on display in its museum, while a fully automated modern beacon installed in the lighthouse in 1986 is now in steady operation.

The identity of the designer of this elegant lighthouse was a mystery until it was uncovered by diligent research in the 1990s. Rarely do the biographies of architects include drama, intrigue and public squabbling, but the man who is responsible for the Hereford Inlet Light is an exception. Paul Johannes Pelz (1841-1918) immigrated to New York from his native East Prussia in 1851.³ Shortly after arriving here he showed promise as an architect and joined the practice of Detlef Lienau (1818-1887) in 1858. He was inducted into the American Institute for Architects in 1866.⁴ After the Civil War he won a commission on his own to design the gatehouse chapel at Antietam Cemetery. This graceful, elegiac building still stands and may have helped Pelz secure a position at the United States Lighthouse Board in 1869.⁵ He was named Chief Draftsman there in 1871. The nine-member Lighthouse Board, organized in 1852 by Congress, was established to bring some order to the inefficient manner in which lighthouses were built, maintained and supplied. The nine members were Naval and Army officer-engineers.⁶

It was Hugh McCauley, the official preservation architect for Hereford, who re-discovered Pelz. He writes that the architect was well enough regarded by the Lighthouse Board so that they invited him to travel to Europe in 1872 to study the continent's lighthouses. While there, Pelz exhibited some of his designs for lighthouses at the World Exhibition in Vienna and was awarded a Diploma of Honor. Pelz must have enjoyed this recognition considerably, but upon "returning to Washington, D.C., his ambition or audacity was cause for demotion and reduction in pay. . . Important military engineers in charge resented his title of Architect, they didn't and wouldn't use it."⁷ Nevertheless, he retained his position until 1883 and has many lighthouses to his credit, both of wood and the more traditional masonry

type.⁸

What is particularly significant about Paul Pelz's contribution to lighthouse design is something he brought from his home country. The "Carpenter Gothic" trend so popular in the United States at this time had strong antecedents in Bavarian, Prussian and Russian domestic and institutional architecture. Much of it was brought here by immigrants from Eastern Europe and what would become Germany. The board-and-batten siding seen on the tower, the brackets, the deep overhangs and the flat horizontal siding are typical of cottage architecture in those lands. As McCauley notes, Pelz was most likely aware of the work of German architect Georg Gottlob Ungerwittter, a proponent of the cottage architecture. Ungerwittter taught in Hamburg and published a variety of books on design and cottage architecture as an "honest" antidote to the more baroque trends in contemporary architecture. Referring to buildings erected in this idiom, he wrote, "Meant to be bold and artistic, functional and human, they were romantic and warm to the eye and soul." This was precisely what the Lighthouse Board was looking for, seeking "new light stations that would be not only functional aids to navigation but also examples of good Victorian style, and a credit to their office."⁹



The Hereford Inlet Lighthouse, North Wildwood, New Jersey.



L to R: Point Fermin Lighthouse, port of Los Angeles. East Brother Lighthouse, San Francisco Bay.

There are only a small number of wooden lighthouses in the world, but when well designed they can readily withstand Category 5 hurricanes because of their extraordinary flexibility.¹⁰ The wooden structures also lent themselves to comfortable domestic life for the lighthouse keeper and his family, who often lived in isolated outposts with little other human contact for weeks at a time. Pelz's interest in the keeper's comfort is evident in his layouts. While at the Lighthouse Board, he designed at least six wooden lighthouses; all but the Hereford Inlet Light were installed on the Pacific coast. These six are all of very similar layout, which McCauley refers to as the "Sisters of Light." In some cases, Pelz modified the design to accommodate alternative arrangements for lighthouse-keeper families.

Of the West Coast installations only the lighthouse at Point Fermin in the port of Los Angeles remains intact. The others were East Brother Light in San Francisco Bay; Mare Island Light Station at San Pablo Bay, California; Point Hueneme Light near Anacapa Island, Santa Barbara; and Point Adams Light, Oregon, at the mouth of the Columbia River. All were built in the 1870s; the last three were ordered destroyed by the Navy or by the Lighthouse Board when they became obsolete. East Brother Lighthouse is now the popular East Brother Light Bed and Breakfast, accessible only by launch from San Francisco; it is also still active as a lighthouse.

Pelz stayed with the Lighthouse Board a total of twelve years and then went on to open his own successful office with a partner, John L. Smithmeyer. It was there that he again ran afoul of high-ranking military engineers. Very early in their partnership, in 1873, he and Smithmeyer entered and won the competition to design the new building for the Library of Congress.¹¹ However, what they had really entered was the nest of back-stabbing, favoritism and intrigue that is the United States Congress at its worst. Their first hint of trouble was when the competition was capriciously annulled by Congress, the very same body that had sponsored it. After two years, the competition was rehired, at which time Pelz and Smithmeyer entered and won again – with a completely

new set of plans. But even with swift preparation of their drawings once the final plan was approved, just construction of the cellar took years due to squabbling among different Federal fiefdoms. In order to speed up the process, a well known military engineer was eventually put in charge of the construction, General Thomas Lincoln Casey of the Army Corps of Engineers. His first step was to hire his son Edward Pearce Casey to take over the design of the interior, and soon thereafter he fired Pelz and Smithmeyer telling them their work was complete. Though the building that was ultimately built was overwhelmingly the work of Pelz and Smithmeyer, Casey added insult by instructing Congress to withhold payment of their fee for what had become – over the years – an immense set of detailed architectural drawings.¹² After ten years of litigation and a final appeal before the United States Supreme Court the partners were finally allotted only half of their due compensation.¹³ While the Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress stands as an extraordinary monument to their talents, Pelz's partner John Smithmeyer suffered deep financial losses, never got another commission, wound up promoting a medicine for catarrh to survive, and died deeply in debt.¹⁴

Hereford Light's Preservation

Hereford Light was actually saved twice. The first time was in 1913 when after a devastating hurricane the Navy elected to move it 125 feet inshore and set it on a new foundation. While the building had little damage, it was clear that shifting sand under the foundation would undermine the lighthouse before long. It operated for another 50 years before its abrupt abandonment in 1964. A new hundred-foot-tall steel tower was erected nearby eclipsing the Victorian masterpiece below. Broken windows, rain, ice, snow and thousands of pigeons were responsible for the rapid decline of the building. By the early seventies it was slated for demolition.

Enter Phyllis Catanoso; she, with her husband the mayor, used every means in their power to stave off demolition. It was she who proposed having the property listed with the New Jersey and National Registers for

Historic Places in 1976 and saw the designation through. In the early 1980s, she undertook a major effort to organize volunteers to begin the eviction of the pigeons and supervise the subsequent cleanout of the lighthouse. Repairs were made on an ad-hoc basis as money could be raised, but this was enough to stabilize the structure and prevent further decline. Finally, in 1982, after years of negotiation and going from Federal agency to Federal agency the Catanosos managed to arrange for the lighthouse's stewardship by their city of North Wildwood. It was then outfitted with a visitors' information center and began to attract considerable local interest and a growing number of visitors.

This early restoration, however energetic and good-willed, lacked professional oversight and it was clear that a more formal arrangement needed to be made. Thus Hugh McCauley, AIA, an established preservation architect, was engaged by the town in 1997. A natural choice for the position, McCauley had spent summers in Wildwood in his youth and in the 1970s gained considerable experience saving and recording buildings in nearby Cape May as its Chief Preservation Architect. The study he led of Cape May was instrumental in the designation of that entire city as a National Historic Landmark. Once McCauley was vetted and hired, Phyllis Catanoso and the other very active members of the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse Commission were able to step back and know that their project was in good hands.¹⁵

McCauley's first order of business at Hereford was to prepare a Historic Structures Report. That analysis led to

windows, siding, balustrades and overall painting; and finally infrastructure such as air conditioning and sprinklers. The total cost of the four phases of the preservation effort was 1.3 million dollars. It was McCauley's Historic American Building Survey research that led him to the discovery of Pelz as Hereford Light's architect and the realization that the lighthouse had sisters on the West Coast. And it was his research that unearthed the stories of Pelz's misadventures with the military.

It is significant that lighthouses are the most distinct expression we have in the entire lexicon of architecture whose form so clearly reflects its function. And it is because of this that they stand apart so evocatively as symbols in our built environment. Lighthouses evoke feelings in us unlike any other building, and this makes them particularly precious to their neighbors and visitors. The man who built the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse was a master; the people who saved it are heroes.



A postcard from 1911 depicting the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse.

a four-part restoration program that has just been handsomely completed with the help of preservation grants Mr. McCauley was instrumental in winning.¹⁶ These four phases included restoration of the tower and its 3,000 pound cast iron and glass lantern; new roof and chimney restoration; exterior restoration of stairs,

Notes

- Galop, Kathleen, P., "The Historic Preservation Legacy of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis." *Forum Journal*, 2006: pp. 35-44.
- Murray, Steve, *Guardians of the Hereford Inlet*. Rio Grande, New Jersey: Steve Murray, 2010.
- Cole, John Y. "Smithmeyer and Pelz: Embattled Architects of the Library of Congress," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, vol. 25, no. 4 (Oct. 1972), 282-307.
- The AIA was founded in 1857 to establish standards for the profession which, prior to that, had been something of a free-for-all.
- Hugh J. McCauley, "Paul Johannes Pelz – Father of the Hereford Inlet Lighthouse," in Murray, 110-114.
- Murray, 14.
- Murray, 110.
- He also designed numerous handsome life saving stations while there.
- Murray, 110.
- Their greatest vulnerability was to fire due to the volatility of the fuel used in the lighthouses' lanterns.
- They beat out 26 other entrants including such prestigious firms as that of Thomas Ustick Walter, designer of the Capitol dome.
- All of which are still on file in the Library of Congress.
- Normal fee at that time was 3% of the cost of construction. They received approximately 1.5% of the cost of construction.
- Cole, 301-305.
- The official town governing body of the lighthouse, The Hereford Inlet Lighthouse Commission, was founded in 1984 with seven board members, all appointed by the mayor. Murray 2010.
- The Hereford Inlet Lighthouse was granted a preservation award by the Victorian Society in 2012 after the conclusion of the final phase of exterior restoration.

The Bibliophile

Clover Adams – A Gilded and Heartbreaking Life

Natalie Dykstra. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012.

Before publication of Natalie Dykstra's deeply researched and beautifully written biography of Clover Adams, those familiar with the life and times of the Gilded Age knew only three things about her: she was the wife of distinguished historian Henry Adams; she was a troubled woman who killed herself; and, Augustus Saint-Gaudens created a haunting and enigmatic statue for her gravesite in Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C. That these three facts about Marian ("Clover") Hooper Adams have constituted her legacy tells us volumes about cultural attitudes of the 19th century regarding acceptable roles for women and the stigma surrounding depression and mental illness. Dykstra expands Clover's legacy by bringing her and the world she occupied fully to life and by creating a context for her suicide.

Dykstra masterfully reconstructs Clover's life using a variety of period and modern sources. The author draws upon genealogical records, family letters and papers, photographs taken by Clover that she carefully pasted and documented in three photo albums, and two novels written by Henry Adams, *Democracy: An American Novel* (1880) and *Esther* (1884). She also uses such modern sources as Patricia O'Toole's *Five of Hearts* (1990) and *Henry James Letters*, edited by Leon Edel (1975). Dykstra places the events of Clover's life within the dynamics of three generations of her family, she brings Clover's personality and brilliance to the fore, and she deconstructs coded conversations that illuminate the dimensions of her marriage to Henry Adams. *Clover Adams – A Gilded and Heartbreaking Life* is a biography, and a penetrating study of the genteel world of a well-heeled and vibrant woman of Boston and Washington – a woman with everything, including a familial propensity to despair.

On the surface, Clover indeed had everything. She was born into a family of wealth and privilege, with connections – for generations – to major figures in American history, art, culture, and politics. She was provided with one of the finest educations available to girls in the 1850s – among her teachers was Elizabeth Cary Agassiz (the second wife of Harvard's acclaimed professor of zoology and geology, Louis Agassiz), who later became the first president of Radcliffe College. Clover's mother was a published poet (among those affiliated with Transcendentalism) and her father was a Parisian-trained doctor. The youngest of three and just five years old when her mother died, Clover had the good fortune of a lifelong and felicitous relationship with her father. In 1872, at age twenty-eight she made a desirable marriage to Henry Adams, the grandson and great-grandson of two of America's earliest presidents. In their own right Clover and Henry were wealthy enough to take a year-long honeymoon that included a trip down the Nile, to build a summer home – Pitch Pine Hill – on the Massachusetts north shore in Beverly Farms, to rent coveted townhomes on Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., from banker and art collector William Corcoran, and to amass a collection of drawings and paintings from their travels throughout Europe. Henry's work as an historian – he was to become one of the most important in America in the late 19th

century – brought the couple a wide network of social connections. As two of the "five of hearts" – diplomat John Hay and his wife Clara, and geologist and explorer Clarence King were the other three – Clover and Henry were part of an intimate circle of like-minded souls. Clover's penetrating and descriptive letters, written weekly to her father (who kept and dated each one of them) chronicled the teas and dinners – with a list of guests that constitute a veritable "Who's Who" of late 19th century Washington society – held at the Adamases' home. Clover was wildly popular and everyone coveted invitations to her parties. Clover also assisted Henry in his work, protecting him and his time so that he could accomplish his research and writing. As a balance to her roles as hostess, wife, and protector, Clover maintained close friendships with a number of women, including Anne Palmer. She also developed a passion for photography, creating an opus of photographic portraits that she printed herself. Clover's interests, personality, wit, and brilliance were captured in her correspondence, but her photographs tell another story.

Despite wealth, privilege, success, and connections, at the height of her influence and standing in society, Clover decided to destroy herself. Dykstra helps us understand this tragedy using many tactics. She looks closely at the mental health of several of Clover's relatives across three generations; she discusses Clover's marriage to Henry Adams through the lens of acceptable 19th century roles for women and beliefs regarding female accomplishment, particularly as those ideas were expressed in the two novels written by Henry; she highlights Henry's fascination with pretty, younger women; she reveals Clover's foundational relationship with her father; and she analyzes the photographs Clover made during the last two years of her life. Brought to light through a new understanding of all these sources are themes of depression, suicide, thwarted ambition, isolation and loneliness, familial loss, and silence.

Photography became Clover's absorbing activity. For two years she perfected her skills, photographing family, friends, pets, landscapes, and family homes, thereby creating an admired body of work that captured 19th century America and a woman's place there. Yet Dykstra suggests that some of the images also reflect Clover's sense of isolation and loneliness and that she used photography as a code to express feelings regarding issues in her marriage. Moreover, Dykstra suggests Henry's own coded response to Clover's photography was his novel *Esther*, written the year she began taking pictures. His title character was an amateur painter, who "was audacious only by starts" and who had "not the patience to be thorough." As his story unfolds, Esther's desire to be more than an amateur painter is out of the question as her skills are judged as lacking. Since Henry used Clover as his model for Esther, it would have been impossible for Clover to have missed her husband's pointed jabs at her own photographic ambitions. When *Esther* was published in 1884, Henry's novel touched a deep nerve for Clover, derailing her budding identity as a portrait photographer. When a request came in from Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the monthly journal *Century Magazine*, to use her photo of historian George

Bancroft on the cover, Clover refused. Henry had won – Clover had acquiesced to his veiled opinion of her work.

Shaken by Henry's assessment of her talents and ambitions, and perplexed by her husband's friendship and fascination with the beautiful Lizzie Cameron, the death of her father in April, 1885 triggered Clover's downward spiral. Just eight months later, in December, 1885, when she was just 42 years old, Clover swallowed potassium cyanide, one of the chemicals she used to develop her photographs. The shock of her suicide profoundly affected Henry Adams and his response was silence. He never

spoke publicly of her again, and did not even mention her in his Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*.

It is Natalie Dykstra who has gently and with great sympathy broken the silence. She has reconstructed Clover's life, unlocked the mysteries surrounding her death, and has given her back to the world again. Natalie Dykstra's book is a compelling read.

Reviewed by Tara Leigh Tappert

Emerging Metropolis – New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840-1920

Deborah Dash Moore, gen. ed. By Annie Polland, Daniel Soyer, and Diana L. Linden.
New York University Press, 2012.

City of Promises, A History of the Jews of New York (New York University Press, 2012) is a three-volume book written by a team of distinguished scholars that tells the story of Jews in the city from the earliest group of arrivals in 1654 to the present time. Volume Two, *Emerging Metropolis—New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840—1920*, reviewed here, was written by Annie Polland, Vice President for Programs and Education at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, and Daniel Soyer, Professor of History at Fordham University. With engaging text, backed by intense research and laced with thoughtful perceptions, the authors describe how the mass migration of Jews from the mid-nineteenth to the early-twentieth century helped New York City emerge as the capital of the Jewish world and the cultural capital of America. In the concluding visual essay, art historian Diana L. Linden expertly presents, through images and interpretation, aspects of visual and material culture of the period.

In the mid-nineteenth century a large influx of German Jews left behind economic deprivation and a repressive government to find refuge in New York. They expanded a small Jewish community that was comprised mainly of descendants of Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal as well as Ashkenazic Jews from central and eastern Europe. Beginning in the 1880s, close to two million Jews, mainly from Poland and Russia, fleeing from oppression and pogroms, crossed the Atlantic before the doors of opportunity were slammed shut in 1924 by restrictive immigration laws imposing quotas. An estimated 500,000 of these Jewish immigrants settled in lower Manhattan in an area that came to be known as the Lower East Side.

The authors examine how America changed the lives of those Jewish immigrants by introducing them to modern urban life and how their experiences, in turn, influenced the culture, commerce and politics of New York. The introduction to the book begins with a poignant account of a Passover seder on April 10, 1906, in the Great Hall of Ellis Island, organized by members of New York's Jewish community, drawing a parallel between the ancient Israelites escaping from Egypt and the newly arrived immigrants anticipating the promises of America for themselves and their children. These were promises of: security and safety; freedom to practice their religion; to speak out; to engage in political activity; to unleash their creativity; to seize the opportunity to work; to study and thrive; to achieve economic and social mobility; and to attain material prosperity.

For some, escape from the Old Country brought initial shock and disillusionment in the New World. The newcomers found

the filthy streets of lower Manhattan filled with mobs of people, horses, garbage and pushcarts. They lived crammed into slum tenements and labored long hours for pitiful wages. But out of their struggle to survive and succeed, the immigrant Jews built a community based on family and hard work, love of learning, commitment to religion and social justice. They readily found jobs in the burgeoning garment industry, organized trade unions, worked as pushcart peddlers and itinerant vendors, started small businesses, operated restaurants and cafes, founded banks, opened Yiddish theaters and published newspapers. Downtown Jews created formal and informal support systems of mutual aid societies, secular associations and fraternal orders—retaining their communal ties while easing the transition into urban life.

The Jewish Daily Forward, a socialist Yiddish newspaper first published in 1897, emerged as a powerful force in the lives of the immigrant Jewish community. Led by its crusading editor Abraham Cahan, the *Forward* supported the labor movement, fought against dishonest politicians and advanced demands for better working and housing conditions. In the late 1800s, uptown German Jewish philanthropists funded schools, hospitals and charitable organizations on the Lower East Side. They established the Educational Alliance to Americanize immigrants (one offshoot was the 92nd Street Y) and financed Henry Street Settlement, formed by Lillian D. Wald in 1893 to provide home health care (morphing into the Visiting Nurse Service of New York) and offer educational and cultural programs. The *Forward* now publishes weekly editions in English, Yiddish and Russian. The Educational Alliance, Henry Street Settlement and the Visiting Nurse Service currently serve an increasingly diverse population.

The book culminates with a fascinating visual essay by Diana L. Linden who offers a thoughtful commentary on an inspired selection of objects that create memory. They range from the cover of a Hebrew prayer book, photographs by Alfred Stieglitz and Jacob Riis, to a page labeled the "Gallery of Missing Husbands" from *The Jewish Daily Forward*, and newspaper photos of grieving family members of victims of the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire. What sticks in my memory is the indelible image of a wooden buttonhook that ends with a steel loop. It was used as a medical device by doctors at Ellis Island to detect trachoma and deny those with the disease entry to the Promised Land.

Reviewed by Joyce Mendelsohn

Angels & Icons: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass, 1850-1870

William Waters, photographs by Alastair Carew-Cox. Seraphim Press, Ltd., 2012.

William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti all loved angels. Symbols of heaven and the sanctity of religion, angels became a favored icon of the artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Thus it is certainly fitting that William Waters and Alastair Carew-Cox's comprehensive new study of Pre-Raphaelite stained glass should be entitled *Angels & Icons*.

William Waters, an independent art historian formerly with the William Morris Gallery, has researched and written extensively on Pre-Raphaelite art and, in particular, stained glass. Alastair Carew-Cox is an award-winning architectural photographer whose work has been featured in many publications. Using his specialty, plate camera work, he has captured the ethereal beauty and richly jeweled tones of stained glass; the photographs make this book truly outstanding. Privately printed by the authors on heavy stock, with 386 pages and over 500 photographs, this book is a substantial tome – yet it is a visual and textual treat.

Angels & Icons traces the beginnings of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, founded by a group of rebellious young artists in Britain in the 1840's in reaction to the conservatism of the Royal Academy. They took Italian and Flemish art before Raphael and the Renaissance as their exemplar. They chose to interpret nature freely, and often used female beauty to express their ideals. Carew-Cox's lush photography of stained glass panels with sharply-focused details gives precision to the detailed and well-documented text.

Waters describes the forces brewing behind the formation of the Brotherhood (as the Pre-Raphaelites were frequently called) beginning with rediscovery of the medieval art with its depiction of narrow, angular figures. Gothic design became popular as architect/designers Augustus Pugin and Gilbert Scott extolled its virtues, and John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, was a best-seller. Color in architecture became *de rigueur*; buildings were decorated with a mix of polychromed marble, stones and bricks, and accented with richly colored stained glass. The revival of interest in stained glass was aided by advances in the chemistry of pigments, that, along with a taste for greater realism, lead to a new range and brilliancy of color. In contrast to modern times, churches in Victorian England were a major influence in society, more accessible to the general public than art galleries or institutions of higher learning, and stained glass was viewed as an important educational and decorative medium, providing an art that was "instructive, beautifying and uplifting."

Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856, showed how plants could be depicted without shading – perfect for stained glass. Soon passion flowers and date palms, marrow and sunflowers were being abstracted in brilliantly colored panes. One of my favorites is the 1864 east window from St. Mary's Isleworth by Heaton, Butler and Bayne, whose exuberant colors of stylized flowers are a riot of colors from magenta pinks to languid blues to rich, sunset golds.

The book focuses on artist John Richard Clayton, whose work has largely been overlooked until now. Clayton started a stained glass workshop in 1850, well before Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., who were to become better known. A friend of Rossetti, John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt (all founding members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood), and inspired by Gilbert Scott, G.E. Street, William Burges and the Gothic Revival Movement, Clayton and his colleagues began producing stained glass in rich, deep colors.

The work of other designers of the period is thoroughly documented, including the talented Alfred Bell (who joined with Clayton in 1862) and contemporary firms including Lavers and Barraud, Heaton, Butler & Bayne, and James Powell and Sons of Whitefriars. Economy of line, simple draughtsmanship and brilliancy of color became their trademarks as they translated "beauty drawn from nature" into a two-dimensional form. Alfred Hassam was one of the most gifted, and he produced marvelous windows with Heaton, Butler & Bayne. Hassam's angels had great beauty and elegance, such as that in a three-light window made around 1867 for St. Peter, Broadstairs. Here the angel brings a message to Abraham not to sacrifice his son but to substitute a sheep; the detailed drapery of the angel's robes and fluidity of form are unsurpassed.

Waters describes the evolution of the Pre-Raphaelites and the rise of William Morris and his firm, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., in the 1860s. This firm favored romanticism and greater realism, and colors became softer and more subtle. Pale yellow fading to a richer gold became a favored color scheme, along with silver staining. Morris's "Ruth," seen in a two-light window (c. 1868) in St. Edward the Confessor, Cheddleton, shows a "simple romantic encounter set amidst a cornfield on a summer's day" in soft tones of maize and golds.

The book concludes with several chapters explaining the training and education for stained glass designers, including "Raising the Standards: The Education of the Artisan," "Exhibitions," and "Sources." A thorough "Select Bibliography" provides additional reading and sources.

One of the greatest assets of the book is the detailed gazetteer. It lists over 500 important windows in the United Kingdom (as expected) but also other countries including New Zealand, India and the United States, by church name, location, date, maker, designer and subject matter. Check out Baltimore's St. Luke's window designed by John Milner Allen in 1864!

A groundbreaking text, this book will become an important reference in the study of stained glass, and is a must for the library of any student of nineteenth century design.

Reviewed by Brian Coleman

New and Noteworthy

Short squibs on publications concerning 19th-century American art and culture, drawn from the many worthy titles presented to the Victorian Society in America.

Patricia Pongracz, editor, *Louis C. Tiffany and the Art of Devotion*. D. Giles Ltd and the Museum of Biblical Art. 2012.

This lovely catalog accompanied the exhibition organized by Museum of Biblical Art in 2012. The essay by Lindsay Parrott reveals that Tiffany used opalescent glass as a musician uses his instrument – to create various moods. The lush illustrations are a feast for the eyes. Each essay offers wonderful details for those who love all things Tiffany.

Kathleen A Foster, *Shipwreck! Winslow Homer and “The Life Line.”* Yale University Press, 2012.

A fascinating book tracing the career of Winslow Homer as one of the premier maritime artists of all time. In particular, the subject matter of shipwrecks and disaster played well in the Victorian era. Homer adds a novel touch by using the new lifesaving technology, the lifeline, as a major focus of the painting. With its emphasis on the heroic, and full of wonderful artistic and social insights, this is a book for all lovers of 19th-century culture.

Jean Zimmerman, *Love, Fiercely: A Gilded Age Romance*. Houghton Mifflin, Harcourt, 2012 .

Captured on canvas by John Singer Sargent as the ideal Gilded Age couple, Edith Minturn and Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes lived and loved lavishly. A saga of deep commitment laced with a sad twist, the author takes us through the evolution of a great love affair, for they loved not only each other but also the architecture and cultural life of New York City. The characters of both Edith and Newton are beautifully drawn. One would like to know them personally.

Renée Tribert & James F. O’Gorman, *Gervase Wheeler: A British Architect in America 1847-1860*. Wesleyan University Press, 2012.

Bringing the name of Gervase Wheeler from the shadows of architectural history, the authors present an easy-to-read, well-illustrated book on this British talent. Primarily about his work in the USA, the book is well-researched and illustrated with the few extant original documents produced by the architect. Photographs and drawings of his buildings are plentiful. The authors explain that Wheeler’s structures often appealed to the country gentleman or middle class person looking for a “comfortable cottage.”

Libra R. Hilde, *Worth a Dozen Men: Women and Nursing in the Civil War South*. University of Virginia Press, 2012.

A tip of the hat to the Civil War Sesquicentennial and Southern women in general, this title explores the incredible sacrifices made by upper-class women who nursed the Confederate wounded. Long considered too delicate to nurse male patients these ladies showed their mettle and portrayed the real meaning of the term “steel magnolia.” This is a significant contribution to a painful era of American history and a strong insight into the start of the Women’s Movement.

John Wilmerding, *Maine Sublime: Frederic Edwin Church’s Landscapes of Mount Desert and Mount Katahdin*. Cornell University Press, 2012.

A thoroughly delightful catalog of the traveling exhibition originated by Olana, Frederic Church’s home turned museum. This publication is, in a word, breathtaking. The splendid scenery and magnificent colors simply carry the viewer way. The book contains 77 illustrations, some of never-before exhibited artworks. The pencil sketches are particularly interesting as they include the painter’s notes to himself. Introduced to the Maine coast by Thomas Cole, Church became the high priest of Maine landscape painting. The book lives up to its title.

-Anne-Taylor Cahill

The Victorian Society in America is going green!

And we hope you will assist us in this effort. In an attempt to do our part to reduce the consumption of trees and thus our use of paper we will soon be combining our e-newsletter and our “hard copy” newsletter, *The Victorian*. The result will be ***The Victorian Quarterly***, which will be sent out via e-mail to all of our members who provide us with their e-mail addresses. A print version of the same will be sent via regular U.S. mail only to those who do not have e-mail. This will allow all of our members to receive the same news information from and about the Society.

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JAMES F. O'GORMAN

is at work on a monograph on the career of the architect and builder Isaiah Rogers (1800-69). His study of nineteenth-century American architects' portraits is due out this year.

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teaches English and American literature in Florence and Rome. Many of her publications deal with nineteenth-century American writers and artists in Italy.

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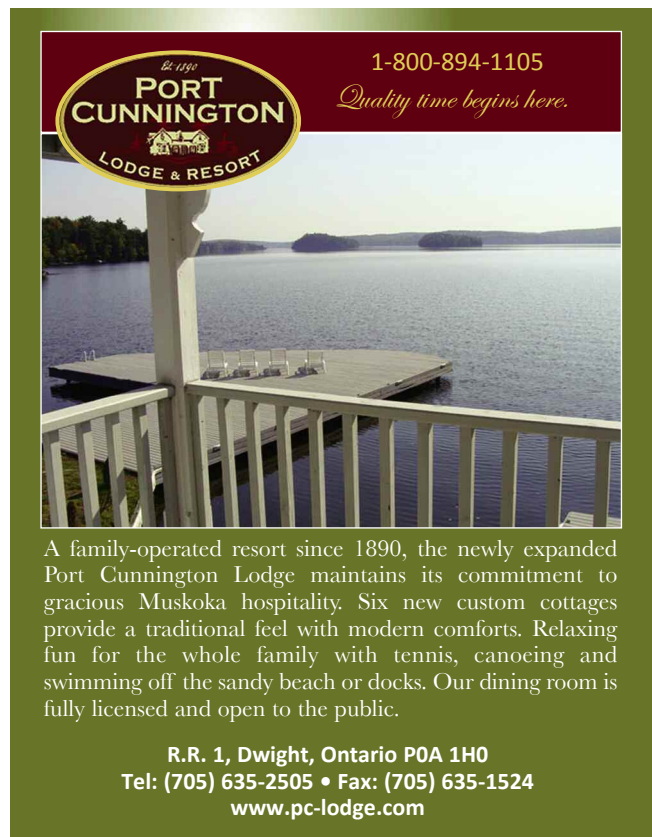
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Winslow Homer, *Wrecking in Surf*, 1874

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Victorian Travel Tales

A Murder in Maiden Lane

SALLY BUCHANAN KINSEY

On December 21, 1897, as winter began, fifty thousand Londoners stood respectfully along the route of a funeral cortege from the Strand to Brompton Cemetery, to honor the passing of an actor whom many of the onlookers knew by his glittering reputation but had never encountered.

The subject of this veneration was the late William Terriss, and he had been murdered.

William Terriss (né William Charles James Lewin) was born in 1847 to an affluent family in London. As a rebellious youth with a serious propensity for wanderlust, William was on his way to becoming a ne'er-do-well when, at age sixteen, he abandoned his schooling and joined the Merchant Navy; then he tried tea-planting in India. Next, accompanied by his bride, the actress Amy Fellowes, he took up sheep herding in the Falkland Islands, and after that, the training of horses in Lexington, Kentucky.

In 1867, once again in London and with a growing family, Terriss found his purpose in life – acting. In 1880, by virtue of his derring-do combined with a genial nature, a handsome physique, and a smattering of stage appearances, “Breezy Bill” became a leading actor in the prestigious Lyceum Theatre acting company with famous actors Henry Irving and Ellen Terry. After a few years, he forsook the Shakespearean dramas that were their forte and joined the Adelphi Theatre on the Strand as a star attraction in the popular fictional melodramas (“screamers”) that were its specialty.

Unfortunately, on the evening of December 16, 1897 the Adelphi had a true-life melodrama of its own. As Terriss stepped up to his private entrance on Maiden Lane, he was fatally stabbed by a jealous itinerant actor. When Terriss lay dying, cradled in the arms of his mistress (actress Jessie Millward), he murmured, “I shall come back.”

Has he? Ghost-watchers report that Terriss, wearing a frock coat and sporting a cane, occasionally appears on the platform of the Covent Garden underground station. Or, when you attend a performance at the Adelphi, he may walk through the wall of the public corridor on the way to his dressing room. The assassin, Richard Prince (stage name of Richard Millard Archer) was declared insane and spent the rest of his life incarcerated at the Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum. He died in 1937 at age 79, but it is said, he too might make an extra-terrestrial appearance on the Strand, asking for work.



William Terriss and the Adelphi Theatre, London, where he was murdered.

Strolls through London’s theatre-land afford unique opportunities for an enthusiast to reflect on Britain’s historic importance to drama and dance. There is Oscar Wilde, gesturing in granite for the ages (often with a real cigarette, or bubble gum). There are Gilbert and Sullivan, Charlie Chaplin, Shakespeare, and Sir Henry Irving (the first actor to receive a knighthood). Also there are the plaques in honor of luminaries such as Sarah Bernhardt and Terriss, among many. Especially for scholars of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century architecture, there are the imposing theatres such as the Globe (built 1904, now named the Gielgud to honor Sir John), the Apollo (1903) in French Renaissance Revival style, the unique underground Criterion (1874) with tiles by William De Morgan, and the oldest theatre in operation in London, the Drury Lane (1812, refurbished 1840s). Together there are more than forty theatres in the West End, each one a beauty celebrating the enchantment of the performing arts.

Recommended reading includes *London Theatre Walks: Thirteen Dramatic Tours Through Four Centuries of History and Legend* by Jim De Young and John Miller (New York: Applause Theatre & Cinema Books, second ed., 2003). The Terriss plaque is included on Walk Twelve, p. 191. If a pub stop is desired, seek out The Coal Hole, on the Strand, corner of Carting Lane in Walk Four, pp. 66-67. It was originally the coal cellar for the Savoy Palace (now the site of the famous hotel) and may also have been a brothel. The actor Edmund Kean (1787-1833) lived nearby and frequented the tavern. In 1815 he founded a club there for “repressed husbands.” More recently, The Coal Hole was a favorite watering spot of actors Richard Burton and Richard Harris. Other tales about the apparitions that may dwell in American and English entertainment venues can be found in *Haunted Theatres* by Tom Ogden (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2009).

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Columbus is an amalgam of its many distinctive neighborhoods. Immigrants from Germany came to Columbus in the last of the 19th century to work in the city's industries and breweries. The urban area they settled is still a vibrant neighborhood where the tour participants will eat, drink, and wander along its brick streets lined with bookstores and pubs.

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We will motor north to Mansfield, where we will tour the charming Carpenter Gothic Oak Hill Cottage, and Louis Bromfield's Malabar Farm, where Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall were married. We will also view the immense, castellated Mansfield Reformatory where *The Shawshank Redemption* was filmed.



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