

PATTERN BOOKS AND THE QUEEN ANNE STYLE IN AMERICA

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Modern Queen Anne architecture was transported to the United States from England at the time of the Centenary celebration in Philadelphia in 1876, and, largely through the medium of architectural pattern books, was re-interpreted and adapted as a distinctive aesthetic and commercial phenomenon for middle class suburban consumers. While leading architects underscored colonial aspects of Queen Anne in shingle houses, entrepreneurial pattern book architects perceived Queen Anne as an opportunity to introduce an unprecedented plurality of architectural features and a vehicle to sell professional and mail order architectural services. Within a decade, pattern book house plans were being sold by the thousands, and Queen Anne houses began to line the streets of the nation's rapidly growing communities and suburbs. As late as 1895, the phenomenal popularity of the fashion prompted one critic to observe that calling a home "Queen Anne" assured its sale.

There was not, however, a definitive Queen Anne home. A merging of seemingly irreconcilable medieval and classic stylistic categories, Queen Anne eluded definition because it broke stylistic constrictions and became instead a flexible mode of design more frequently termed "so-called Queen Anne." Introduced when traditional conceptions of architecture confronted modern needs, it provided a locus for examining contemporary theoretical issues and reassessing domestic architectural design, thereby in a longer perspective contributing to innovations in American domestic architecture.

Queen Anne was introduced at the onset of intense competition in pattern book

entrepreneurship. At a time when the distinction between builder and professional architect was being more clearly defined, pattern book architects, most of whom were not professionally educated, assumed authority as arbiters of taste and architectural quality for a middle class home-building clientele who traditionally hired builders but had pretensions for architect-designed homes. A variety of plans, specifications, even loans, furniture, and building materials were made available through mail order, permitting architects to claim that their designs adapted to the client's functional needs and building site and allowed artistic interpretation.

This study describes the American origins and development of "so-called Queen Anne" architecture and reconsiders the professional and popular contexts in which Queen Anne became a pervasive domestic architectural form during the last quarter of the century. Moreover, contextual analysis of the language used in pattern books reveals that the essays and descriptive phrases accompanying the illustrations adroitly supported a dominant ideology of social mobility and moral order held at a time of political, social and economic disjunction. Appropriating language already holding strong associative meaning, the authors promoted ownership of a well-designed home as a communication of individual character, social status, and moral responsibility to family and community. Thus the study of the promotion of Queen Anne in pattern books, a resource that has hitherto been little examined by architectural historians, provides a means to comprehending the relevance of this mode of design to social, political and economic conditions.

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INTRODUCTION

When a person is at a loss for a suitable name by which to convey an idea of the beauty and charm of his home, it is 'Queen Anne.' Of course, when there is 'love in a cottage,' that cottage can be none other than 'Queen Anne.' When the ubiquitous speculating builder wishes to lure an intended victim he baits his hook with 'beautiful Queen Anne cottage. All modern improvements.'

Local hardware store owner Robert I. Morse built a new home in the small but growing community of Sehome, Washington early in 1897 (fig. 1). On a hill edging Bellingham Bay, the Morse home held a commanding view of busy logging and fishing operations, the lush forest-covered San Juan Islands and Sehome's streets of homes and businesses. Seen from below, the house was itself an imposing sight.

Built in the nationally popular Queen Anne style, the home's medieval inspired vertical proportions and irregular silhouette echoed the undulations of Sehome Hill rising above and behind it to the east. The body of the house was centered by a hipped tent roof, while chamfered eaves, a balconied porch and a turret stepped toward the south, north and west. On the right front facade, a gabled entrance porch with elaborately turned posts and scroll cut moldings visually supported an octagonal Moresque turret decorated with rows of scalloped shingles and panels of incised and painted decoration. At the left, giving an asymmetrical cast to the home's compositional balance, was a chamfered bay with multiple gables, button barge board molding, carved pendants, lattice work, scalloped shingles and a moon window partially filled with stained glass. The gable above was filled with a

¹Herbert A. Walker, "Cottages," Art Interchange 34 (August 1895): 50.

large carved sunflower motif, and behind, a tall flared red brick chimney signalled a warm fire to ward off the chill fogs of the bay.

Robert Morse had arrived in San Francisco in 1875, at the age of seventeen. He had moved to the Pacific west from Maine with only "sugarbowl" savings in hand, and nine years later he, his wife and son had moved to the northwest. Morse had made \$3,000 from a real estate transaction in San Francisco, and with that money, he opened a hardware store in the northwest community of Sehome, Washington. In his first week of business, the young entrepreneur had handbills printed and covered the county with his advertisements. While the communities along Bellingham Bay experienced periods of economic growth countered by recession, Morse's business grew, and after development on the Bay came to a halt with the Panic of 1893, he sent salesmen to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to sell locally manufactured shingles; he also traded furs and shipped staple goods to Alaskan natives. Morse was a consummate businessman at a time when the label "businessman" indicated a man who by his own hard work had attained financial and social success. Within twelve years, he had become a pillar of the community and had built one of the town's most illustrious homes.²

The Morse home and its Queen Anne style represented American social mobility for the middle class in the late nineteenth century. The transactions leading to the construction of the home in 1897, too, were standard for the late nineteenth century. Robert Morse did not turn to a Sehome carpenter to design and build his home. He hired Alfred Lee, a locally respected architect who had

²From Ramon Heller, Sell 'em Low-Send and Get More, A Centennial History of Morse Hardware Company (Bellingham, Wa.: Morse Hardware Company, 1984); Washington State Archives, Western Washington University, and Morse family archives, Bellingham, Washington.

been commissioned to build a new city hall some five years earlier. Alfred Lee was considered one of Bellingham Bay's important early architects, but that fact notwithstanding, he was not professionally trained. He was a wagon maker who had moved from Oregon to make his fortune in the Pacific northwest as Robert Morse had done. When Lee built the Morse home, he did not produce an original design. He used the plans for a house found in a pattern book of architectural designs published in Knoxville, Tennessee by George F. Barber, himself an entrepreneur (fig. 2).³ Barber was a builder who developed a lucrative architectural practice by selling mail-order plans from his pattern books which were advertised in popular periodicals. His Cottage Souvenir from which the Morse home was taken illustrated consequent variations of the Queen Anne style that had been introduced to the United States some two decades earlier.

Modern Queen Anne architecture had been introduced to middle class America in the centennial year of 1876 by articles in popular periodicals and displays at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. In the same year, architects read about British Queen Anne buildings in the new professional journal, the American Architect and Building News. By the 1880's Queen Anne stylizations filled the pages of pattern books that were sold by the thousands to builders and prospective home owners, and houses built to accommodate residents of the growing communities and suburbs in the United States were most frequently Queen Anne.

There was not, however, a definitive Queen Anne home. The Morse house in Sehome, Washington was but one interpretation of many. "Queen Anne" was a misnomer from the beginning. It was not a revival of architecture built during that

³George F. Barber, Cottage Souvenir, No. 2 (Knoxville, Tenn.: S. B. Newman & Co., 1891), Design No. 33.

British queen's reign, but a nostalgic remembrance of the past, early popularized by such authors as William Makepeace Thackeray, whose admiration for the quaint, comfortable and unpretentious charms of eighteenth-century architecture was exemplified, not only through his literary efforts, but also in his red brick home built in Kensington in 1861.⁴ By the early 1870's, the label "Queen Anne" had been introduced into architectural criticism in England. Called a style, it was distinguished in professional criticism by its absence of specific style. British architects merged seemingly irreconcilable aspects of gothic and classic, added French, Flemish, Japanese and "artistic" motifs, and produced a flexible style usually designated as "so-called Queen Anne" and, often, "freestyle" or "free classic." In the United States, still largely dependent upon British taste and fashion, the broadly eclectic and indefinable character of Queen Anne prompted debate concerning the style's architectural validity. While rejecting it in name, many of America's leading architects used it as a means to rethink house design, and their interpretations were illustrated in both the American Architect and traditional format pattern books that contained house designs and essays offering practical and aesthetic instruction. Further manipulated by entrepreneurial pattern book authors who offered mail order plans and specifications for their designs, Queen Anne became a mode of design employing a compendium of forms,

⁴Bayard Taylor, "William Makepeace Thackeray," Atlantic Monthly 77(March 1864): 378. See also Sadayoshi Omoto, "Thackeray and Architectural Taste," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 26 (March 1967): 40-47. Historic Queen Anne architecture was early admired by those associated with the Aesthetic Movement and in 1863, Arthur Munby recorded his impression of a visit to Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "Queen Anne" home that had been built during the reign of Henry VIII. In Munby. Man of Two Worlds. The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828-1910 (London: John Murray, 1972), p. 160. For other references to early usage of the word "Queen Anne," see the Oxford English Dictionary.

massing configurations, plans and ornamentation that served as a means to producing an inexhaustible variety of fashionable picturesque houses.

The national popularity of Queen Anne domestic architecture grew commensurately with competitive entrepreneurship in pattern book production. As documented by numerous recent stylistic and community architectural surveys, Queen Anne homes inspired by pattern book designs were built up and down both coasts and across the North American continent.⁵ Inventive architect-authors successfully sold their newer format books and services in order to capture a portion of the middle class housing market from local builders. These entrepreneurial pattern book authors adopted Queen Anne as their operational mode of design, and in so doing, ensured its popularity as well as their business success. Its complex massing and ornamentation could be claimed to require professionally drawn plans and details, and, when knowledgeably interpreted, to possess the potential to embody both modern and traditional values important to the middle class public.

Since this conjunction of design and meanings was conceived to sell building services, an examination of domestic American Queen Anne cannot be separated from pattern book production. Although the house designs were instrumental in selling the authors' plans and specifications, the essays and descriptive terminology that accompanied the illustrations were the chief working tools for achieving their business success. Using images of Queen Anne homes and

⁵For example, Morley Baer, Elizabeth Pomada and Michael Larson, Painted Ladies: The Art of San Francisco's Victorian Houses (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978) and S. Allen Chambers, Jr., Lynchburg. An Architectural History (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981). Such sources provide excellent documentation of Queen Anne buildings but do not contribute substantive analyses of them as a national phenomenon.

applying contemporary architectural criticism and theory, traditional conceptions of the Picturesque, and a rhetoric of social mobility, they promoted home ownership as a emblem of individual character and a moral duty to family and community. The Queen Anne home became a visual affirmation of financial success, refined taste, social status, and domestic stability. For pattern book readers, Queen Anne was presented as an architectural expression of American values, and among architects, it had residual creative influence on American architecture into the first decades of the twentieth century.

In spite of its obvious import in the history of American design and culture, Queen Anne has been little studied. Regional histories have documented the prevalence of vernacular Queen Anne throughout the United States, but the majority of these books, especially style identification guides, have contributed to a general misconception of Queen Anne as a precisely defined style, when, as documented in the following study, there were many interpretations within this mode of design. Although references to Queen Anne have become common in scholarly and popular literature, emphasis on stylistic categorization in the process of writing positivist architectural history has obscured the chameleon-like character of Queen Anne. It was never just a high style, nor was there a consistent evolutionary pattern of development. Rather, its flexibility as a mode of design brought a diversity which contributed to its becoming a truly popular style in which manifestations of Queen Anne became legion.

Of the more substantive publications cited in this study, Vincent Scully's examination of the transformation of British Queen Anne into the American "shingle style" focusses on houses of the east coast, most of which were summer houses for the wealthy. Queen Anne in Britain has been more broadly studied as

an architectural alternative to houses for the privileged, and has been proposed as an eclectic fashion serving aesthetic, cultural and political ends. The author of one such study, Mark Girouard, has given some indication of the export of the style across the Atlantic by examining American shingle houses. Moreover, Scully and Girouard point out that these early developments were a catalyst for changes in domestic architectural design, most notably in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. With this teleological emphasis, what are really shingle houses have been advanced as Queen Anne in general architectural histories. Although constructive documentation has been completed, there has been little analysis of either vernacular Queen Anne or late century pattern books. However, both have been discussed in several estimable studies of the sociological significance of the nineteenth-century home and suburb, for example those by Clifford Clark and Gwendolyn Wright.

This study addresses those areas neglected in the extant literature, redefines Queen Anne, and analyzes it in architectural and social contexts. The following chapters, however, are not a developmental study of this phenomenon but are overlapping self-contained examinations of the promotion and reception of Queen Anne. Chapter One relates the complex of circumstances from which the Queen Anne popularity emerged. A product of changes in the building professions and architectural theory, Queen Anne functioned as a nexus for architectural and societal practices at a time of difficult social, political and economic conditions obscured by a prevailing belief in the moral good of national and individual progress. Chapter Two is an analysis of the development of entrepreneurial pattern books and the simultaneous marketing of building services and popular taste in these and traditional format pattern books. In Chapter Three, illustrations

of American Queen Anne designs and the discourse surrounding the new fashion in the American Architect are examined, indicating that Queen Anne was less a style than an operational way of designing that defied precise definition. Chapter Four demonstrates the manner in which Queen Anne became the focal point for American critics and professional and entrepreneurial pattern book architects to investigate architectural issues. Chapter Five documents the prevalence of the new fashion in pattern books, highlights the diversity of interpretation, and consequently further establishes Queen Anne as a mode of design rather than a style in the conventional sense of the term.

Due to the broad scope of this study, it has not seemed appropriate to adopt a particular methodological approach; theoretical bases applied to investigations into the economic and social structure of middle class America are noted in Chapter Two. Throughout this study, critical analysis of the written material accompanying the pattern book illustrations has been fundamental to examining the Queen Anne phenomenon. Because the cited authors determined their audiences and utilized language with acquired social meanings, examination of the pattern book market and its relation to the popularity of Queen Anne also illuminates the promulgation of values in the late nineteenth century and their embodiment in architectural form.⁶

⁶See M. M. Bakhtin, Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) and Michael Holquist, "Answering as Authoring: Mikhail Bakhtin's Trans-Linguistics," Critical Inquiry 10 (December 1983): 307-319.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING FOR QUEEN ANNE IN THE UNITED STATES

From the Centennial year of 1876 to the close of the nineteenth century, new houses began to line the streets of villages, towns and city suburbs in a diversity of form and color never seen before. The middle class residential architectural landscape was being transformed into a picturesque array of multi-hued houses with ells, jutting gables, turrets, and finials. Introduced to the general public at the time of the Centennial and promoted by entrepreneurial builders and architects, this Queen Anne mode of design was more than a fashion. It rapidly grew into a widespread phenomenon reaching all regions of the United States. For an increasing middle class population who daily met the uncertainties of a time in American history characterized by social, political and economic disorder, Queen Anne home ownership came to signify the often incompatible ideals of modern progress and traditional values, of individual prosperity and moral order.

News of the latest fashions in architecture quickly reached the residents of America's far-flung communities. Railroad lines were being completed across the nation, reaching from north to south, east to west, and to the mountain and Pacific west, and they formed a comprehensive network of communication among the states, territories and towns. Prospective homeowners were provided with a continually growing selection of architectural stylistic configurations. Balloon frame construction, the scroll saw and the lathe, prefabricated moldings, finials, balusters and other decorative details made realizing the new fashions, especially the complex Queen Anne stylizations, possible.

At the beginning of the last half of the century, houses with sharply-pointed gothicized gables and heavily decorated barge boards stood next to houses with segmented bays and bulky corbels in the Italian fashion, representing in domestic form the traditional middle nineteenth-century architectural choices between medieval and classical. Both stylistic categories had supplanted the ubiquitous classic revival houses of the 1820's and 30's, and with a multiplicity of fashionable alterations, remained viable choices for home owners well after the Civil War.⁷ Following the War and continuing through the end of the century, houses with Swiss broad eaves and brackets, Old English chimneys and half-timbering, French mansard roofs, and other diverse details were added to the eclectic mixture. Identifiable stylistic categories, such as gothic, gained relative serial popularity, but one style did not completely replace another. By the Centennial year, a house with a mansard roof in the modern French style could be built in the same community and at the same time as a Swiss or Italian gothic cottage. During the last decades of the century, architectural features were frequently intermingled with an unsurpassed freedom, making any precise stylistic taxonomy an impossibility, but in popular late nineteenth-century architectural literature, these houses were conceived under the broad aegis of "Queen Anne."

The circulation of both the recognizable and freely merged styles was accomplished by an expansion of architectural literature primarily directed to a middle class public. Drawings of houses were regularly published in periodicals.

⁷These houses were often in the "Greek Revival" style; however, as has been examined by Talbot Hamlin in Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944) and William H. Pierson, Jr. in American Buildings and Their Architects; the Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970), the style carried both Greek and Roman features.

Beginning in 1846, the popular Godey's Lady's Book inserted a small line drawing of an architect-designed house and its plan each month.⁸ The trade journal, American Builder, which began publication in 1868 and soon gained nationwide circulation, invited submission of original designs from architects and published them for interpretation by local builders. The majority of these designs were homes, showing both the predilection of the editor, Charles Lakey, and of the architects' recognition of the building market. However, from the 1840's to the 1870's, house designs were most widely circulated through the sale of the pattern book, a type of source book which provided prospective home-builders with numerous exterior perspective drawings and floor plans for house types ranging from cottages to villas rendered in the current styles.⁹ The practical function of the pattern book was to provide the homeowner with designs from which to choose so that he, or more rarely, she, could provide the local builder with a visual model. The builder would then interpret and modify the house design according to his abilities as a carpenter. Unfortunately, the interpretation became

⁸Over 450 house designs were published between 1846 and 1892. The editor of Godey's, Louis Antoine Godey, claimed in 1868 that more than 4,000 houses had been built with their plans. George L. Hersey, "Godey's Choice", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 18 (October 1959): 104.

⁹Andrew Jackson Downing defined the cottage as a small dwelling for a family without servants or with no more than two servants. A villa was larger and its functioning required three or more servants. A villa was also distinguished by its having three or four rooms on the main floor which were functional but not basely utilitarian: dining room, drawing room, library, dressing room for the lady of the house and an office for the male. Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850), pp. 40, 257 and 272. Almost a quarter of a century later, a Saturday Evening Post article stated that a house became a villa with the addition of "elegant," yet useful, rooms to the "plain structure." "Building a Home," Saturday Evening Post 8 (May 9, 1874): 4. The clear distinctions between cottage and villa were obfuscated in later pattern books with the addition of cottage villas to the repertoire of types.

progressively more difficult as the homeowner requested individualized changes in the original pattern book presentation.

The intent of the early pattern book author, however, went beyond the practical, for the bulk of the pattern book text was written as an educational tool to improve the reader's architectural knowledge and taste. Pattern book authors established themselves as arbiters of architectural taste for a public considered to be sorely lacking in such knowledge. They determined that builders--contractors, carpenters, and even most architects--could not be trusted to have sufficient taste to integrate beauty and function appropriately in one structure. Nor could their unenlightened clients readily appreciate a well conceived building. This was no small matter, as architect and pattern book author Calvert Vaux concluded, "The lack of taste perceptible all over the country in small buildings, is a decided bar to healthy, social enjoyments; it is a weakness that affects the whole bone and muscle of the body politic;..."¹⁰

The educational function of the pattern book served both the builder and the home-owner at a time when institutional architectural training in America was in its infancy. Those who claimed the title "architect" usually received pragmatic rather than theoretical instruction. Most began their training as draftsmen in the offices of practicing architects or as apprentice carpenters with local builders and contractors. For the most part, America's middle class homes were built by artisans who seldom had more than hands-on training.

Pattern books, such as Andrew Jackson Downing's popular Cottage Residences, 1842, and Vaux's Villas and Cottages, 1857, became sources of

¹⁰Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages, 2d. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864), p. 48.

architectural authority. The authors advanced architectural theory with a concentration on standards of aesthetic judgment. At the same time, they provided visual and verbal incentives to build in a utilitarian, as well as tasteful manner, and usually included information on the function of the floor plan, the coordination of site and architectural style, the historical foundation of the principles of architecture, aesthetics, and the critical relevance of scientifically sound plumbing and ventilation to the family's health.

There can be little doubt that these books fulfilled a need for such information. Four editions of Downing's book were printed during his lifetime, and frequent re-publication continued until 1887.¹¹ The second edition of Vaux's Villas and Cottages, 1864, was re-issued in 1867, 1869, 1872 and 1874. These are but two of the many pre-Civil War architect-authors who established a precedent for comparable publications of the last quarter of the century. Pattern books containing drawings of houses as well as essays on style, taste, beauty, and proper building techniques continued to attract an audience despite growing diversity in building practice. But at the same time, more innovative pattern book authors began to explore means by which they could take advantage of the potential for increased sales of books and services in an expanding market for house-building literature.

Significant changes were introduced to the traditional pattern book format in the last quarter of the century. Commensurate with the late nineteenth-century emphasis on competition in entrepreneurial activity, authors and publishers vied

¹¹The 1887 edition was published by John Wiley & sons and was a reprint of the 1873 "new edition" edited by George E. Harney. Downing's The Architecture of Country Houses, first published in 1850, was reprinted nine times and sold over 16,000 volumes.

with one another to introduce more services to their public. The popular American self-help conviction that hard work and intelligence would invariably result in business success encouraged innovations, and by the end of the century, architects and related companies provided architectural plans, specifications, loans, consulting services, even the building materials, all which could be mail-ordered from the pattern book.¹²

Of the architects producing pattern books, the most enterprising usually did not possess what would have been considered professional credentials. Yet, they claimed architectural expertise in order to sell their services. Entering the building market while the American Institute of Architects were formulating professional criteria, the entrepreneurial pattern book architects stepped into a field created by the newly defined polarity between architect and builder. Professional architects published pattern books, too, but they refrained from any vestige of mass production. They were entrepreneurial only to the extent that their publications advertised their architectural practices. Publications by members of the Institute of Architects were educative in intent: as Henry Van Brunt told his colleagues at the organization's 1875 convention, "If the occupation of the field of architecture in this country by immature and half-trained men is a characteristic feature, this is but another reason for the existence of this Institute, and another motive for its

¹²The consideration given innovation is evidenced in the large number of patents issued in the late nineteenth century. From 1850 to 1859, 8.4 patents were issued per 10,000 population; in the following decade the patents increased to 22 per 10,000; from 1870-1879, there were 31 per 10,000; from 1880-1889, thirty-nine. United States Bureau of the Census, Historical statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 607-608.

constant effort."¹³ That this distinction between professional and entrepreneurial pattern book architects was widely recognized among the trades was made evident by George Palliser who had emigrated as a master carpenter to the United States from England. A leader among the entrepreneurial pattern book architects in 1876, he later insisted that his mail-order plans were not mass produced; yet he continued to sell plans, albeit often accompanied by lengthy instructive essays.

Pattern book architects were businessmen who participated in the prevailing credo of success by anticipating the public's practical and artistic building needs. At the same time, they promulgated middle class home ownership as a vital affirmation of a prevailing ideology of moral progress and social mobility. This became their most subtle and resourceful marketing technique. The pattern books were products of their historical time and the language used in their introductory commentaries and house design descriptions adroitly supported those precepts which, according to the dominant middle class perspective, were inherent to a democratic system. Hard work and success were moral imperatives and both became manifest in home ownership. The virtue of the American people, thus of the nation, was founded in the home and held strong by the homeowner. Architect Elisha C. Hussey encapsulated the commonly held assumptions regarding the paradigmatic middle class American in his book, Home Building, 1876, when he described a suburban community in which all the homes:

¹³"Opening Address before the American Institute of Architects," American Architect and Building News 1 (January 29, 1876): 35; hereafter cited as American Architect. A critic of American architecture observed that the title "architect...was usurped by everybody who wishes it." In "American Architecture Present," American Architect 1 (August 5, 1876): 250.

are surrounded by an enterprising, high-minded, sober, industrious, refined Christian people, where health, education, culture, and a generous reward for the expenditure of talent, time and money are assured.¹⁴

The National Condition and American Values

Hussey's sanguine view of the American community in 1876 was characteristic of much contemporary popular literature during the year that marked the centenary of American nationhood. Although disabled soldiers who panhandled on the city street corners were graphic reminders of the Civil War, the difficult period of Reconstruction was coming to a close, and orators spoke with resounding confidence of an auspicious future for the United States. Promoters of the great Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia claimed this celebration as a symbol of the integrity of the Union and an opportunity to further strengthen the ties between North and South. Perhaps more significantly, it was held that the triumph of national consolidation now allowed the pursuit of economic and industrial ascendancy. Once a fledgling nation, America was now recognized as fast gaining international leadership in manufacturing.¹⁵ Americans were enterprising and diligent; and in this land of unlimited resources, prosperity awaited the industrious.

¹⁴Elisha Charles Hussey, Home Building (New York: By the author, 1876), iii. Although pattern book authors marketed their services to their North American neighbors in Canada, references to "America" indicated the United States.

¹⁵England was the international industrial leader in 1876, but by 1894 American manufacturing production nearly equaled that of Great Britain, France and Germany together. Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America. Essays in American Working-Class and Social History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 33.

Countering such optimism, however, some recognized that America may not have fulfilled the promise of democracy envisioned a century earlier. Before the opening of the Philadelphia Exhibition, a reviewer in the monthly magazine, Galaxy, noted abundant visual evidence of the upcoming celebration. There were so many designated "centennial" items that the public could expect to see "centennial pumpkin pies" at any moment; yet there was little genuine enthusiasm for the event. He explained, "We are not quite sure that we are not, as a people, a very great failure;...". After suggesting that some of the lack of interest resulted from the fact that the Exhibition had become more an industrial fair than a celebratory event, his appraisal concluded with a rather dubious point of promise: "The liveliest feeling the great centennial fair awakens is the vague hope that it may help to brighten one of the gloomiest business years the country has seen within a century."¹⁶

The rhetoric of the Centennial Exhibition optimists belied the fact that the late nineteenth century was a time of economic, political and social instability.¹⁷ Centennial year Americans were struggling through an economic depression which would be the most persistent in the nation's history. Paradoxically, speculation in America's business and industrial future precipitated the decline. The crisis was brought about by investment in America's largest business, the railroads. New rail

¹⁶"Nebulæ", The Galaxy 21 (April 1876): 580. Another observer in the Galaxy noted, "The Exhibition has swallowed up the centennial; the coincidence of dates dwindles to the insignificance of an accident; its industrial value far overshadows its historical associations." Philip Quilibet, "Drift-Wood," The Galaxy 21 (April 1876): 580.

¹⁷See Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair. Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 10-37.

lines had been laid at a phenomenal rate, 5,690 miles in 1870, 7,670 miles in 1871, 6,167 miles in 1872, and 4,105 in 1873. Financing was obtained from a number of sources: sales of stock, state grants of credit and money, national government land grants, government bonds and foreign investment. But extensive short term credit investment in the industry ultimately resulted in the closing of major banking houses and the financial Panic of 1873.¹⁸ The ensuing economic stagnation lasted until 1878 and recurred with economic retardation from 1884 to 1885, culminating in another financial panic and depression in 1893.

Unemployment accompanied the economic downturns and was an endemic problem throughout the period. Approximately three million workers were unemployed in 1875, two-fifths of which worked no more than six or seven months of the year.¹⁹ Studies have shown that in 1885, after significant improvement but during another economic slump, one-third of the workers in the commonwealth of Massachusetts were unemployed for an average of four months.²⁰ Those who were fortunate enough to be employed, enjoyed an overall lowered cost of living, but the fluctuating relative wage rates did not necessarily improve their financial positions. Laborers, especially, were affected when manufacturers and industrial

¹⁸Albert C. Bolles, Industrial History of the United States, 3rd. ed.(1881; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966), pp. 635-646. Although the Panic retarded business expansion, it did not completely halt railroad growth. By 1877 approximately five billion dollars had been invested in the railroads. Philip S. Foner, The Great Labor Uprising of 1877 (New York: Monad Press, 1977), pp. 13-14.

¹⁹Foner, Great Labor Uprising, p. 20.

²⁰Alexander Keyssar, "Unemployment and the Labor Movement in Massachusetts, 1870-1916," in Herbert Gutman and Donald Bell, eds., The New England Working Class and the New Labor History (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 233.

leaders attempted to ameliorate the retardation in industry with wage reductions.²¹ For example, in 1877, a year characterized by civil violence, northeastern silk manufacturers cut the wages of their ribbon weavers by twenty per cent, and the railroads cut back wages by almost one-half.²² There and in similar circumstances, affected workers, some in the new labor unions and others not, rose in protest. The extent of worker unrest was most clearly exemplified for the public during the Great Strike of 1877 against the railroads. Although not an organized strike, massive demonstrations spread along the rail lines from community to community and across state borders. For many Americans, the official termination of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South was overshadowed by the violence surrounding them, and strikers and the organizing trade unionists who encouraged such dissension seemed to put the stability of the nation itself at risk.²³

Politicians, although the most outspoken protectors of the themes of moral progress, success, and national unity, also contributed to the late nineteenth-

²¹The cost of living relative to income had risen sharply with the onset of the Civil War, then lowered gradually through 1879. Jeffrey G. Williamson and Peter H. Lindert, American Inequality. A Macroeconomic History (New York: Academic Press, 1980), Table 5.5, p. 107.

²²Foner, Great Labor Uprising, p. 33 and Gutman, Work, Culture, p. 242.

²³Richard Slotkin, The Fatal Environment. The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890 (New York: Atheneum, 1985), p. 477. In 1877, the New York press considered strikers and trade unionists as the among the "dangerous classes" or "criminal classes." The Knights of Labor had grown to 50,000 by 1884 but membership burgeoned to 700,000 by 1886. In 1884, Reverend Josiah Strong published Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis in which he called his readers to counter "the perils which threaten our Christian and American civilization." The small book sold over one-half million copies. Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 44-45.

century unease. The author of an editorial in the May 1876 Galaxy complained that corruption in politics and finance had been prominent in the news for over nine months and every day there were new scandals to report.²⁴ Newspaper reports of bribery and embezzlement were commonplace. Disgrace plagued President Ulysses S. Grant, his cabinet, ambassadors and lesser public officials. Public opinion regarding the current administration had declined so drastically that the President's address at the Centennial opening ceremonies was jeered and hissed. His successor, Rutherford B. Hayes had a public reputation as an honest politician as did Hayes' opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, but the election was won only after nefarious political intrigue. Following one four-year term in office Hayes was replaced by James Garfield, who was assassinated in 1881, the year he was inaugurated into the presidency.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, the contrast between the doctrine of moral progress and the nationwide disruption of social order became increasingly apparent. No geographic area was free from such unrest, and the news of regionalized disorder quickly spread and became a national concern. While industry waged battle with the laborers and politicians fought for votes, conflict developing on a number of other fronts contributed to a sense of anxiety about the erosion of values and standards of conduct sustained by the middle class. The response was not an overt demonstration of apprehension but an unconsciously mediated strengthening of the belief that high-principled Americans who ascribed to the ethic of success and social mobility were the standard bearers of civilization. Those who did not evince a desire to adhere to middle

²⁴"Nebulæ", The Galaxy 21 (May 1876): 721.

class values were perceived as opponents to the progress of America and were regarded as uncivilized, even equated with savages. Newspapers, magazines and educational literature identified nonconforming groups--strikers, unemployed workers, native Americans, blacks, new immigrants--and posited them as antagonists who functioned outside an ordered society and who lacked the rational intelligence of the civilized.²⁵

In this way, the inconsistencies presented by the unremitting incidents of disorder could be masked, or at least accommodated, because the middle class could be assured that the actions of the unruly and immoral participants were not malfunctionings of their own middle class group. The seemingly unpatriotic actions of these groups which had been dissociated from the functionings of the middle class represented a fearsome corpus of resistance to the basic beliefs and foundation of America and were transformed into factors exogenous to daily American life. For the late nineteenth-century middle class, this isolation of events was a process of disempowerment directed toward those who did not assimilate and a method of controlling the course of events. Middle class beliefs were confirmed and a sense of group identity and unified national purpose was

²⁵The Chicago Tribune claimed that striking immigrant bricklayers were "not reasoning creatures," and the Post-Mail called Bohemian immigrants "depraved beasts, harpies, decayed physically and spiritually, mentally and morally, thievish and licentious." Quoted in Gutman, p. 72.

strengthened.²⁶

An examination of representative issues dramatized in contemporary periodical literature does illustrate the extensive manipulation of regional and national difficulties into a verbally and visually communicated positivistic ideology. In the west, the United States army fought America's indigenous peoples, and the government's appropriation of their lands soon became a bitter war. On July 5, 1876, the day after exuberant Independence Day celebrations in Philadelphia, the dispatch announcing General Custer's death at the Little Big Horn was sent to the eastern newspapers. The great national hero was gone, but his claim that railroad building across Indian land was actually a peace engendering process remained.²⁷ The press discounted the Indians as unproductive savages encroaching on the progress of civilization, and one eminent American, William Dean Howells, looked at the Centennial exhibit of photographs of the Indians, described the "red man"

²⁶The process is not to be seen as conscious manipulation, rather within the definition of hegemony found in the writings of Antonio Gramsci. Raymond Williams has defined hegemony as a "central, effective and dominant system of meanings and values, which are not merely abstract but which are organized and lived...It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society," Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso Editions and NLB, 1980), p. 38. See also, Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976).

²⁷George A. Custer, "Battling with the Sioux on the Yellowstone," Galaxy 22 (July 1876): 91. Land appropriation for railroad expansion was a major area of contention in negotiations between the Grant Administration and the native Americans. However, precedent for such action had been established early in the country's history. Thomas Jefferson believed it would encourage the native Americans to participate in "agriculture, manufactures and civilization." In Francis Paul Prucha, Indian Policy in the United States (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), pp. 54 and 207. Interestingly, railroad expansion had also been touted as a means of binding the pre-Civil War North and South.

as "a hideous demon," and publicly suggested extermination as a solution.²⁸ In the Pacific west, concerns about the growing numbers of contracted Chinese laborers whose manners and customs seemed antithetical to American life led to nationwide hostility against the Chinese. Moral and economic problems arising from the contracting practices were of such magnitude that both the California State Senate and a joint Committee of the U. S. Congress convened hearings in 1876 and thereafter. On one hand, it was deplored that the Chinese were treated as little more than slave labor; but on the other, the author of the introduction to the California State Senate committee report of 1878 concluded, "...it is our judgment that unrestricted Chinese immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor, and to the subversion of our institutions, than did slavery at the South."²⁹ The latter was the more prevalent view and was promoted in American schools. William G. Swinton, in his 1875 textbook, Elementary Course in Geography, concluded that the Chinese were not civilized because they were not progressive.³⁰ A later standard school text in 1887 found the existence of the Chinese laborers "socially undesirable and injurious" to "civilized communities."³¹

²⁸William Dean Howells, "A Sennight at the Centennial," Atlantic Monthly 38 (July 1876): 103. The marginalization of the native Americans is examined in Slotkin, Fatal Environment.

²⁹Quoted in Patricia Cloud and David W. Galenson, "Chinese Immigration and Contract Labor in the Late Nineteenth Century," Explorations in Economic History 24 (January 1987): 36.

³⁰William G. Swinton, Elementary Course in Geography (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Co., 1875), p.114; quoted in Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 162-163.

³¹John D. Quackenbos et al, Physical Geography, Appleton's American Standard Geographies (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1887), p. 109, cited in Elson, p. 163.

Neither the Chinese nor the native Americans adhered to the standards of the middle class, and because they were visible minorities, they were easily distinguished from the larger American population.

Newly arrived European immigrants, too, were differentiated from the established and second generation population of the immigrant nation. In the west, Pacific west and northeast, ethnic and racial diversity became an increasingly divisive rhetorical tool as the alien beliefs and cultural traditions of unprecedented numbers of foreign immigrants confronted American societal practices. According to one Chicago newspaper, America had become "the cess-pool of Europe."³² In 1880, more than seventy per-cent of the population of San Francisco, St. Louis, Cleveland, New York, Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago were immigrants or the children of immigrants.³³ Although many moved to smaller communities, most of the newcomers settled in the noisy, dirty city centers and crowded into festering tenements notorious for lack of privacy, sufficient ventilation and sanitation facilities. Sympathetic citizens campaigned to improve the immigrants' plight and architects were exhorted to design more habitable multiple dwellings, but questions were more frequently raised about the tenement dwellers' desire and ability to live in any different surroundings. Even the reformers believed poverty to be the fault of the poor; they lacked the ambition to work and the discipline to save their meager earnings. The image of the city as an intellectual and cultural center began to be countered by that of physical and

³²From the Democratic Chicago Times, quoted in Gutman, p. 72. Melvyn Dubofsky has identified the years from 1878 to 1893 as one of the great "waves" of immigration, in Industrialization and the American Worker, 1865-1920, 2nd. ed. (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1985), p. 9.

³³Gutman, Work, Culture, p. 40.

moral decay.³⁴ The American Builder published a report on the high mortality rate in New York tenements and blamed the ventilation, drains, crowding and "unhealthy habits of the poor."³⁵ The popular tract by S. Humphreys Gurteen, Handbook of Charity Organization, 1882, echoed the prevalent opinion of the poor with the claim that moral weakness and "self-indulgence" were causes of poverty and turned the tenement into a "ghastly caricature of a home."³⁶ Very simply, the new immigrants did not have the aspirations intrinsic to the principles of American life and family.

In the South, an impoverished and embittered people looked with suspicion on the Centennial Exhibition. The Mobile Daily Register went so far as to call it "a bold humbug and open fraud in its assumption of patriotic motive."³⁷ On the same page of this Alabama newspaper, the U. S. District judge was asked to examine the frequent harassment of Alabamians by Federal officials.³⁸ Contrary to the claims made for the Centennial, North and South had not achieved full reconciliation. Many southerners were, however, pragmatic enough to recognize

³⁴On this subject, see Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

³⁵"Notes on Current Topics," American Builder 12 (January 1876): 5.

³⁶Quoted in Boyer, Urban Masses, p. 146. Gurteen also published a small pamphlet with similar sentiments, "How Paupers are Made," 1883. Henry Hartshorne stated, "An extraordinary fact is, that the poorer portion of those brought up amid such circumstances are often unwilling to have them improved. They must be helped and taught gradually; they seem almost like owls or bats brought out into daylight, when any one attempts to better their condition." Hartshorne, Our Homes (Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston, 1880), p. 140.

³⁷"Centennial Morbidity," The Mobile Daily Register (January 19, 1876): 2.

³⁸"Outrages on Citizens of Alabama," The Mobile Daily Register (January 19, 1876): 2.

the economic necessity of participating in a national market and of reaping the benefits of industrial promotion at the Centennial--even if these activities were similar to advertising "State bonds in a Radical newspaper."³⁹ They hoped a new economic stability could be created by the development of industry. To accomplish this entrepreneurs in the South needed workers, but the most available source of labor was eliminated. For the freed slaves were considered ineligible because they lacked the proper discipline. The blacks were thus delegated to agricultural labor, although to the consternation of the landowners, they preferred to farm their own small plots of land rather than become wage earners.⁴⁰ Too few workers were available for the South's economic recovery. Consequently, an alternative labor pool was promoted at an Immigration Convention held in New Orleans in 1876. The conventioners did not, however, suggest opening the door to foreign immigration, preferring migrants from other American communities. They were thoroughly Americanized laborers from the north and west of the United States who had been conditioned to the rigors of industry.⁴¹ The employed laborers were not of the middle class but they were participating in the mechanism of social mobility. By this policy, the people of the South fortified the general theme of group solidarity and purpose, and their entry into industrial competition contributed to a sense of participation in a national quest that denied the palpable existence of national dissension.

³⁹"Centennial Morbidity", Mobile Daily Register, p. 2.

⁴⁰Eric Foner, Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), chapter six, "Reconstruction and the Crisis of Free Labor," passim.

⁴¹"Labor in the South," The Mobile Daily Register (April 7, 1876): 2.

Throughout the last quarter of the century, the nation's social structure was significantly affected by the forces of an American economy that was inexorably changing from an agricultural to an industrial and business base.⁴² Technological development brought more efficient methods of industrial production, and the now abundant manufactured goods were dispersed through an extended mass market. New divisions of labor were required for production and the movement of products from grower or manufacturer to wholesaler and consumer.⁴³ The constitution of the work force changed with the addition of jobs which ostensibly allowed for social mobility upward from the laboring class to the middle class. Salespeople and clerks, especially, were needed in numbers not imagined before. The pay was low for these entry level jobs, but the positions held an element of prestige. Becoming a clerk was commensurate with taking a first step toward the ultimate goal of independent businessman, and white collar employment became the career choice for many young Americans.⁴⁴ The American Builder, citing an 1878

⁴²According to a contemporary report, by the late 1880's, agricultural workers between the ages of 15 and 60 comprised 42 per cent of the work force, professionals 24 per cent, workers in trades and transportation, 11 per cent, and workers in manufacturing, mechanical and mining, 23 per cent. George Edwin McNeill, The Labor Movement (New York: The M. W. Hazen Co., 1888), n.p.

⁴³This was recognized early in California where in 1860 the Alta California encouraged the construction of a trans-continental railroad in order to increase trade opportunities for California merchants. The article recognized that the merchants would then become distributors as well as merchants. Peter R. Decker, Fortunes and Failures. White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 157.

⁴⁴ In 1870 there were 154 stenographers, many of whom were women; by 1900 there were 112,364 stenographers and typists. The number of bookkeepers, cashiers and accountants grew from 38,776 to 254,880. Alba M. Edwards, Population: Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 112.

government report, noted that young men with sufficient financial backing entered the professions, and young men without means became "teachers, clerks and bookkeepers."⁴⁵ Five months later the editorial staff complained that parents persisted in sending their sons to schools to become clerical workers rather than skilled workers in the trades.⁴⁶ A consequence of white collar expansion was a broadening of the parameters of the middle class. Prior to the Civil War, the core middle class consisted of shopkeepers, merchants and similar independent business people, but changes in job and economic status through the decades brought the new salaried workers into that increasingly potent domain.⁴⁷

Middle class expansion naturally resulted in a broadened consumer market. As the century progressed department stores modelled after John Wanamaker's assemblage of shops in Philadelphia began to compete with the small specialized store, and mail order companies shipped any manner of item a client would need or desire. Material consumption, as a display of wealth, along with occupational title, became signifiers of the individual's position in society.⁴⁸ And following the

⁴⁵"Industrial Education," American Builder 14 (December 1878): 272.

⁴⁶"Too Much High Education," American Builder 15 (May 1879): 114. The article also spoke against teacher training for women because it led to a dislike of housework.

⁴⁷Employment and social status is examined in C. Wright Mills, White Collar. The American Middle Class (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). The complexity of the changing structure of the middle class is addressed by Stuart M. Blumin, "Black Coats to White Collars: Economic Change, Nonmanual Work, and the Social Structure of Industrializing America" in Stuart W. Bruchey, ed., Small Business in American Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

⁴⁸By the end of the century department stores could be found in all large cities, and their decoration and displays established a standard of material luxury for shoppers. Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," in Ian M. G. Quimby, Material Culture and the Study of American Life (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), pp. 149-154. Studies of class relationships by Anthony Giddens and Stuart Blumin have

historical precedent of the association of social status with land ownership, a house, especially a house in the suburbs, became the largest, most desirable and representative, material investment.⁴⁹

Numbers of cities and communities underwent extraordinary growth in the last decades of the nineteenth century. East coast cities were teeming with the influx of immigrants; the western metropolis of Chicago, fast becoming the hub of the nation, increased in land size five-fold, and many parvenu western and Pacific coast communities increased a dramatic 100 to 300 per cent.⁵⁰ This unprecedented growth changed the character of the city and conditioned the formation of the newly vigorous communities. As inner cities grew with numbers of laborers, the middle classes moved to the fresh air of the developing suburbs and commuted to the workplace. Others, the unemployed and adventurous seeking new opportunity and the frail searching for healthy climates, migrated to the western lands and settled in communities which could be said to have been suburbanized before they had ever corresponded with an urban image.

suggested consumption as a significant factor in class formation. Stuart M. Blumin, "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals," American Historical Review 90 (April 1985): 299-338 and Anthony Giddens, The Class Structure of Advanced Societies (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

⁴⁹In his study of Newburyport, Massachusetts laborers between 1850 and 1880, Stephan Thernstrom found that property ownership was considered a primary determinant in achieving economic and social success. Poverty and Progress. Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 69.

⁵⁰Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier. The Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 140, table 8-2; Lawrence H. Larsen, The Urban West at the End of the Frontier (Lawrence, Kan.: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), p. 115.

Describing the middle class dream, pattern book author Elisha C. Hussey observed:

We know there are thousands of men and women, of the various callings of life, crowded and pinched together in the great cities of this country, waiting, watching, and anxious; who, if they knew of the opportunity to shake off these bonds and acquire a real home that lies fully within the bounds of development through carefully directed application in the right direction, and who, if they knew of the ways which lead out of the maze in which they are entangled, would gladly go forth to apply their energies and skill in this most noble calling of life, "Home Building."⁵¹

Nineteenth-century pattern book authors began to address this expanded market for houses: the laborer, the middle class, the newly successful entrepreneur, each striving for upward social mobility through individual effort. The home surrounded by a well tended lawn was presented in the architectural literature as a public expression of the owner's character, social position and financial achievement. At the same time, it was a refuge against the ills of society, the workday world and the ongoing economic and social change. Here, the impression of well-being was asserted, typically in a suburban picturesque home in the Queen Anne fashion.

⁵¹Hussey, Home Building, 1876, iii.

CHAPTER TWO

PATTERN BOOKS AND THE MIDDLE CLASS HOME

Pattern books became a major organ for the dissemination of the Queen Anne mode of design during the last quarter of the century. But while professional architects promoted its colonial manifestations with less success for the middle class public, entrepreneurial pattern book architects contributed to the formation of a popular taste for the Queen Anne style in domestic architecture. The eclectic manner of building, providing innumerable variations drawn from a recognizable compendium of forms, was a vehicle for the development of pattern book marketing techniques and conversely, the commercial enterprise ensured the popularity of Queen Anne.

Pattern books published from the Centennial year were introduced to a fluctuating and highly competitive market in the building trades. Building activity had barely begun to revive after the Civil War when the 1873 panic again inhibited real estate investment and building. Charles Lakey, editor of the American Builder, a journal directed to the trades, monitored the effect on local builders each month. Throughout 1876 and the remainder of decade, despite intermittent predictions of improvement, he deplored the staggering numbers of unemployed skilled carpenters. At the same time, he explained the depressed prices of building materials and labor as an opportunity for the building professions to return to work as well as for the public to take advantage of the lower cost of home building. This speculation was echoed by pattern book author Amos Jackson

Bicknell who in 1878 encouraged prospective home owners and builders by claiming that many of the designs in the fifth edition of his Village Builder could be constructed now at a cost of thirty to forty per-cent less than the given estimates.⁵² Indeed, a demand for new houses existed. Where industry grew, communities grew. Although the building market was depressed and carpenters outnumbered available jobs, there was sufficient vigor in the construction trades to provide an opportunity for a thriving architectural literature industry.⁵³

With the rapid growth in the numbers of middle class home owners who could not afford to hire architects to design their homes as the wealthy did, expedient methods of design were needed to complement the time-saving methods of building brought by new technology. Modifications were introduced to traditional pattern book formats in order to meet the market demands. Some changes which offered more services to the builder for the cost of the pattern book had already been effected by mid-century. Pattern books based on the Downing and Vaux models yielded profits for the authors and publishers by sales of the books, in spite of their cost. For example, Samuel Sloan's two volume work, The Model Architect, sold for twelve dollars in 1855. Sloan's volumes, first published in 1852, were among the popular pre-Civil War pattern books and in 1860, and they were

⁵²Amos Jackson Bicknell, Supplement to Bicknell's Village Builder, 5th ed., by (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1878). The Village Builder was first published by the author in Troy, New York and Springfield, Illinois in 1870. A revised edition with the Supplement was published by Bicknell in 1872, followed with republication in 1874 and 1878. There may have been more editions of the same title.

⁵³The American Builder frequently published letters whose authors boasted of new buildings recently completed or under construction in their communities. The town of Arlington, New Jersey, for example, was reported to have grown from the unremarkable size of two to three houses to at least two hundred buildings of note within three years, "Miscellaneous Notes," American Builder 15 (July 1879): 169.

produced in a new edition which maintained sales into the 1870's. The Model Architect was instructive in the manner of popular mid-century pattern books by Alexander Jackson Downing and his contemporaries. Subjects from the theoretical, such as architectural style, to the more practical, such as ventilation and the preservation of timber, were explained. However, Sloan's books differed from the earlier models because his contained proportionately more architectural drawings than text. Delicately drawn lithographic perspectives of the houses in their appropriately landscaped settings were accompanied by floor plans and drawings of those details which make a house distinctive--doors, windows, decorative carving and sawn work, posts and balusters. Plans and details were drawn to scale in order to facilitate their copying by local builders.⁵⁴ Sloan also helped the builders approach their tasks in a much more professional manner. Estimates of unit material costs which could serve as examples for the builder when he projected the cost of a home accompanied some of the plans. Descriptive specifications for excavations, construction and materials for several homes provided a reference for the builder to follow when he contracted with his clients. In addition, the author submitted legal aid with a sample contract drawn up by a Philadelphia lawyer stipulating contractor's or builder's fees and dates of completion.⁵⁵ Samuel Sloan's contributions to the education of the builder were

⁵⁴Downing drew a scale next to the house plan for reference. Sloan provided the reader with the scale according to which the drawing was completed. See Downing, Cottage Residences, (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, 1842).

⁵⁵Samuel Sloan, The Model Architect (Philadelphia, E. G. Jones & co., 1852), passim. See also, Harold N. Coledge, Jr., Samuel Sloan. Architect of Philadelphia 1815-1884 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 35-38. New York architect, George Woodward, author of numerous popular pattern books in the late 1860's and early 1870's, followed a similar format.

evidently pertinent, for they were subsequently included in numerous popular pattern books, including those of the last quarter of the century.

Architectural detail drawings were another significant selling point for pattern books. Without such drawings, the builder needed considerable carpentry and mathematical skill in order to duplicate houses selected from the pattern book. Considering the quality and small size of some perspective drawings of pattern book houses, he also needed a fertile imagination. In fact, detail drawings were so useful that pattern books exclusively illustrating these also gained a market, being usable for remodeling older homes as well as for completing the design of new houses. Shortly after the Civil War, more pattern book authors began to accompany house designs with detail drawings. In this way, the details matched the character of the house. Two architects, Marcus F. Cummings of New York and Charles C. Miller of Ohio, co-authored Architecture: Designs for Street Fronts, Suburban Houses, and Cottages, 1865, in which they declared that elevations and details were more substantive building aids than perspective drawings. They considered their book singular because it contained front facade elevations and decorative details drawn in "so large a scale that anyone familiar with the construction of work cannot fail to comprehend their forms and their construction."⁵⁶ Although the book sold, their clients were not completely satisfied since the architects had not included floor plans. Cummings and Miller had determined that floor plans prepared to coordinate with the exterior elevations were not practical because the requirements of each family dictated an

⁵⁶Marcus F. Cummings and Charles Miller, Architecture: Designs for Street Fronts, Suburban Houses, and Cottages (Troy, New York: Young and Benson, 1865), intro. The title continued, "comprising in all 382 designs and 714 illustrations."

arrangement of rooms specific to their activities rather than the exterior of the house. Customers objected to this notion and wrote to suggest that the architectural team's expertise was also needed for designing the appropriate arrangement of rooms.

Pattern book authors continued to modify their publications for the market during the short period of economic stabilization between the War and the Panic of 1873. Bicknell recognized the demand for a straightforward book with successive pages of elevations, plans and details. He, too, included descriptive specifications, cost estimates, and contract examples, but he did not introduce the reader to architectural history, tenets of taste and principles of beauty, nor to educational essays on construction. A sales agent for architectural books, including Cummings and Miller's Architecture, he had then turned to architectural publishing. From this experience he evidently became aware of a national market for a type of pattern book which was little more than a visual inventory of houses. His Village Builder, 1870, followed by the Supplement to Bicknell's Village Builder, 1872, consisted of designs by a number of architects rather than by one or two. The selection of "fifteen leading architects, representing the New England, Middle, Western and South-Western states" provided house designs suitable for "North, South, East and West."⁵⁷ In this way, the designs, and no less importantly, the cost estimates for specified locations appealed more directly to the purchaser of the books, who, at a cost of \$10.00 for the two volumes, could turn the pages and readily select a house design and gauge a geographically relative price.

⁵⁷Bicknell, Village Builder, title page and introduction.

Yet, the early pattern book author had little personal contact with his clients. The sale of the book both initiated and completed the discourse between the two parties. Some architect-authors, however, began to use the pattern book as an advertising medium to expand their architectural business by encouraging their readers to write for further information, details and specifications and to hire them as professional architects. Answers to the new clients' queries were provided for a modest fee; complete architectural services were offered at a percentage of the resultant building's cost. Cummings and Miller advertised their willingness to furnish detail drawings designs for their buildings, as well as to "superintend the erection of buildings."⁵⁸ Gilbert Croff, who worked in New York and in 1875 published Progressive American Architecture, placed greater emphasis on selling his architectural services by mail. He invited the public to purchase plans and drawings, elevations and full-size details, specifications, and bills of material for the homes in his pattern book. As a bonus, the client would also receive a free pencil sketch of the house as soon as he/she provided the architect with a description of the location and the order for plans. Everything was shipped Express C.O.D.⁵⁹

This expansion of entrepreneurial activity continued into the last quarter of the century as more architects produced pattern books and as those entering the market competed to offer more services than their competitors. Some, such as Henry Hudson Holly, continued to follow antebellum precedents, having the content as much a literary effort as a book of styles for the local builders to

⁵⁸Cummings and Miller, Architecture, n.p.

⁵⁹Gilbert Bostwick Croff, Progressive American Architecture New York: Orange Judd and Company, 1875), advertisement.

interpret.⁶⁰ Many who continued to include educational essays directed the subject to interior planning and decoration. Alfred C. Clark's The Architect, Decorator and Furnisher, 1884, consisted of house designs and essays by authors other than himself, several of whom were women addressing issues considered important to the housewife.⁶¹ Others, for example, Bicknell and his partner and successor in the architectural publishing business, William T. Comstock, eliminated most of the commentary to produce books of architectural patterns--perspective drawings, elevations and details.

Still others produced books of perspective drawings of houses, most of which had already been completed for clients, as a form of advertisement. The prospective clients were informed that the drawn examples within the book were samples of the firm's mastery of architectural skills and not representations for carpenters' interpretations. Robert Shoppell and George F. Barber, among others, produced pattern books much like mail order catalogues; they sold working drawings and specifications needed for building of home without placing emphasis on individualized architectural services. Some, like Croff and Palliser, Palliser and Company, sold plans and working drawings but pointed out that the illustrated designs could not be adapted to individual needs without their assistance as architects.

⁶⁰See Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism; Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," Winterthur Portfolio 19 (Summer/Autumn, 1984): 107-150.

⁶¹Alfred C. Clark, The Architect, Decorator and Furnisher (Chicago: Cowdrey, Clark & Co.), 1884.

Changes in the aim and format of pattern books were not introduced to the public in an easily distinguished chronological order. For the most part, pattern book authors recast existing ideas, while the more entrepreneurial devised new marketing techniques in order to reach a broader audience. In the centennial year of 1876, the diversity of approaches was already evident in the new publications by Daniel Atwood, Elisha Hussey, George Palliser, and William Woollett. Atwood had earlier produced Atwood's Rules of Proportion, 1867, and Atwood's Country and Suburban Homes, 1871, a volume that was republished in 1883 and 1885.⁶² The earlier book was instructional in intent, directed to the builder; the second was essentially a pattern book, but it offered constructional and theoretical instruction. His 1876 book, Atwood's Modern American Homesteads, was different. Lacking educational essays, it was designed to reach the pattern book audience in several different ways. A relatively small volume with forty-six plates of perspective drawings, elevations, and floor plans for a wide selection of house styles, and one-page descriptions accompanying the designs, it selectively informed the reader of stylistic characteristics, constructional details, and cost estimates for locations where the houses had been previously built, a type of assurance to prospective home builders introduced by many pattern book authors to confirm that their plans were indeed buildable. For several designs, an enlarged set of plans and elevations including details drawn in one-fourth full size, complete specifications and a bill of required materials could be ordered from him. The complete set of

⁶²Daniel Toppling Atwood, Atwood's Rules of Proportion (New York: By the author, 1867) and Atwood's Country and Suburban Homes (New York: Orange Judd & Company, 1871).

drawings for his "Swiss Gothic Cottage" cost ten dollars.⁶³ Finally, he insisted on contact with the home builder stating that all work was subject to his approval, a position that led an 1879 reviewer of his book to comment on just how busy he would have been if all his clientele responded to his ambitious request!

Atwood made available pattern book models, ready made plans, professional assistance, and even a survey of "Modern American" stylistic choices. As the nation celebrated its centennial and a national style was sought in literature, the arts and architecture, many pattern books authors designated houses as American. Isaac H. Hobbs and his son enlarged their 1873 Hobbs's Architecture in 1876 to contain more designs, including more "American" cottages, villas and residences.⁶⁴ "Modern" was another frequently used descriptive as the United States stepped into what was considered an auspicious future. The modern American homesteads of Atwood's book, however, were "Tuscan," "modern mansard roof," "Italian," "Renaissance," "English Gothic Rural," and "Swiss Gothic." His offering of stylistic choices to suit individual preferences was typical of contemporary pattern books, although he emphasized the fact by offering names for the styles and identifying stylistic sources.

By the next decade, a variety of stylistic choices would be made available to the public by pattern book authors, but the concept of style was changing. Although at this time different stylistic architectural characteristics were applied to the design of individual buildings, the stylistic choices were related in terms of

⁶³On the other hand, plans and elevations for his "English Timber Cottage" could also be found in A. J. Bicknell's Detail Cottage and Constructive Architecture, first published in 1873.

⁶⁴Isaac H. Hobbs and Son, Hobbs's Architecture, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1876).

geography and chronology. The mingling of styles became more diffuse as the century continued. The form of eclecticism distinguished by the use of individual or related styles on single buildings was changing to an eclecticism characterized by an intermixture of stylistic features previously considered incompatible. The result, which began with an integration of medieval and classical, became the thoroughly eclectic modern style labelled Queen Anne. But in 1876, Atwood appealed to his audience by offering clearly recognized independent choices for the styles of their new homes.

William Woollett also recognized the diverse needs of his audience. His Villas and Cottages was "a collection of dwellings suited to various individual wants and adapted to different locations."⁶⁵ Woollett was an established east coast architect who did not explore new methods for selling his buildings. Villas and Cottages was produced in a traditional educational format. His house designs, however, were an intermingling of classical and medieval derived from the latest British fashions.⁶⁶

New York architect and pattern book author Elisha C. Hussey invited the builder and future homeowner to consult him for his architectural expertise. Or, on request, Hussey shipped working plans and specifications for any of forty-five original designs found in his book Home Building.⁶⁷ Mail-order sales of plans would soon become the primary method for the dissemination of architectural

⁶⁵William M. Woollett, Villas and Cottages, or Homes for All (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1876), title page.

⁶⁶Two years later, he advised his readers how to contemporize their outmoded homes in Old Homes Made New (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1878), also produced in the traditional pattern book format.

⁶⁷Elisha Charles Hussey, Home Building (New York: By the Author, 1876).

designs, but Hussey did not emphasize this opportunity. Instead, he added to the sales appeal of his moderately priced three-dollar book by including information which was directed more specifically to a nationwide market than Bicknell's selection of house designs from regional communities. The largest proportion of pages in Hussey's Home Building fulfilled the promise of the book's subtitle, "A reliable book of facts, relating to building, living materials, costs at about 400 places from New York to San Francisco".

He had conducted a study of communities across the nation in order to compare land and building costs, healthfulness of climate, industries, churches, community organizations and other data pertinent to relocation, and then presented the information to the house-building public. With this section of the book, he acknowledged the fact that Americans were highly migratory. Families and individuals moved out of their communities and to new homes within their own geographic areas, to adjacent regions and to more distant western states and territories in massive numbers. In each of the years from 1881 to 1890, about one-half of the residents of Boston moved from their homes. The population of many small communities of the western lands was even more inconstant, with approximately only one-fourth of their population remaining stable from year to year. At the same time, the communities grew as large numbers of new residents moved in.⁶⁸ From Hussey's book, these migrants could learn about future places of residence, the cost of constructing a home, even who to contact for more information. Of course, the comparative costs of the homes were based on

⁶⁸See Stephan Thernstrom and Peter R. Knight, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," in Tamara K. Hareven, ed., Anonymous Americans. Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 17-47.

designs in Home Building, which returned the reader to the subject of Hussey as the architect. Following the survey, the builder was given construction and materials specification information. Hussey now captured a broader geographic and consumer market for the sale of his volume.⁶⁹

Hussey's search for profits did not end with sales of his book, plans and specifications. He was a masterful late nineteenth-century businessman who also introduced the reader of Home Building to his American Home Company, a "center of inquiry" and a central supply house for products needed for the completion of the home's exterior, interior, and accessories. The home products were available by mail order, similar to sales in the new mail order journals.⁷⁰ Although only two products were featured, the Patent Home Lock and the Patent Brush Washboard, the author implied thousands. Hussey's contribution was his expertise in coordinating everything from the landscape to interior decoration. As he explained to his clients:

The author has undertaken the duties of adviser on all subjects pertaining to building, decorating, or furnishing a house, laying out or planting its grounds, and shall enter upon his labors with great pleasure. All charges for advice, instruction, or any drawings or specifications required, will be one of the most moderate rates, and in proportion to the time required only.⁷¹

⁶⁹His earlier pattern book was directed to the builder whom he exhorted, "Do all that is necessary to provide all materials, labor, and cartage to fully complete, in a workmanlike manner, according to the plans, specifications, and details, to the full intent and meaning thereof as expressed or implied in either or all of them, satisfactory to the owner." Hussey, National Cottage Architecture (New York: George E. Woodward, 1874), p. 22.

⁷⁰Mail-order journals were subscription magazines largely supported by advertisements placed by companies that sold products by mail.

⁷¹Hussey, Home Building, p. 203.

If the head of the household questioned whether such an expenditure was necessary, he was persuaded by an article titled "Furniture and Decoration," excerpted from the May 1875 issue of Scribner's Monthly. Here, the pattern book reader learned of the new kind of expert, the interior decorator, who helped the client realize a tastefully coordinated home. This shrewdness in the business of pattern book marketing resulted in sales which merited a second printing of Home Building the next year.

Hussey did not foresee, however, the extent of the market for mail-order house plans, unlike Connecticut architect George Palliser, who was to become the most successful of the 1876 pattern book authors. Palliser's Model Homes for the People, was only a small pamphlet of twenty-three pages plus advertisements, but most of the five thousand copies printed were "sent into every State and Territory in the Union, and many to the provinces."⁷² The appeal of Palliser's pattern book was simple. At twenty-five cents per copy, it was more affordable than its competitors. Further, the simply drawn elevations and floor plans were not models for local interpretation but inducements to the reader to order professional working drawings at a low cost. Front, side and rear elevations, and floor and roof plans were offered for the first two designs in the book, a "Centennial Villa" and a "Model Gothic Cottage", at the amazingly low price of fifty cents. If more detailed specifications were needed for these or other houses in the book, they could be ordered at the cost of approximately two-per cent of the total building cost. Although the plans and specifications were readily available, Palliser did not consider them mass produced. Clients who ordered Palliser's detailed plans were

⁷²Palliser & Palliser & Co., Palliser's Model Homes (Bridgeport, Conn.: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1878), Preface.

asked for precise information relative to the desired cost, size, and materials, the site and weather conditions. It would seem that little persuasion would be necessary to sell these inexpensive plans, but Palliser, together with Hussey, convinced his public of the need for his architectural services, warning them against the all too prevalent buildings which were:

discordant in appearance, pernicious to the eye of the cultivated, and out of all keeping and harmony with their surroundings, a great many of them being the square house, painted white, with green blinds, which would not be countenanced for a moment by any one who prides himself on good taste.⁷³

George Palliser's success was founded not on book sales but on the sales of plans and specifications which could be ordered by the consumer. The idea was not new but his uncomplicated marketing of the concept was. The first complete page of Model Homes for the People announced his purpose, whereas earlier pattern book authors and his contemporaries had informed their public less directly. For example, Hussey had inserted the information in his firm's advertisement at the rear of the book while D. T. Atwood had noted the service only with selected house designs. Palliser's concentration marked a division between pattern books that earned primarily by royalties from their sales and those whose authors profited by the sales of plans and associated services.⁷⁴

Nonetheless, it is too facile to attribute Palliser's success to the mere repositioning of his statement of business intent; his success was based on the

⁷³George Palliser, Palliser's Model Homes for the People, (Bridgeport, Conn.: By the Author, 1876; reprint ed., Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1978), pp. 4-6.

⁷⁴ James L. Garvin has noted the distinction between traditional format books and those selling plans by terming the latter type of publication "plan books". In "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture", Winterthur Portfolio 16 (Winter 1981): 309-334.

scope of his intent. He combined the concept of mass marketing with traditional individualized architectural services by encouraging dialogue between the architect and his client for the purpose of adapting the chosen house design to each client. The Palliser client, who could not afford to hire a professional architect, was able to contract with a pattern book architect for a very low fee. Although the newly individualized house plans were simple modifications of a prototypical plan, they were not in precise terminology mass produced. After George Palliser and his brother Charles formed Palliser, Palliser and Company in 1877, they continued to sell plans but did not prominently advertise the availability of their ready-made plans. Ironically, they castigated mass-produced plans when competitors began to market them, even while their business depended on this service.

The Pallisers demonstrated other astute judgments about their audience. The houses represented in their books were in the "modern" style as defined by pattern book descriptions of the late nineteenth century. After the 1876 pamphlet, the by then less fashionable French mansard roofs were no longer included, and the new style houses were examples of those already successfully built for Palliser clients rather than products of the architect's imagination. Furthermore, commencing in 1877, they promoted their work to the building trades by submitting designs for publication in the American Builder. At no cost to the firm, the trade journal served as an advertising medium which reached not only local builders who contracted for a single project but also speculative builders. The advantage of promoting residential designs to attract real estate speculators as clients probably stemmed from Palliser's early career when he had designed blocks of

investment housing in Bridgeport, Connecticut for P.T. Barnum.⁷⁵ Such a clientele was important: the client designation, "capitalist," became a recurrent and favorable term applied to investors in late nineteenth-century pattern books. Builders, however, were fundamental to the popularization of a pattern book; both investors and home owners frequently went first to their local artisans when they considered building. The Pallisers included sample specification sheets and contract forms for their use, and costing only pennies each, additional forms were available.

Client needs were also addressed when the firm diversified their pattern book publication. While they offered plans for sale in all of their publications, several formats were used. The content of their next book, Palliser's American Cottages, 1877, with a brief preface followed by drawings of houses and floor plans, was similar to Model Homes. The format, however, was much different. The binding of the book was similar to their competitors' pattern books, as was the five dollar price. American Cottages, produced in quarto size, bound in dark green cloth and dark red Morocco leather, and titled in gold letters, was a handsome edition appropriate for the desk of any professional architect or prosperous home owner. The following year, 1878, a new version of Model Homes was published in the same inexpensive pamphlet format of the earlier Model Homes for the People but was enlarged by sixty pages. In contrast to the richly bound American Cottages, it was paper-bound and fully one-fourth of the pages consisted of practical and educational material: site selection for proper drainage, definition of architecture,

⁷⁵Palliser's work for Barnum is noted by Michael A. Tomlan in his introduction to the reprint edition of Palliser, 1876. Palliser's design joined those by Woollett and other established architects who were also published in the American Builder.

comments from the history of architecture, adaptation of building to site and owner, character and training of the architect, reference to the picturesque and organic function, taste and the scientific basis of beauty, necessity of hiring an architect, responsibilities of the client, and at greatest length, the responsibilities of the architect. Thereby, the Pallisers made the educative content of the traditional pattern books available in an inexpensive volume.

The brothers evidently knew their market well. A review of the book in American Builder praised the house designs and the useful information, then quoted a lengthy passage drawn from the Palliser material which was of a more theoretical nature. Interestingly, the fact that the firm sold plans was not mentioned.⁷⁶ Also published in 1878 was a seventy-five cent book of printed specification forms ready to be cut out and used by the local builder. Three years later, Palliser, Palliser & Company published its first book of architectural details, simply titled, Palliser's Useful Details, and with this type of volume they covered the entire pattern book market for house-building. Model Homes sold over fifteen thousand copies; Useful Details was claimed to have sold 50,000 copies by 1887.⁷⁷ American Cottages was reissued in 1878. The two were combined and published as a new and larger volume, American Architecture, in 1888, and reissued in 1889. In a quarter of a century, the Palliser brothers published over twenty books.⁷⁸

⁷⁶"New Publications," American Builder 14 (November 1878): 258.

⁷⁷Palliser, Palliser & Co., New Cottage Homes and Details (New York: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1887), Prefatory.

⁷⁸Tomlan, intro., Palliser, Model Homes for the People, n. 1.

Perhaps inspired by the financial success of the Pallisers, New York based Robert W. Shoppell entered the mail order service pattern book market in the early 1880's and remained a Palliser competitor through the 1890's. In the manner of Amos Bicknell a decade earlier and his successor in 1881, William T. Comstock, Shoppell provided house plans drawn by different architects. Shoppell gathered around him some twenty architects to furnish designs for his new company, the Co-operative Building Plan Association. The publications reached a large audience with his low prices ranging from ten cents to one dollar, and near the end of the decade, Shoppell declared his company the largest architectural firm in the United States, stating that in the year 1887 it had provided designs for nearly five thousand homes in the United States and Canada.⁷⁹ If Shoppell's claim was accurate, this number of sales may well have outdistanced the sales of Palliser, Palliser & Co., who, in the same year claimed that they had corresponded with "upwards of two thousand" satisfied customers living as far away as 3,000 miles.⁸⁰ However, a comparison is difficult because the Pallisers did not account for the numbers of plans sold without correspondence.

There were several reasons why Shoppell could claim such success at a time of ambitious pattern book publication. Many of the pattern book authors of the 1880's, among them Samuel Burrage Reed, William Burnet Tuthill, David W. King,

⁷⁹Robert W. Shoppell, Artistic Modern Houses at Low Cost (New York: The Co-operative Building Plan Association, n.d.), p. 2. The date of Artistic Modern Houses has been cited as 1881 in both the National Union Catalogue and Henry-Russell Hitchcock's American Architectural Books (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976). National Building Plan Association advertisements would dispute this date. The book was a compilation of designs from earlier Shoppell books and contained designs from Shoppell's Modern Houses which began publication in 1886. In the same volume, reference is made to business success in the year 1887.

⁸⁰Palliser, New Cottage Homes, advertisement.

and Henry Kirby, continued to publish books in the traditional format which did not offer mail order plans. Shoppell emphatically stated that his company sold mass-produced house plans and working drawings. His method of business could be characterized by an appeal from a client in 1883: "Enclosed find \$20, for which send me specifications and full working plans of No. 17. Quick! Our house was destroyed by a tornado last night." Shoppell responded that plans were shipped out of the office within three hours.⁸¹ Individual client contact was of lesser importance to the functioning of his company, although alterations could be made to the plans.

Shoppell's mass market operation was more closely attuned with the growing popularity of catalogue sales and was emulated by subsequent companies, including the New York Building Plan Company and the National Architects Union in Philadelphia. In How to Build, Furnish and Decorate, 1883, Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884, and Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, 1887, Shoppell also explained more explicitly than his rivals the procedure for using the services of the company. The client was clearly informed of what constituted a complete set of plans: working plans, detail drawings, specifications, bill of quantities, color sheet, supplemental sheet with sanitation information, supplemental sheet with designs for fences, and blank contracts. Paper three-dimensional models were also available at no cost to help clients visualize their future homes. Costs for the architectural aids, ranging from ten dollars for small cottages to six hundred for a mansion with alterations, were listed with each perspective drawing and accompanying floor plan in the books. In the 1883 and 1884 volumes, a base

⁸¹Robert W. Shoppell, How to Build a House (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, ca. 1883), n.p.

price was given for the materials as well as the price for the materials if the client requested alterations. After each plan in Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, modifications, such as deletion of the cellar, enlargement of the kitchen, or raising the height of a tower, were supplied. These modified plans were available for a slightly higher fee; a reversed plan of each home was available at no extra charge. In contrast, Palliser, Palliser & Co. did not list prices for their plans, the practice having been discontinued after George Palliser's first publication. Shoppell also estimated costs for building the homes, one estimate for locations with high material and labor costs and a second for less expensive locations. And for a modest fee, Shoppell guaranteed the estimate. This practical and exacting method of doing business may well have been more assuring to prospective home builders than the Palliser brothers' later re-use of 1878 house construction cost estimates in their 1888 publication, American Architecture.

Shoppell's entrepreneurship extended beyond improving already existing pattern book services, even to the extent of including designs drawn from other plan books.⁸² And in 1883, his Co-Operative Building Plan Association announced its venture into the business of financing homes. Construction loans from the company were made available to local builders who purchased a set of architectural plans. For builders living some distance from New York, the Association would facilitate the granting of loans by contacting other lenders. Evidently, the public had confused the name of the company with cooperative building and loan associations which were formed to provide loans for home builders, and the response elicited by the confusion had impressed the company.

⁸²The "ornamental cottage" was earlier published in A. J. Bicknell's Cottage & Villa Architecture and Specimen book of One Hundred Architectural Designs, 1878.

Just shortly before loans were offered by the Shoppell firm, an essay in How to Build a House, entitled "What is the Co-operative Building Plan Association?," began, "It is not a loaning institution, as its name suggests to some...."⁸³ The extent to which builders took advantage of the offer is not known, but this project was seldom imitated by other pattern book authors. One exception was Alfred F. Leicht, who published a small book of twenty pages to advertise his professional architectural services in 1892. Leicht introduced his book with a section on "Buildings on Monthly Installments. Satisfactory arrangements can be made with those desiring to build on the installment plan."⁸⁴ To advertise all the services and the house designs, Shoppell's Association introduced an architectural quarterly titled Shoppell's Modern Houses in 1886. While the Pallisers had advertised by contributing designs to the American Builder, Shoppell published his own architectural periodical filled with Association designs.⁸⁵

Another striking difference between the Pallisers and Shoppell's firm was Shoppell's assessment of the pattern book readership. With few exceptions, the entrepreneurial pattern book authors, including Robert Shoppell, directed their books to members of the building trades, male heads of household, or males investing in speculative housing. Families as occupants of the homes were

⁸³Shoppell, How to Build a House, n.p.

⁸⁴Alfred F. Leicht, A Few Sketches of Picturesque Suburban Homes (New York: By the author, 1892), n. p. Leicht did not sell plans; his small twenty page book, with lettering in script and houses drawn in an artistic sketchy style, was published as an advertisement for his professional practice.

⁸⁵Volumes number one through four were published as Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes in 1887; volumes five through nine were later published as Shoppell's Modern Houses. Both were cloth bound and cost five and two dollars respectively.

frequently noted, but the female members of the families were rarely situated in the controlling role of client. Elisha Hussey gave token acknowledgement to the woman. The text for Plate 9 in Home Building described the mother as indispensable, an "enthroned fixture" who functioned in a home defined as the "workshop for the mother and her helps."⁸⁶ Similarly, the woman of the house was indicated in the essay on "Household Art" excerpted from Scribner's which began with the sentence, "A man's house is the expression of himself," then continuing with the problems encountered by the "housekeeper" when she buys her furniture, carpets, wallpaper and decorative objects, but ending with the condition that the male householder must hire one *man* with an artistic mind to coordinate all finishing of the house.⁸⁷

Shoppell, in contrast with to the Pallisers, evidently recognized the influence women could exert in the selection of house designs. Although he referred more frequently to the male owner, his "Description of Design Number 545" in Artistic Modern Houses, published later in the decade, was directed to "a man and wife," an infrequent occurrence in earlier entrepreneurial pattern book literature.⁸⁸ In How to Build, Furnish and Decorate, concern for the housewife's pleasure in the midst of her round of duties may have contributed to the selection of house design No. 47. The kitchen and living room were placed at the front with a view of the road so that she would not "be secluded and shut out from the little variety

⁸⁶Hussey, Home Building, Plate 9, n.p.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 220-221.

⁸⁸Shoppell, Artistic Modern Houses, p. 3.

and amusement which may be derived from a sight of highway travel."⁸⁹ Design No. 83 entitled, "A Woman's Plan of a House," had been submitted by a woman who began her letter with the sentence, "My husband and I are in partnership." She continued to explain how they had worked together, her husband a printer, she a "school marm," to save money for their home. Shoppell criticized the design and suggested its improvement by an architect, but any acknowledgement of a submitted design was not customary in their company practice. In addition, the chapters on furniture and decoration in the same pattern book were dedicated to the woman of the home. Her "quick feminine perception and good sense" would help her translate the more elegant examples to her humbler situation; and husband, son, and brother were counseled to offer assistance. Shoppell did not accentuate the position the woman held in his audience, but he did recognize that she would be a part of the decision making process.

Shoppell's position was not unique in the scope of late nineteenth-century architectural literature; by the 1880's it had become more common to include home decorating essays and discussions of efficient house plans. In 1884, A. W. Brunner addressed "Mr. and Mrs. Client" and wrote of their discussions about floor plan arrangements in his Cottages; in 1889, Louis H. Gibson titled his book, Convenient Houses with Fifty Plans for the Housekeeper.⁹⁰ Through the late nineteenth century, contemporary publishing contributed to a growing pattern book recognition of women in the household. Godey's Lady's Book was joined by a

⁸⁹Robert W. Shoppell, How to Build, Furnish and Decorate (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1883), n.p.

⁹⁰Arnold William Brunner, Cottages or Hints on Economical Building (New York: William T. Comstock, 1884) and Louis Henry Gibson (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1889).

number of new magazines directed to a female audience, among them, the Home Companion (1873), Women's Home Journal (1878), Ladies Home Journal (1883) and Good Housekeeping (1885). The messages in these and in popular periodicals directed at both men and women, such as Harper's Monthly Magazine, addressed both the aesthetics of home decorating and efficiency in house planning. Following the example of Charles L. Eastlake's Hints on Household Taste, 1868, periodicals of the 1870's and 1880's and numerous books, such as Clarence Cook's The House Beautiful, 1878, promoted the image of the artistic home to one of popular appeal.⁹¹ At the same time, housekeeping was given greater status with the introduction of courses in domestic science to college curricula, steps begun by Catherine Beecher which would culminate in the turn of the century home economics movement.⁹² House and home were increasingly popular subjects in American literature and many pattern books authors responded by addressing their female audience, at least indirectly, by placing advertisements for their books in women's periodicals. The Co-Operative Building Plan Association placed advertisements for their pattern books in The Ladies Home Journal.

Pattern book authors offered education, architectural plans, details and specifications, interior decoration, and loans, tending toward selling fully pre-

⁹¹See Martha Crabill McClauthery, "Household Art; Creating the Artistic Home, 1868-1893, Winterthur Portfolio 18 (Spring 1983): 1-26. The artistic home in the context of the aesthetic movement in America is examined in a book produced by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, In Pursuit of Beauty; Americans and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: Rizzoli, 1987).

⁹²See Linda Marie Fritschner, "Women's Work and Women's Education. The Case of Home Economics, 1870-1920," Sociology of Work and Occupations 4 (May 1977): 209-234 and Susan Strasser, Never Done; A History of American Housework (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 202-223.

fabricated homes. But instead of turning to the business of home building kits, these architects sold advertising space in their books to manufacturers of building components. The C. P. Fobes Manufacturing Company of Crown Point, New York, for example, advertised the following in 1875:

Architectural Work of every description executed from the Drawings of Architects, in any wood desired. Vestibules, front doors, porches, verandas, cornices, bay windows, balconies canopies, blinds, inside and out. Sash, plain and ornamental. Library fittings, Book-cases, Window cornices, mantels, wainscoting, etc. All from the plainest to the most extravagantly rich and beautiful designs. Winding or straight staircases, with rails, fitted to put up. Elegant and original newels made a specialty. Work securely packed and shipped to any part of the United States and Canada.⁹³

By 1887, the use of pre-fabricated parts was so prevalent that the American Builder staff was prompted to comment, "Modern houses are put up pretty much as Solomon's temple was, the parts are brought together all prepared and fitted, and it is short and easy work to put them together."⁹⁴ Such availability of mill work allowed the homeowner to make individual changes to plans purchased from pattern book authors, but it did not ostensibly lessen the need for their services. Pattern book authors purveyed themselves as architects who were needed to formulate a house plan appropriate to its site and the owner's needs, designed in accordance with contemporary architectural theory, and imbued with meaning.

⁹³Croff, Progressive American Architecture, advertisement.

⁹⁴American Builder 23 (September 1887): 223. Also quoted in Michael J. Doucet and John C. Weaver, "Material Culture and the North American House: The Era of the Common Man, 1870-1920," Journal of American History 72 (December 1985): 572.

The Pattern Book Author as Architect

While there were differences in pattern book formats and sales techniques, there were at the same time similarities in verbal and visual content. One subject on which the authors were most persuasive was the need for architects in designing the homes of America. Their success in marketing their pattern book services depended on the public's realization of this essential point, and the substantial amount of material dedicated to the subject indicates that they found it necessary to establish a need for their architectural services.

Although the entrepreneurial pattern book authors did not have academic architectural training, they verbally distanced themselves from builders and presented themselves as architects. In the pattern book texts, the authors persuaded readers that an architect was required for building a home and that they were competent architects whose drawings, plans and services could be trusted. In their petition for a nation of architect-designed homes, they criticized the deplorable condition of earlier residential architecture and placed the blame on people who hired local builders to design their homes. They reasoned that these carpenters and builders, not having appropriate training, found their designs by copying and miscopying other houses in the community. This practice of hiring untrained carpenters and builders was denounced on both practical and artistic bases. The National Building Plan Association of Detroit stated the need for an architect quite succinctly:

So, if we want a beautiful and artistic home, conveniently arranged, with the best known methods for light, heat, ventilation, etc., and constructed economically and substantially, we should depend for all this upon our

architect, and employ the builder to carry into effect what our architect designs for us.⁹⁵

The middle class public certainly had pretensions for architect-designed homes, but the pattern book authors were acting against custom. They were usurping a position held by the local builder. Most pre-Civil War homes had been constructed by local builders. When these builders followed perspective drawings found in contemporary pattern books, they had to exercise a great deal of liberal interpretation. Completion of such a home required discussions between the builder and the home owner in which the latter established the family's needs and artistic preferences while the former contributed his planning, artistic and constructional skills. The local builder was a mere artisan but had considerable authority in determining the outcome of the house.

In order to validate their claim that architects were indispensable in the process of building homes, pattern book authors took it as their task to distinguish between the function of the builder and the architect. The architect was the generator of the plans for a house, the builder a mechanic who instituted the architect's ideas. Although the distinction between architect and mechanic was well established in professional architectural circles, selling the division of labor was a more difficult proposition for the pattern book authors because of the make-up of their audience. One segment of their audience, the home owners, needed to be persuaded that professional services were not an unnecessary added expense. The other part of their audience, the builders, needed to accept a less instrumental function.

⁹⁵National Building Plan Association, Artistic Homes (Detroit: National Building Plan Assoc., 1888), n.p.

Most frequently, the pattern book authors strongly criticized the builders and posed a vivid contrast between the two. Too many builders were dishonest and too many carpenters were careless: local carpenters were old fogeys who insisted on following outmoded methods; builders were not familiar with correct sanitation and ventilation.⁹⁶ Accompanying such criticism, however, were notes of approval directed to builders who worked within their own province, or, as D. S. Hopkins viewed it, with an architect, "...the builder knows what his part is on the program."⁹⁷ The National Building Plan Association of Detroit explained the difference between the architect and builder but called them "two professions equally responsible and honorable", enjoying relations similar to those between a physician and an apothecary.⁹⁸

The authors also delicately stepped around the question of their own questionable professional status to include the builders' areas of expertise. The Palliser company, especially, made a subtle distinction between pattern book architects' methods of practice and that of academically trained architects. Many architects, "under the shallow pretext of preserving high art," were trained to design only on paper. Academically trained architects could prepare beautifully drawn and rendered designs for prospective clients, but they were too infrequently practicing architects. Countering this presumed inadequacy, the pattern book

⁹⁶See, for example, George F. Barber, Cottage Souvenir Number Two (Knoxville, Tenn.: S. B. Newman & Co., 1891), p. 6; Palliser, Model Homes for the People, 1878, pp. 14-24; Alexander F. Oakey, Building a Home (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881), p. 105.

⁹⁷David S. Hopkins, Houses and Cottages, No. 4 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: By the author, 1891), p. 5.

⁹⁸National Building Plan Association, n.p.

authors claimed practical knowledge and skills, which then associated them more closely with the builder's function.⁹⁹

The visual representations of the pattern book houses also served to communicate with the builder as well as the home owners. The perspectives and elevations were simple line drawings which clearly delineated the features of the houses (fig. 3).¹⁰⁰ Perspective drawings included a small amount of landscape detail; often both perspectives and elevations were given dimensionality with shadows from projecting eaves, verandas and gables.¹⁰¹ These straightforward drawings were much different from the artistically rendered perspectives and elevations done in the Beaux-Arts tradition presented to clients by the academically trained architects. The visual representations in the pattern books were drawn in what a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, William Woollett, called preliminary studies from the drafting tables of his architectural firm.¹⁰² They were an expedient method of illustration and inexpensive to produce for the low-priced pattern books. That they could function as working drawings for local builders was noted by authors, such as Bicknell and Comstock, who produced pattern books but did not sell plans. In the books selling architectural services and plans, the practical illustrations were more effective recommendations

⁹⁹Palliser, Model Homes for the People, pp. 1-2 and Model Homes, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁰Palliser, Model Homes, Plate XII, p. 49.

¹⁰¹Reed's books of 1878 and 1883 were exceptions. The drawings were modeled after the earlier pattern book methods of presentation, although the quality of drawing was substantially lower. Reed, House Plans for Everybody (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1878); Cottage Houses for Village and Country Homes (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1883).

¹⁰²Woollett, Villas and Cottages, preface.

to builders, contractors and their practical clients. The method of drawing was an assurance that the illustrations were honest representations of the houses as they would appear when built.¹⁰³

Illustration in the guise of architectural drafting was not common to pre-Civil War pattern books but could be found in builders' manuals. Houses presented in books authored by A. J. Downing, Calvert Vaux, Samuel Sloan, Gervaise Wheeler, and William Ranlett, for example, were located in a landscape which reflected the style of the house. Asymmetrical, highly picturesque styles were surrounded, even partially obscured, by vines and trees asymmetrically placed in the composition. Vaux's perspectives were similar to the pictorial vignettes in popular fiction. Sky and clouds were drawn in as well as landscape, thus surrounding the entire house with engraved line (fig. 4).¹⁰⁴ Perspectives drawn for Sloan's The Model Architect, were done in lithographic crayon, giving a soft delicate atmospheric effect (fig. 5).¹⁰⁵ By the style of drawing, earlier pattern book illustrations described the abstract notions of the homes as well as their physical configurations; they were effectively communicating both the object and the idea through visual presentation. In contrast, the late-century pattern book drawings were less artistically expressive. They contained simple suggestions of landscape, usually drawn at the base of the house. They were the type of drawings found on a practicing architect's drafting board or a builder's work table.

¹⁰³George F. Barber claimed his houses would even look better than the "engravings." Barber, Cottage Souvenir, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages, 2d. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864), Design No. 6, p. 152.

¹⁰⁵Sloan, Model Architect, Design XXV, Plate CII.

In pattern books published both before and after the Civil War, the visual display of houses was fundamental to selling the books and their proffered services. Their differences in presentation were in part due to the more practical commercial approach taken by the late-century authors. The drawings and commentary of the earlier books emphasized the artistic qualities of the houses and the taste associated with the recognition of their beauty. Later authors did not eliminate this message, but they integrated it into a complex of messages appropriate to a contemporary clientele. The relative paucity of information in the later century drawings was strengthened with verbal communication which more effectively established meanings associated with home ownership. Pattern book authors collectively defined their services, clientele, and illustrations with words and word combinations in their essays and house descriptions, and the verbal and visual constructs together purveyed the house as an affirmation of American values.

This literary manipulation of meanings associated with residential architecture was a significant factor in selling individually owned houses to the late nineteenth-century middle class public who were benefactors of a phenomenal expansion in mass communication. Improved printing technology, lowered postal rates for books and periodicals, and increased rail service brought newspapers, books and magazines in a heretofore unimagined quantity and variety at low prices to a nationwide audience. By 1885 there were approximately 3,300 periodicals and by 1890 there were 4,400.¹⁰⁶ Writing had become a professional activity much as the sophistication of advertising had improved. The proliferation of printed materials,

¹⁰⁶Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1885-1905 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 11.

including many of the pattern books, was subsidized in large part by advertisers. Readers were introduced to the wonders of Pears Soap, Gold Dust Washing Powder, Minton Tiles and Perry's Comedone and Pimple Remedy, the Infallible Skin Medicine. Larger format advertisements united visual representations with laudatory verbal descriptions, often endorsements by renowned Americans. Even the eminent theologian Henry Ward Beecher was paid to endorse a hernial truss and Pears' Soap. Pictures and words were reciprocal constituents of the total message, with the text carrying a substantial amount of authority.¹⁰⁷

With their use of text to support visual description, pattern book authors did not formulate a new method of communication. They functioned within an established system of values in which words and patterns of language already had strong associative significance, and from this they formulated persuasive arguments for the need for an architect. The public was assured that achieving a balance of cost effectiveness, a functional plan, artistic qualities, and an appropriate display of the homeowner's character was a difficult task which could be accomplished neither by the homeowner himself nor with the assistance of a local builder. Pattern book authors exhorted prospective homeowners to commission architects to design their new homes because architects alone had the knowledge to build well and communicate all that a house could symbolize.

Recognizing that pragmatic considerations were perhaps the most immediate for prospective home owners, the authors claimed that the architect could save money for their clients. The architect was able to assess the family's activities

¹⁰⁷Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism. The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976), pp. 65-75.

and arrange the floor plan accordingly. Henry Hudson Holly, in words copied verbatim by the Pallisers in 1887, referred to the decreased value of houses after the Panic of 1873 and claimed that their value would have been sustained if their plans and coordinating exteriors had been well studied.¹⁰⁸ Samuel Reed, in 1885, explained that in architecture more than in any other profession, it was necessary to study the clients. Through careful study, the architect could ascertain his clients' "previous history, general character, financial ability, personal habits, and tastes, and family."¹⁰⁹ Family needs could then be accommodated economically and with a more efficient use of space. Robert Shoppell formed verbal analogies with yachts and ships and provided homes with enough storage space to keep the rooms "as clean and clear of obstructions as the decks of a ship." Houses for the middle class were in this way "roomy", yet "compact." Compact homes were not only less expensive and thus more attainable for a broader group of prospective owners but they were more "convenient" as well.

Such homes required less labor to maintain, a message set in motion by household books written by such women authors as Catherine Beecher.¹¹⁰ Louis H. Gibson dedicated much of his book, Convenient Houses, to discussions of the "relation between the work of the housekeeper and that of the architect."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Henry Hudson Holly, Modern Dwellings in Town and Country Adapted to American Wants and Climate with a Treatise on Furniture Decoration (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878), p. 45. Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Prefatory.

¹⁰⁹ Reed, Dwellings, pp 48-49.

¹¹⁰See Catherine E. Beecher, "A Woman's Profession Dishonored," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 29 (November 1864): 76 and Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, American Woman's Home, or, Principles of Domestic Science (New York: J.B. Ford & Co., 1876), p. 227.

¹¹¹Gibson, Convenient Houses, p. 11.

Robert Shoppell was concerned with large and inconvenient houses because only incompetent servants would accept positions in such houses and their supervision would be injurious to the women of the household to the extent of shortening their lives.¹¹² Although many house plans provided rooms for servants, the middle class housewife did not run the house with the aid of a large staff. More typically she conducted her duties with the assistance of one day-help servant or did without. "Compact" and "convenient" implied both the saving of money and time for the householder during the decades when Frederick Winslow Taylor conducted his time and motion studies in the work place and when a home was to be as efficiently run as the factory. The Pallisers proposed a public display of this consciousness "of the flight of time" with the inscription "Tempus Fugit" on the chimney exterior of one of their country homes.¹¹³

The well planned house was also "substantial" and "solid," having been built with the soundest construction methods and materials for the cost of the home. The fact that most of these homes were to be built with balloon frame construction was seldom noted. Arguments about this method's reliability persisted in the professional journal, The American Architect and Building News, and when pattern book authors mentioned balloon framing, they usually attempted to convince the public of its viability.¹¹⁴ The more common treatment was simple reference to framing and an examination of other issues related to structural solidity. The Pallisers, for example, claimed that the uneducated builder could not estimate the

¹¹²Shoppell, Modern Houses, Design 229.

¹¹³Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Plate 5, Design 14.

¹¹⁴A. F. Oakey, who was highly critical of builders' houses opposed balloon frame construction in his own pattern book, Building a Home, 1881.

cost of a building as accurately as could a professional architect. The builder's errors would cause unanticipated expenses and force unfortunate substitutions in material and construction, resulting in a far less structurally and visually substantial building.¹¹⁵

The pattern book authors apparently were not criticizing the builders without just cause. The American Builder recognized the same problem and attempted to rectify it by publishing educational articles for the builders. The articles were on construction methods, the use of tools such as the steel square, and on such subjects as bookkeeping.¹¹⁶ In contrast to the typical builder, an architect could accurately estimate costs and anticipate necessary material and construction changes in order to build properly and within a specified budget. The professional architect, Alexander F. Oakey, who was plagiarized by George Palliser, considered the architect to be both an artist and a practical businessman whose duty it was to "get the most of the best for the money... as much in economy of construction as in preventing impositions of all sorts."¹¹⁷ Frank L. Smith, in A Cosy Home, 1887, emphasized the architect's skills in a lengthy reconstructed dialogue with a typical client and explained how he, as the architect, could reduce the cost of the client's home by using less expensive, yet durable and beautiful, materials in its construction.¹¹⁸ Further, the appearance of the home would not suffer. The

¹¹⁵Palliser, Model Homes, p. 62.

¹¹⁶"Builders' Book Keeping," American Builder 14 (November 1878): 251-252.

¹¹⁷Oakey, Building a Home, p. 105.

¹¹⁸Frank L. Smith, A Cosy Home (Boston: Press of T. O. Metcalf & Co., 1887), *passim*.

architect could make a cheap house appear to be of better quality than many expensive houses.¹¹⁹

Sanitation was another important consideration for determining the need to hire an architect. It was the duty of the householder to provide his family with a healthy home, and the architect, not the plumber, was the reliable authority.¹²⁰ Pattern book authors may have been justified in their mistrust of plumbers, since none were professionally trained and plumbing a house was a difficult prospect. Water closets, or toilets, had become much more common, and venting the wastes and gasses required skill and knowledge of the latest scientific developments. Most followed the theories of George E. Waring, Jr., who opposed the germ theory of disease and proposed that sewer gas was the main cause of disease. Breathing poisons from dampness, decayed vegetable matter, and animal and human wastes was to be avoided at all costs, and horror stories were circulated telling of sudden deaths in improperly vented hotels and houses.¹²¹ Architects were aware of new developments in plumbing, and they countered problems of dampness and ventilation with wood construction, open plans with large central halls and fireplaces, all features of Queen Anne.¹²²

¹¹⁹For example, Barber, Cottage Souvenir, p. 3 and David S. Hopkins, Houses and Cottages (Grand Rapids, Mich.: By the author, 1889), p. 5.

¹²⁰Palliser, Model Homes, p. 22.

¹²¹The Pallisers' passage on the subject began, "'Died of bad air.' How often these words might, with truth, be inscribed on the headstones of both old and young." Ibid.

¹²²See May N. Stone, "The Plumbing Paradox. American Attitudes toward Late Nineteenth-Century Domestic Sanitary Arrangements," Winterthur Portfolio 14 (Autumn 1979), 283-309 and Gavin Townsend, "Airborne Toxins and the American House, 1865-1895," Winterthur Portfolio 24 (Spring 1989), 29-42.

Pattern book authors also promoted the view that architect designed houses were good investments. Well designed houses increased the value of the owner's property, were resaleable, and raised property values in the entire neighborhood.¹²³ Their beauty also inspired others in the community to build. As Shoppell observed:

When a man builds a house of excellent design he not only makes a good property for himself, but he beautifies the neighborhood, sets an example which others will imitate, and inaugurates a movement which may result in one of those "prettiest towns," which travelers so frequently talk about and advertise.¹²⁴

The entire community was improved and beautified, which would in turn bring prosperity to everyone. He continued, "These pretty towns are the places which attract schools and colleges, rich residents and all sorts of prosperity..".¹²⁵

The pattern book authors both followed and shaped public taste. The most prevalent designs in the pattern books were the types of houses frequently termed "modern" and "novel." Their "picturesque" silhouettes, associated with of Old England began to replace the more staid outlines of the mansard roof. The modern styles exhibited the cultured taste, progressive character, and cozy home life of the owner and added to the value of his property. Pattern book authors, of course, took pride in offering the modern styles to the public and gained a larger audience for their books by being up-to-date. When the American Builder reviewed the Pallisers' New Cottage Homes, the designs were praised for "a freshness and originality of style" and special note was taken of the picturesque

¹²³Barber, Cottage Souvenir, p. 3.

¹²⁴Shoppell, How to Build, Furnish, Des. 59.

¹²⁵Ibid.

treatment of the roofs.¹²⁶ Palliser, as noted, an emigrant from England, presented houses with steeply pitched roofs and gables in the manner of the new styles coming from Great Britain. There were no French mansard roofs or Italian villas still included in newly published pattern books, including the Pallisers' own American Architecture. The modern styles more than those of the past required an architect's talent because they had more complicated exterior forms and, usually, more ornamentation. According to Shoppell's overview of American architectural history in Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, building the earlier classic, mansard, gothic and Italian styles did not require the use of architects. The older styles of houses were merely "boxes" with different roof forms and easily copied decoration. The new styles, on the other hand, produced houses of "bewildering detail," requiring the services of an architect.¹²⁷ This is a crucial point with regard to the pattern book authors' promotion of their services. They were, in effect, creating a demand by way of emphasizing complex styles. The more complex the style, the more need for an architect, or at least for a book of details or working drawings. Not only were the authors claiming a need for their services, they provided an impetus for the proliferation of the highly eclectic and ornate styles of the late nineteenth century.

¹²⁶"New Publications," American Builder 14 (February 1878: 44-45.

¹²⁷Robert W. Shoppell, Building Plans for Modern Low-Cost Houses, (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1884), Design 154.

Home Ownership and American Values

The "modern" styles of houses, referring to houses in the Queen Anne mode, were praised for their homelike qualities, with reference to the nineteenth-century word of most compelling meaning and the subject of John Howard Payne's popular song, "Home Sweet Home".¹²⁸ Home was a stronghold of moral order and steadfastness in a changing society. It was a source of stability and tranquility for a public buffeted by uncontrollable economic and social disorders, even a refuge for the large numbers of the population suffering from neurasthenia, better known today as stress.¹²⁹ In publishing their designs for houses, pattern book authors hoped to demonstrate that their houses contained the potential for becoming homes. A house was merely an architectural shell which was incomplete until it became a haven for the family, the anima of American life. Mrs. E. F. Russell began her essay on "House Owning," with the distinction, "House and home are not identical. One is body, the other soul....Home is where people can dwell together in freedom and fellowship of soul."¹³⁰ In the Pallisers' New Cottage Homes, the home was described as "the temple of love, the nursery of virtue, the circle of loving hearts, the play-ground of children, the dwelling of

¹²⁸The Pallisers published the words to the song in the introductory pages of Model Dwellings; A Book on Building for Industrial Americans (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, Publisher, 1892). Design No. 157 in Shoppell's Modern, Low-Cost Houses was described as having a "home sweet home" feeling. Phrases from the song were frequently applied to discussions of the home.

¹²⁹Neurasthenia was named a nervous disorder by George Miller Beard in American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences, a Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia) (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881). Beard considered stress the price of progress. In T.J. Jackson Lears No Place of Grace; Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 51.

¹³⁰Clark, The Architect, n.p.

manhood, and the retreat of old age."¹³¹ Following an ideal established earlier in the century, late nineteenth-century pattern books, popular magazines and books championed the home as the center of moral and cultural education. There, the family could draw together around the fireplace, a Ruskinian symbol of sanctuary glorified in educational articles, winsome drawings, novels and poems, and form a nucleus of social, cultural and moral sustenance. The descriptives "home-like," "domestic," "comfortable" and "cosy" were repeatedly used in the pattern books to call to mind the transformation of a house into a home. The solid and substantial appearance of the home physically exemplified stability, even permanence, for a generally itinerant population.¹³² Chimneys signalled the warm fireplaces inside. Shingles and sharply angled eaves nostalgically symbolized a pre-industrial past.

Although the male of the household provided the family with a home, the source of this exalted domesticity was the housewife, a factor not always explicitly recognized in pattern books, but an important focus in determining the need for an architect's services.¹³³ Catherine Beecher's writings from some years earlier remained popular and influential. She articulated the prevalent view that woman's work was decided in the ordered processes of nature. The housewife was to

¹³¹Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Introductory.

¹³²The Pallisers called for a home which could become "permanent in the family," indicating a home to be passed from one generation to the next. *Ibid.*, Des. 26.

¹³³See Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Model Home; Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago 1873-1913 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) and Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., The American Family Home, 1800-1960 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986). For an examination of the antebellum precedents see Maxine de Wetering, "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth-Century America," Journal of American Studies 18 (April 1984): 5-28.

establish and maintain the sanctity of the home, and she was likened to a queen whose duties touched the destiny of the nation.¹³⁴ As noted above, pattern book author Elisha Hussey portrayed the prevalent conception in his observation about the house:

That it is not only the home center, the retreat and shelter for all the family, but that it is also the workshop for the mother and her helps'(sic). It is not only where she is to live, and love, but where she is to care and labor. Her hours, days, weeks, months and years are spent within its bands; until she becomes an enthroned fixture, more indispensable than the house itself.¹³⁵

Hussey was clear that the woman's sphere of instrumental activity confined her duties to the home.¹³⁶ Shoppell's house plan which provided a window for the woman's meager entertainment, already mentioned, also separated her from the hustle and bustle of the outside world. She looked outward to her husband's external realm of agriculture, industry or commerce.

Conforming to contemporary attitudes, pattern book literature differentiated between public and private domains, but the authors did not merely echo the messages of gender specific popular literature. Their audiences were different. Much of the literature which operated to define the role of the woman was

¹³⁴From Catherine E. Beecher, Miss Beecher's Housekeeper and Healthkeeper (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876) and Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Stow Beecher, American Woman's Home. See Susan Strasser, chapter ten, "Redeeming woman's Profession", pp. 180-201.

¹³⁵Hussey, Home Building, Plate No. 9.

¹³⁶This seemingly "exalted" position of woman also burdened nineteenth century women with the responsibility of saving her family from society's ills. Kirk Jeffrey, "The Family as Utopian Retreat from the City: The Nineteenth Century Contribution," Soundings 55 (Spring 1972): 21-41 and Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream. A Social History of Housing in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), pp. 96-113. See also, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

directed to women, and pattern book authors supported that literature. On the other hand, except for essays on home decoration and selected references to women in the house descriptions, most pattern book authors directed their architectural services and their editorial commentary to the male householder whose public image and support of domestic virtues were manifest in his house. The house was a display of the owner's character and status in the community. This gender orientation, then, required of the house an external display of male directed societal mandates as well as an external display of the internal values left in the care of the women of the household. The home became an embodiment of seemingly contradictory values which also encompassed progress as national destiny, social mobility for all and a place of refuge from change brought by progress.

Home ownership was not merely an option. It was a right provided by a democracy. If the male householder was a "true man", he would work toward owning a home.¹³⁷ According to the Pallisers in 1878:

There are few persons who do not intend to build sometime in their lives, and people should always live in a home of their own, no matter how humble that home may be. Better only have two rooms to live in than be without a hearthstone of their own, leading a life which is destined to be fraught with all that lacks an interest in practical things, and leads to a life which is sure to warp and run into the quicksands of nonchalance and don't-careism for all occupation and responsibility of the home pleasures and comforts that surround the happy possessors of homes.¹³⁸

The lack of a home was an inadequacy associated with lack of ambition, or "don't-careism for all occupation," daily typified by those who in newspaper reports

¹³⁷Scientific American Architects and Builders Edition 2 (September 1886): 53.

¹³⁸Palliser, Model Homes, p. 15.

depicted as devoid of reason, the unemployed and tenement dwelling immigrants. In vivid contrast, Hussey defined the home owners as "enterprising, high-minded, sober, industrious, Christian people."¹³⁹ More frequently, the home owner was simply described by pattern book authors as "intelligent." And, of course, as Arnold William Brunner claimed, the intelligent client would consult an intelligent architect.¹⁴⁰ Home ownership was the foundation to the belief in American progress and exhibited the overall character of America and true Americans. As stated by Samuel B. Reed in a description of a small cottage, "Every industrious man, starting in life, has a right, and should be encouraged, to anticipate prosperity...." By purchasing land and building a house, the industrious man would express his belief in the improvement of his condition--his "progressive character."¹⁴¹

The charge to build homes was directed to a population who accepted the precepts of progress and social mobility. The verbal descriptions and the physical characteristics of the houses described also introduced distinctions with regard to the home owner's position on the ladder of success. When occupations were indicated, mechanics, farmers, businessmen, and professionals were featured. Businessmen were solicited most frequently; their counterparts in the middle class, professionals who practiced at home, were provided with plans to suit their special needs. Of course, fewer houses were dedicated to the use of mechanics, and even fewer to farmers. The primary focus of pattern book sales was the middle

¹³⁹Hussey, Home Building, iii.

¹⁴⁰Brunner, Cottages, p. 9.

¹⁴¹Reed, House Plans, p. 10.

class, and the secondary focus those striving to attain the middle class emblem par excellence, the individually owned home.

Blue collar workers nonetheless comprised a significant portion of the housing market in the late nineteenth century. Studies have shown that a larger percentage of the employed working class purchased homes than had the middle class.¹⁴² Although recessions had caused the unemployment of many blue collar workers, changes in the labor structure had provided for others an opportunity for better paying jobs in industry. Moreover, laborers usually lived closer to the city in ethnically distinct neighborhoods. They were more likely to be immigrants who had a sense of kinship with their neighbors of similar national origin. Family and friends joined together to build houses for one another. Pattern book authors did not refer to the improved economic status of this class, but the mechanic, or worker, was strongly encouraged to ascribe to the ethic of home ownership and build architect-designed homes. Shoppell and the Pallisers both informed the public that to attain this goal, mechanics, too, must be industrious, save money and deny themselves tempting luxuries. Homes designed for the working class were smaller, simpler in plan and less ornamented, often described as "plain," thus less expensive. Worker houses represented physically a particular class of house.¹⁴³ Workers' housing was distinguished from houses of businessmen, just as the working class were separated from the middle class by occupation. When pattern book literature encouraged workers to save money and build, it exhorted

¹⁴²A source for building statistics is Robert G. Barrows, "Beyond the Tenement. Patterns of American Urban Housing, 1870-1930," Journal of Urban History 9 (August 1983): 395-420.

¹⁴³Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Des. 158.

their participation in the middle class ideals of social mobility.¹⁴⁴ By building homes, the workers exhibited their assimilation into American society and contributed to an ordered social system.

Farmers were addressed differently. Their time-honored position was eroding as business interests took precedence over agriculture. Most pattern book authors did not clearly designate a significant number of homes for farmers, but Samuel Reed, having designed homes for publication in the American Agriculturalist, included references in his 1878 and 1883 pattern books. The Pallisers, too, were proponents of well designed farm homes. They included several in their 1887 book and stated:

we know of no reason why a farmer, because he is a farmer, should occupy only an uncouth, outlandish house, as many of them do, any more than a professional man, a merchant or a mechanic. Is it because his occupation in life is degrading, his intellect ignorant or his position low? Surely not.¹⁴⁵

In general, pattern book farm homes were plain and unassuming in contrast to the larger country homes owned by businessmen who commuted to their work place in the city. Little decoration adorned the uncomplicated exteriors of farm homes. The reason for the simplicity of the homes was primarily economic, and the houses were designed for what Reed called thrifty farmers of "modest pretensions."¹⁴⁶ Owners of small farms were not wealthy. Agriculture also suffered from the ongoing economic decline. Changes in marketing practices,

¹⁴⁴See Stephan Thernstrom's study of mid-century Newburyport, Mass. in Poverty and Progress. Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

¹⁴⁵Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Des. 177.

¹⁴⁶Reed, Cottage Houses, p. 35.

along with the usual unpredictable harvests, contributed to uncertain incomes for the farmers. By the nature and economic constraints of their work, they were not active participants in the process of social mobility. The exceptions were those who took advantage of commercialized farming, and the Pallisers included a "substantial, plain, yet very good-appearing" house with an office for "the large farmer, politician or medical man," or businessman.¹⁴⁷

If a man could not afford to build a home by himself, he could build a house to share with a friend or relative. Pattern book authors included numerous "double houses" which could be occupied by two families. An important feature of these houses was their resemblance to large single family homes. The fact of their double occupancy was hidden by the architect's skillful positioning of doors, porches and ells. Shared costs made double houses more affordable, and for the principal in the financial negotiations, double houses were also a good investment. He was able to pay for the house and property taxes by charging rent to the other occupant. Soon, the legal purchaser himself would own the home, which could be easily modified for single occupancy. As importantly, the purchaser of the home had made a good investment. In Shoppell's 1887 publication,

The capitalist who will build small modern houses, locating them within easy reach of a large population, will receive from ten to twelve per cent on his investment, and at the same time see the property increase in value from year to year. These investments are not confined to capitalists, however. Two men of small means, with say \$1,200 can easily manage to build the double house under consideration,...¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Des. 145. In his examination of the financial plight of the small farmer, Robert McGuire has noted, "During the nineteenth century, commercialized farming became the predominant form of enterprise in the agricultural sector of the United States," in "Economic Causes of Agrarian Unrest," Journal of Economic History 41 (1981): 837.

¹⁴⁸Shoppell, How to Build, Furnish, Des. 179.

Shoppell's reference to capitalists was not uncommon. A capitalist was admired as a businessman whose income comprised more than earned wages.

Investment in rental houses was suggested as a way for the common wage earner to become a capitalist himself. Small, inexpensive homes costing less than one thousand dollars, such as Shoppell's seven hundred dollar "pretty and desirable Queen Anne house," were especially appropriate for the aspiring entrepreneur.¹⁴⁹

Home ownership was a product of success achieved by the home owner's diligent work to better his condition. Position in the middle class was not static but one which allowed the opportunity to move forward on the scale of wealth and social status. From McGuffey's Reader to Russell Conway's tract, Acres of Diamonds, self-help was a common theme in late nineteenth-century literature. Earlier, the influential lecturer Ralph Waldo Emerson had observed, "Man was born to be rich, or inevitably grows rich by the use of his faculties; by the union of thought with nature. Property is an intellectual production," adding a much quoted sentence, "A dollar is not value, but representative of value, and at last, of moral values."¹⁵⁰ The titles of four successive best sellers in America by the English author Samuel Smiles convincingly represented the relation of self-help to higher

¹⁴⁹Shoppell, Modern Low-Cost, No. 131.

¹⁵⁰Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Wealth," Emerson's Works, VI, The Conduct of Life (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904), p. 99. For an accounting of the promotion of Emerson's speaking tours and the popularization of his works, see Mary Kupiec Cayton, "The Making of an American Prophet: Emerson, His Audiences, and the Rise of the Culture Industry in Nineteenth-Century America," American Historical Review 92 (June 1987): 597-620.

values: Self Help, Thrift, Duty, and Character.¹⁵¹ Making money was not only a right, it was a moral duty. The struggle and self denial required for success built character, and success was a sign of character. By late century, the clergyman, Conway, preached that it was the duty of every man to secure wealth, while William Graham Sumner titled a chapter in his 1883 What Social Classes Owe to Each Other, "That It Is Not Wicked To Be Rich; Nay, Even That It Is Not Wicked To Be Richer Than One's Neighbor."¹⁵²

Not only was there ideological justification for building a home, but also an imperative to build in a manner appropriate to one's success. Social status was displayed in "genteel," "refined," "dignified," and "tasteful" homes. Large homes with ornamentation indicated financial success. Smaller homes with less, but well placed, ornamentation were appropriate to their owners' financial and social positions. The exterior of a pattern book house communicated the owner's acceptance of his responsibilities as a productive citizen and his belief in American values. In the pattern book descriptions, a middle class house was "modern," appropriate to a "progressive" citizen, yet "quaint," "old fashioned," "domestic," "cheerful," "cosy," and "homelike."

Pattern book houses were not built exclusively for the owners' satisfaction. As the Pallisers commented, it was the policy to build something which would please others.¹⁵³ But it was more than merely pleasing the immediate community. A

¹⁵¹Smiles's books and pamphlets were published repeatedly in the last quarter of the century by several publishers and in a variety of languages.

¹⁵²William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe To Each Other (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883).

¹⁵³Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Des. 78.

properly built home became an example for others to follow and would ultimately contribute to improvement of the character of the American people. In 1871, Daniel Atwood had explained that it was a duty of moral and intellectual people to share their qualities with others by building expressive homes of positive beauty. A beautiful house contrasted strongly with the typical working class house. The poorly designed working class house lacked taste and was "barren and disproportioned, a good house for propagating coarseness within, and poverty without."¹⁵⁴ In 1887, the Palliser brothers described a pair of cottages with parterring, half-timbering and decorative interpretations of other methods of construction from England's past and explained why it was appropriate to build such a distinctive home. With this home, the owner would "strive for something better than usual and different from that of the neighbors. Such pride means progress and improvement at all turns, and results in the cultivation of public taste which cannot help but be felt in the long run."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴Atwood, Country and Suburban Houses, p. 141. This volume was republished in 1883 and 1885.

¹⁵⁵Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Design 72.

Chapter Three

PROFESSIONAL ARCHITECTS AND QUEEN ANNE

In May 1876, Harper's New Monthly Magazine introduced the American middle class to Henry Hudson Holly's interpretation of the latest British architectural fashion in the first of a series of articles titled, "Modern Dwellings: Their Construction, Decoration and Furniture." The New York architect proposed to the readers of that popular periodical a new model for American domestic architecture and interior decoration known as "Queen Anne," or "Free Classic."¹⁵⁶ Queen Anne, as it was more commonly known, had enjoyed exceptional success in England, and the American public was a receptive audience.¹⁵⁷ In the same year, features drawn from modern British buildings were incorporated into designs by American architects and published in the new professional journal, American Architect and Building News. For the next decade, free interpretations of the style appeared regularly in the journal's weekly issues. Even more approximate formulations of Queen Anne filled the pages of pattern books by the 1880's. Queen Anne developed as a broadly eclectic style in Britain and became more so

¹⁵⁶Henry Hudson Holly, "Modern Dwellings: Their Construction, Decoration and Furniture. I. Construction," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 52 (May 1876): 855-867; "II. Color Decoration," 53 (June 1876): 49-64; "III. Furniture," 53 (July 1876): 217-226; "IV. Furniture," 53 (August 1876): 354-363. Harper's Bazar also published an article on the new fashion in furniture. "Household Furnishing. The Queen Anne Style," 9 (October 21, 1876): 674-675.

¹⁵⁷British Queen Anne is examined in Mark Girouard, Sweetness and Light. The 'Queen Anne' Movement 1860-1900. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1977).

in America. From the outset, it represented freedom from stylistic constrictions, and consistent definition remained elusive.

Queen Anne architecture was not completely unknown to centennial-year America. Architects who read the British professional architectural journals had seen illustrations of buildings by the leaders of modern English architecture since 1871. Examples of "Queen Anne" began to be noted in the journals in 1872, and in 1873 Building News reviewed the Royal Academy exhibit of new buildings which were known as "Queen Anne" and continued to publish articles, including some vitriolic criticisms, on the subject.¹⁵⁸ Among the American architects who adapted the information to their own work in the early 1870's were Henry Hobson Richardson, his draftsman, Charles Follen McKim, and William Rutherford Mead; an architect who joined McKim in practice in 1872. Norman Shaw applied tile to the upper stories of his brick houses, and Richardson and McKim translated the Old English materials into shingle superimposed over wood siding as early as 1872.¹⁵⁹ The upper stories of Richardson's Watts Sherman house built in the wealthy summer community of Newport, Rhode Island, 1874, were clad in shingle and opened to the exterior with horizontal bands of windows (fig. 6). A large hall and overall spatial planning were modeled on Norman Shaw's work.¹⁶⁰ A design by Mead for a board and shingle hotel at Cayuga Lake, New York, was published in the New York Sketch Book in April 1875. And for the builders and contractors

¹⁵⁸Girouard, Sweetness and Light, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵⁹Leland M. Roth, McKim, Mead & White Architects, (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 36-37.

¹⁶⁰Vincent J. Scully, Jr., The Shingle Style and the Stick Style, rev. ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971 (1955), pp. 14-16.

of the nation in 1875, the American Builder published elevations and plans for J. M. Brydon's houses at Spring Bank, Haverstock Hill, that had been published in the London Building News (fig. 7).¹⁶¹ Modern yet antiquarian fashions in furniture and interior decoration introduced by Charles Lockwood Eastlake, and further inspired by interest in Britain's Elizabethan, Jacobean and eighteenth century Queen Anne history, were brought to the American public in a series of eleven articles titled "Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks" by Clarence Cook. Published from June 1875 to May 1877 in Scribner's, the articles were later compiled as The House Beautiful.¹⁶² Queen Anne furniture at the Centennial Exhibition was described by both the popular and professional press throughout 1876, as were Britain's buildings at the Centennial. Although the buildings were not in the recognized Queen Anne style, their half-timbered exteriors were drawn from the important old English component of Queen Anne.

There can be no question that Holly's series of articles was timely. The Centennial, especially, exposed a keen awareness of America's cultural inferiority. The Exhibition put the nation in the international spotlight, and while American industrial accomplishments were readily apparent, artistic accomplishments were not. Middle class homeowners aspired to be culturally informed and looked to reports from abroad for the new fashions. Visitors to the exhibition thronged the British displays where they saw rooms resplendent with domestic accouterments from the craft and artwork of the Aesthetic Movement, subdued with softened colors of Axminster carpets and wallpaper. All appeared to be overflowing with

¹⁶¹American Builder 11 (November 1875); description, p. 262.

¹⁶²Clarence Chatham Cook, The House Beautiful (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1878).

old fashioned comfort and domesticity.¹⁶³ While the arts from France and Germany were equally admired, the British exhibit was more poignantly consistent with the expanding American definition of home as a center of artistic education and a haven from the exigencies of business and industry.

Henry Hudson Holly's Queen Anne

Henry Hudson Holly was a respected member of the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and his Harper's article was immediately reviewed in the American Architect and Building News, a new professional journal and the official organ of the American Institute of Architects. The reviewer was effusive in his praise of the architect:

The best article of the kind that we have seen is one by Mr. Holly....It contains a good many suggestions of practical and artistic value, for the planning of country-houses, with half a dozen plans, for the most part ingeniously and effectively arranged. The exteriors which accompany them are attractively picturesque, and show, much more than is usual in such articles, the freedom and sureness of the practised professional hand.¹⁶⁴

Holly had determined Britain's modern architecture eminently suitable for American use, and he legitimized his claim by briefly situating Queen Anne developments in the mainstream of contemporary architectural practice and theory. Holly's purpose was to translate the subjects of contemporary architectural theory for an untrained audience, and the first page of his article provided a synopsis of pertinent architectural issues, most particularly those related to the development of

¹⁶³The Aesthetic Movement was defined by Walter Hamilton in The Aesthetic Movement in England (London: Reeves & Turner, 1882). Not all reviewers praised the British exhibit and their criticism was often founded in dissatisfaction with the prevalence of items associated with the Aesthetic Movement. See, "Characteristics of the International Fair. III," Atlantic Monthly 38 (September 1876): 350.

¹⁶⁴American Architect 1 (May 13, 1876): 154.

an American vernacular. A distinctive style had not yet been achieved, but "idiosyncrasies of building" were being developed as American architects continued to respond to the unique requirements of the land and climate. By necessity, architects borrowed from foreign sources for American buildings, but these forms were then adapted to meet national needs.¹⁶⁵

In his essay, Holly addressed the subject of the search for a national style in the context of a discussion on middle class domestic architecture, a juxtaposition that became increasingly common in architectural theory and criticism in the late nineteenth century. Although some critics were convinced that public architecture communicated the higher aspirations of a government and its people, others found domestic architecture more truly vernacular. Houses were designed with constructional and functional considerations foremost in mind and such pragmatic considerations led to the development of architectural forms uncommon to British and European architecture. Holly continued by defining three singularly American characteristics of domestic architecture which were incorporated into his designs. First, the ground floor of a typical home contained a kitchen joined to the body of the house with a butler's pantry; American architects seldom found it necessary to build the kitchen as a separate structure because the nation's pure air eliminated cooking odors. Second, the veranda, inappropriate to England's damper climate, was a particularly American feature generated by architectural adjustments to America's climate. Third, different materials were similarly appropriate, American houses being more frequently built of wood because it was in abundant supply.

¹⁶⁵Holly, "Modern Dwellings. I," p. 855.

And, he added, architects were finally learning to value the intrinsic properties of wood instead of disguising it as stone.¹⁶⁶

Holly's modern American houses were suburban houses designed for a park-like setting. With "rapid transit" by rail and steamboat, "all classes, from the humblest mechanic to the wealthy banker," could have "picturesque and cheerful" homes in the country. Owning such a home began with site selection and Holly acknowledged that the most important consideration of location was sanitation. But prospective home owners should then select the site for its scenery. Holly's settings were not houses situated alone in the wild, natural state of forest and mountain frontiers but groups of homes in a park of "shady nooks or pleasant streams." His modern houses communicated both nature and community.¹⁶⁷

Holly's brief estimation of American architecture articulated views held by his professional contemporaries. It was generally agreed that the distinctive characteristic of American architecture was the process of adapting British and European architectural forms to the nation's unique physical and social environment. In 1876, however, this definition of style as a process of change did not fully satisfy the nineteenth-century scientific inclination to categorize and classify all products of the natural and human-made environments. In the centennial year, a visually definable American style was considered by many to be necessary to American cultural identity. The United States was no longer an emergent nation, but a country which had endured and was now gaining strength as an industrial power. Yet, America's lack of indigenous architectural monuments

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 856-858.

created a void for architects searching for a national style. Architects had to rely on using historical forms which were not native to America, but Holly considered many of the results incongruous with national character and requirements.

Lamenting the sad forays into Egyptian and Greek systems of building, he then turned to a discussion of the gothic revival and British architects who were leaders of the new Queen Anne style, Norman Shaw and John J. Stevenson. Stevenson, Holly noted, had recently asserted that gothic was suited to ecclesiastical buildings but was never intended to serve domestic purposes.¹⁶⁸

Holly added support to his arguments for the new architecture. A group of English architects, including Shaw and Stevenson, had found in the Queen Anne style a better source for their nation's domestic architecture, and he found it equally suitable for American houses. For the British proponents of the style, Queen Anne expressed truth in architecture for domestic building more effectively than gothic, for it was "the most simple mode of honest English building worked out in an artistic and natural form...."¹⁶⁹ Essentially, Holly asserted that Americans had no other choice but to adapt foreign architectural styles to their needs, and among all styles at their disposal, Queen Anne seemed the most fitting model for contemporary building. American builders were already familiar with constructional methods of the style because the sources of this "free classic" mode were found in the same forms of architecture brought to the British colonies in the eighteenth century. To find his way through the sources of Queen Anne and a definition of the complex style, Holly quoted British architect Lacey W. Ridge:

¹⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 855-856. John J. Stevenson, "Gothic Architecture," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 52 (January 1876): 234-241.

¹⁶⁹Holly, "Modern Dwellings. I," p. 856.

The Queen Anne revival shows the influence of the group of styles known as the Elizabethan, Jacobite, and the style of Francis I., which are now, indeed, to be arranged under the general head of 'free classic,'but the Queen Anne movement has also been influenced by what is known as the 'cottage architecture' of that period.¹⁷⁰

From the beginning, "Queen Anne" was loosely defined and referenced by a number of related names. The introduction of swags, garlands, and other forms associated with the nineteenth-century definition of "classic" to domestic architecture caused "free classic" to become a designation synonymous with Queen Anne. At the same time, medieval sources were equally important to the development of the style and gothic was at its foundation. Modern Queen Anne overlaid the opposing stylistic categories, classical and medieval. All of the building styles which Ridge had distinguished in the grouping were characterized by a merging of northern medieval and Italian interpretations of the Greco-Roman. Italian ornament mixed with French dormers, chimneys and towers on the chateaux of Chambord, Chenonceau and Blois built during the reign of Francis I. Henry VIII had brought French craftsmen to England toward the end of his reign, and French translations of Italian architecture continued as a source for English building during the reign of his daughter Elizabeth. Under James I and James II, contemporary Italian design and Flemish decorative forms introduced by Flemish craftsmen blended with traditional English architecture. Cottage architecture also integrated nineteenth-century conceptions of medieval and classical. "These cottages are partly timbered," Holly wrote,

partly covered with tile hangings, and have tall and spacious chimneys of considerable merit. They have really nothing to fix their date. Their details

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 856. Quoted from Edward W. Lacey, Architect 13 (March 1875): 159.

partook strongly of the classic character, while the boldness of their outline bore striking resemblance to the picturesque and ever-varying Gothic.¹⁷¹

British models for the modern style were of a vaguely discernible lineage, and Holly's houses added an American gloss. The six designs which followed his introduction to the new fashion were not emulations of modern British Queen Anne houses. They were modifications of contemporary American houses being built on the east coast, typified by Richard Morris Hunt's house in Newport, Rhode Island for T. G. Appleton which was illustrated in the inaugural issue of the American Architect (fig. 8).¹⁷² Hunt's house is characterized by vertical angularity and stickwork articulation applied to the exterior surfaces. The lower story of the ell-shaped house is rubble stone and the second is covered with slate arranged in patterns and overlaid with wood stickwork on the second story. A steeply pitched hipped ell is dotted with three dormers on one slope, and a dormer hooding a balcony projects from its frontal slope. The second ell terminates in a hooded gable whose broad eaves protect three tiered balconies. Unturned brackets support the balconies and unturned posts and brackets support the roof of a veranda which wrap around the hipped ell.¹⁷³ Holly's houses maintain the verticality and picturesque silhouette brought by steeply pitched roofs, and five of

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁷²"Residence of T. G. Appleton, Esq. at Newport," American Architect 1 (January 1, 1876), n.p.

¹⁷³Vincent Scully has categorized such houses as the "Stick Style" in Scully, pp. xiii-lix, earlier published as "Romantic Rationalism and the Expression of Structure in Wood," Art Bulletin 35 (June 1953): 121-142. Sarah Bradford Landau has pointed out that the "structural rationalism" of Scully's definition was less important to the conception of the style than the confluence of French, Swiss and German influences; "Richard Morris Hunt, the Continental Picturesque, and the "Stick Style"," Society of Architectural Historians Journal 42 (October 1983): 272-289.

the designs utilize the angular posts and brackets. But stickwork articulation, the architectural complement of unturned brackets, is missing from the familiar configuration.

None of the six houses is closely patterned after British Queen Anne work (figs. 9-14). Instead, several features of the modern fashion are incorporated in each house and explained in accompanying paragraphs. For a complete picture of Queen Anne, the reader of Holly's article could form a composite image with an additive reading of all of the designs and their descriptions. In summation, the article gives a thorough description of the features of the new style. Design No. 1 is an initial step away from the style of house Queen Anne was intended to replace. It is a small ell-plan gate lodge with a hipped ell and hooded dormer opposing a gabled ell decorated with barge boards in the modern gothic manner. Holly did not consider slate a desirable sheathing material and proposed a more suitable material, a wood rendition of masonry and tile, having clapboard on the first floor and shingle on the second. The windows, defined as Queen Anne in Design No. 3, are sash windows with the upper sash sectioned into small square lights.¹⁷⁴ As Holly explained, with the advantages and availability of "that beautiful and modern invention, plate glass," it would be "absurd and ridiculous" to have small panes of glass merely because it was fashionable. Small panes blocked the view. But, where windows were intended for light but not view, upper sashes filled with small panes were acceptable, and they could be filled with stained glass in the "Gothic" manner as well.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴Holly, "Modern Dwellings. I," p. 858.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., p. 860-861.

With Design No. 3, Holly also introduces a "tent" roofing configuration appropriated from some British Queen Anne buildings. So far as possible, balconies, dormers, verandas and other projecting forms were to be covered by one enveloping roof. A tent roof provided a smooth flow of roof from apex to eave. Holly's justification for the roof was practical; there were fewer problems with leakage than on houses with projecting forms all roofed separately. Such a roof, however, did not preclude a picturesque silhouette. A marked feature of Holly's Queen Anne stylizations is the broken skyline, which he described in the paragraphs accompanying Design No. 2. With natural materials, a picturesque silhouette contributed to an integration of the house and its naturally endowed site.¹⁷⁶

Another particularly Queen Anne feature noted by Holly is shown in a detail of a "two-story bay-window" for Design No. 2. The lower portion of the windowed bay is chamfered, described by Holly as "octagonal," the upper is rectangular. The windows of each are tall and narrow and form a band of glass from side to side. A shingled gable with steeply pitched roof is furred out to meet the upper level of windows. The lower and upper sections of the bay are separated by a wide band of decoration, a series of flowers, probably sunflowers, on long upright stems.¹⁷⁷

Holly not only introduced design features. In the paragraphs describing Design No. 2, Holly articulated the important associations of hearth, home and taste which would be promoted in the pattern books. He also projected the image of the owner of a Queen Anne house. Readers were instructed that with the assistance

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 860.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 860.

of an architect "one of the most important æsthetic ends" of the art of house building would be achieved; the house would be imprinted with the owner's character. The focal point for Design No. 2 is an enlarged hall which served a dual purpose as a sitting room. Here, the owner's generous hospitality and social nature is suggested. The hall opens to adjoining rooms on the first floor and all are separated by folding doors which could open to permit free movement and open views from one room to the next. But as Holly noted, the small size of the house did not allow for a large old-fashioned fireplace and inglenook in the hall as he would have preferred, the fireplace being "that ancient symbol of domestic union and genial hospitality." The library also elucidated for visitors to the home the character of the owner, and in a typical reference designed to appeal to the male householder, the library was presented as the "gentleman's growelry" and a sign of his literary taste. Projecting an image combining the site, exterior detail and interior planning, such a house directly communicated that an educated and refined gentleman lived within, a man whose delicate sensitivity to nature sought a physical and visual integration of the trees and rocks of the site with the materials and silhouette of the house.¹⁷⁸

Design No. 5, built with brick on the first floor and the choices of tile or shingle and half-timbering on the upper floors, was designated as a "Jacobite" variation. Here, Holly introduced Harper's readers to significant deliberations which furnished theoretical and historical validation to his overall scheme for the new architecture. The new fashion met the criteria of functional aesthetics and had a common parentage with American colonial architecture. With gables, hips, crests, and

¹⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 859-860.

chimneys and "fair acknowledgement of all constructive obligations," the exterior expressed the plan.¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless, a moderate amount of decoration derived from British Queen Anne was applied to this and Holly's other houses. Panels of decoration in the sunflower motif, which could be stamped in stucco, stenciled, or cut with a scroll-saw, flanks the band of vertical upper story windows. Roof eaves curve slightly outward and are supported by projecting cornices finished with dentils in the classic mode.

Holly's verbal associations and visual adaptations from both Queen Anne and American colonial architecture brought Queen Anne architecture and its variations into the mainstream of discussion centering on American national style, although Holly would not specifically call for Queen Anne as the source for an American vernacular until his articles were expanded into book form in 1878. For Holly, houses in this Jacobite version of Queen Anne were reminiscent of colonial houses of New England, revolutionary period Dutch farm houses and plantation houses of Maryland and Virginia. He found in them an "Old-World expression" and expressive of "the solid energy, determination, and great-heartedness of the founders of the new empire in the wilderness." This quality had been lost to American architecture with the advent of popularity of Greek stylizations and Holly recommended its return in the attributes of the new fashion. That he identified the owners as esteemed men of the "colonial aristocracy" added to the appeal of a modern old-fashioned home for a nineteenth-century gentleman.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 864.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 864.

The final design completed Holly's promotion of the new architecture. New features were introduced, and freedom of design was intimated, further integrating current architectural theory. A veranda, a distinctly American feature, lines three sides of the house and fully one-half of its linear dimensions. Chimneys and fireplaces in the library and dining room are placed in the corners of the rooms rather than along the walls, and in Holly's estimation, the arrangement was an advantageous digression from stereotypes. The house introduced the readers to the new fashion for elaborate staircases which were features of the enlarged halls typical of modern Queen Anne. And, finally, reiterating its viability for adaption to national needs, Holly claimed, "the whole appears a legitimate outgrowth of the requirements suggested by the peculiarities of our climate." One of the most "convenient" features of the houses was a balcony from which the homeowner could privately observe the scenery around his suburban home:

Here, amidst flowers and twining vines, we may vary our literary occupation by attention to our gold-fish and canary, or from its height observe the fleeting cloud shadows along the mountains, or descry the signs on the passing yachts, without fear of interruption.¹⁸¹

Queen Anne and the Aesthetic Movement

Holly's first article was favorably reviewed in the American Architect, although the review contained no mention of Queen Anne. Journal readers who had not read the Harper's article would not have known that Holly had proposed adaptations of the new British style for American use. Queen Anne was, and would continue to be, problematic for many architects, especially for those seeking underlying scientific principles for architectural design or trained in the Ecole des

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 867.

Beaux-Arts tradition. Modern Queen Anne architecture developed concurrently with the Aesthetic Movement and became its emblematic style. Origins of nineteenth-century Queen Anne and the Aesthetic Movement can be traced to the friendship formed among the Pre-Raphaelite leader Dante Gabriel Rossetti, artist Edward Burne-Jones, architect Philip Webb, and designer William Morris, and the subsequent organization of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company in 1861. As a group, they turned from the contemporary heavy gothic forms for exterior and interior architecture and began to produce home furnishings having a lightness inspired by English eighteenth-century and Japanese sources. Using similar sources, many young architects began to revitalize British architecture with the freedom of design implied in the Aesthetic art for art's sake.¹⁸² But while their new Queen Anne buildings published in journals read by American architects fostered interpretations, the Aesthetic Movement gained notoriety. By the early 1880's, the Movement began to be associated with effete dandyism. In 1881 America, the languid lily-bearing Oscar Wilde spoke to overflowing crowds while Gilbert and Sullivan's Patience, a satire of the Aesthetes that parodied Wilde as the poet Bunthorne, packed the house night after night.

The American understanding of architecture and the Aesthetic Movement wavered between Ruskin's moral art and Walter Pater's art for art's sake. Many American architects advocated artistic freedom in architectural design and heralded the architect as an artist of the highest talents. The search for underlying scientific principles and academic determinants for architecture encompassed rather than precluded artistic criteria, and American architects who may have

¹⁸²Girouard, Sweetness and Light, pp. 13-15.

opposed one another in their judgments of so-called Queen Anne recognized a lack of "art" in most American buildings and promoted appropriate education. Yet, the dominant strains in American architectural theory were opposed to art for art's sake. Architects in Boston, a center for modern Queen Anne developments and "art manufacture," questioned the architect's artistic responsibilities at a February 1878 meeting of the Boston Society of Architects. The secretary of the organization, Henry Van Brunt, read a paper on the subject which prompted a lively debate. But the speakers agreed that freedom of design was an opportunity contingent on Van Brunt's call for a "consciencious(sic) spirit."¹⁸³ William Robert Ware, Van Brunt's partner, responded first, "...the greater freedom must beget the greater responsibility; hence follows that moral element in design,..." Russell Sturgis then observed that the new catholicity was "creating among architects a very marked mental peculiarity in their work," which prompted a comment on England's modern architecture. Ware considered Queen Anne and Jacobean architecture, "a natural recoil or revolt of the artistic mind from the undue control exercised over it by Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Pugin and their followers in the interest of the medieval revival." He continued with an emphasis on moral architecture, "It seems to be a matter of feeling and impulse, justified by the occasion, indicative of greater catholicity of spirit and inconsistency with the moral instincts of the new culture."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³Henry Van Brunt, "Growth of the Consciencious Spirit in the Art of Decoration," paper read at the Boston Society of Architects, February 8, 1878. A summary of the paper was reported in the secretary's minutes.

¹⁸⁴Boston Society of Architects, minutes, February 8, 1878. Nonetheless, Ware and his contemporaries were reinterpreting the definition of architect-as-artist earlier professed by such "medieval revival" architects as Ruskin, Street, and Burges. At this time, contemporary architects confronted the dilemma of merging the art and science of architecture. In his examination of the "art-architect" in

The strongest impact of the Aesthetic Movement in American architecture was in interior decoration and the popularization of the Queen Anne style as a middle class domestic architectural style whose qualities were recognized by a cultured, but not necessarily wealthy, elite.¹⁸⁵ Queen Anne was relegated to a style for middle class housing and considered inappropriate to monumental architecture. Boston architect, Charles A. Cummings found the fashion appropriate for country houses and not fitting for city streets.¹⁸⁶ Although modern Queen Anne public buildings were built in Britain and America, the style was first most evident in the homes of artists and literati who lived in the fashionable suburbs of London. In 1876, the conception of modern Queen Anne as a style for an artistic and middle class public was fortified when construction of a new suburb at Turnham Green station was begun. Entrepreneur Jonathan Carr first employed E. W. Godwin, then Norman Shaw, both practitioners of the new fashion, to design inexpensive houses for his garden community named Bedford Park. The British architectural journal, Building News reported in December 22, 1876, that eighteen houses by E. W. Godwin had been completed for the "middle classes" (although perhaps more

Britain, Stefan Muthesius concluded by pointing out the paradoxical nature of the later opposition between "arty-crafty" honesty of construction and building based on scientific training. Muthesius, The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 151-159.

¹⁸⁵James Kornwolf has claimed, "aestheticism" and "art" dominated architectural discussion in the United States." "American Architecture and the Aesthetic Movement," in Metropolitan Museum of Art, In Pursuit of Beauty. Americans and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), p. 346. Although the Aesthetic Movement may have stimulated discussions about a need for art in architecture, it was but one factor in ongoing examinations of architecture as an art and a science.

¹⁸⁶Boston Society of Architects, minutes, 2 February 1877. Cummings did not consider Queen Anne a style.

precisely, upper middle-classes) and praised the designs of the houses with phrases which would become widespread in American pattern book literature (fig. 15). The houses were "well planned, conveniently arranged, and constructed with regard to both stability and comfort and architectural character." The community became so popular that by 1881 over 300 houses had been built and prospective homeowners were waiting for more to be completed.¹⁸⁷ Bedford Park was so markedly associated with the Aesthetic Movement that the editor of the first issue of the Bedford Park Gazette attempted to discount the label "Aesthetic."¹⁸⁸

Bedford Park with its Queen Anne houses was perceived as a stronghold of artistic and refined taste. Most importantly for the American public, it was an affordable taste, and in 1881 Harper's published a report by Moncure Conway who, in this and other articles, fueled America's enthusiasm for Queen Anne homes. According to his romanticized vision, Bedford Park was "a little red town made up of quaintest Queen Anne houses," a "dream of old-time homesteads," and "an antique townlet," a "Utopia in brick and paint in the suburbs of London." And, the houses fulfilled a modern need because:

For a long time cultured taste in London for persons of moderate means had been able to express itself only on paper. Any deviation from the normal style could be achieved only by the wealthy....But meanwhile the people who most desired beautiful homes were those of the younger generation whom the new culture had educated above the mere pursuit of

¹⁸⁷"Bedford Park, London," Chambers's Journal 31 (December 1881): 41.

¹⁸⁸Bedford Park Gazette (July 1883); in Margaret Jones Bolsterli, The Early Community at Bedford Park (Oberlin: Ohio University Press, 1977), p. 63. Concerning the Aesthetic Movement and Bedford Park, see also Ian Fletcher, "Bedford Park: Aesthete's Elysium?," in Fletcher, ed., Romantic Mythologies (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

riches, at the same time awakening in them refined tastes which only through riches could obtain their satisfaction.¹⁸⁹

An Editorial View in the AMERICAN ARCHITECT

The editorial staff of the American Architect and Building News did not respond to Holly's exposition of Queen Anne architecture but, on the other hand, they did not discredit the author's claims either. Although the style was familiar in name and would soon be reported as a "madness" in England, it was evidently a too recent development for an editorial position.¹⁹⁰ American architects were, if not skeptical about the ramifications of this new importation, at least uncertain about their own theoretical positions regarding modern Queen Anne. Articles and letters to the editor in the 1876 American Architect began a lengthy debate among architects on both sides of the Atlantic concerning the definition of the new Queen Anne architecture and its architectural validity. Because "Queen Anne" was a misnomer from the beginning and the forms of the style were not necessarily drawn from the reign of the eighteenth century queen for whom it was named, authors more commonly referred to the new fashion as the "so-called Queen Anne." As Holly had noted, the style known as modern Queen Anne was, in fact, an amalgam of stylistic elements widely defined as medieval and classical. Eclecticism had become accepted as the core concept in contemporary architecture, but the new repertoire of forms seemed to include an unprecedented number of sources. Definition became even more complicated in America as

¹⁸⁹Moncure D. Conway, "Bedford Park," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 62 (March 1881): 482.

¹⁹⁰Notes and Clippings. Queen Anne," American Architect 1 (October 21, 1876): 344.

architects recognized the relationship between Queen Anne and colonial architecture.

In December of 1876, critic Montgomery Schuyler set the editorial tone for the professional journal in his article, "Concerning Queen Anne." Schuyler immediately asserted in the introductory sentence, "The pretensions that are made for Queen Anne as an architectural style are very lofty." He was adamant that modern Queen Anne architecture did not constitute a style. Not being built on constructive principles, it was merely a fashion. With the enthusiasm of an avowed gothicist, Schuyler could not find in the Queen Anne what had become understood as a vital principle in the modern gothic buildings. Buildings were organisms which expressed their "functions and conditions." Without such a principle, architecture could not be considered a style. The critical flaw of modern Queen Anne architecture was the non-constructive application of decoration and Schuyler's major difficulty with Queen Anne was its classical detail. Very seldom could buildings which developed from plans adapted to architectural conditions be decorated with classic details. Patterns stamped on the stucco walls did not constitute organic decoration. With reference to British architects Norman Shaw and Thomas Colcutt he concluded, "But of the work of its practitioners it may be safely said, that what of it is good is not Queen Anne, and what is Queen Anne is not good...."¹⁹¹

More moderate views were expressed by some of the participants in a discussion on the subject of Queen Anne recorded in the minutes for the February 1877 meeting of the Boston Society of Architects, the local chapter of the

¹⁹¹S. (Montgomery Schuyler), "Concerning Queen Anne," American Architect and Building News 1 (December 16, 1876): 404-405.

American Institute of Architects. However, the report in the American Architect began with a more negative version of the proceedings than recorded in the Society's minutes. At the meeting, Henry Van Brunt began the discussion in generally favorable terms. He explained that what was called Queen Anne in contemporary practice was actually from the Stuart period when "the classic predominated but retained some of the freedom of the mediæval." Van Brunt was optimistic about the style's future and submitted, "It is this that the young architects of Great Britain abandoning the Gothic, are now taking up & practising with so much vigor and skill. We are living in the midst of an epoch, which may hereafter turn out to be as memorable as the Gothic revival of twenty years ago."¹⁹² The editor (or reporting Society secretary) did not share Van Brunt's positive opinion. He added a pejorative interpretation of the style's history by claiming that the characteristics of Queen Anne had developed with Stuart architecture "and had run into extravagance and decline before the time of Anne" and, following a variant of the epochal theme, lamented, "...the Gothic is now abandoned by a considerable number of the younger architects, who are doing their best to revive the style known as the Queen Anne style. We are living in what may be called an epoch. We know every style as well as the generations did in which they were first known and practised. But our general knowledge prevents us from having strong convictions."¹⁹³

Remarks by other members of the Boston Society were also subjected to editorial revision. Edward C. Cabot's criticism of Queen Anne stepped gables as

¹⁹²Boston Society of Architects, minutes, 2 February 1877.

¹⁹³"American Institute of Architects. Boston Chapter," American Architect 2 (February 17, 1877): 53.

"a showing after the picturesque at the expense of the practical" was expanded in the American Architect to read, "and most of the external peculiarities of the Queen Anne style are open to the suspicion of a certain straining after picturesqueness, at the expense of good sense and good construction."¹⁹⁴

Similarly, trenchant criticism of the Queen Anne raised by the secretary, Charles A. Cummings,--"extravagant affectations of broken pediments and lank pilasters and ridiculous little obelisks & balls and pot-hooks...unworthy of thoughtful & serious architects"--was amplified:

The Secretary condemned the puerility and feebleness of ornamentation which characterizes this style,-the wriggling gables, the little pyramids and balls and scrolls stuck about on every shelf and corner,-as unworthy of serious imitation; and contrasted all this nonsense with the grace and dignity and real picturesqueness of the style which prevailed at about the same time in France.¹⁹⁵

A week later, the American Architect carried a report of buildings completed in England during 1876, most of which were Queen Anne. While the correspondent determined that no great architectural monuments could be recorded for the year, he observed that changes were underway in Britain which deserved attention. The "so-called Queen Anne style" was rapidly becoming more than a domestic style and in recent competitions was replacing "Gothic" as the chosen style for public buildings. The modern Queen Anne was more "Stuart" than Queen Anne, and the author concluded, "...the age of mediævalism seems past, and a modified

¹⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 53-54.

¹⁹⁵Quoted as recorded in the minutes. American Architect, p. 54. Cummings and his partner Willard T. Sears had designed Boston's New Old South Church(1871-1874) using French Romanesque sources. The reported Society discussion of Queen Anne is also excerpted in Marvin Goody and Robert P. Walsh, eds., Boston Society of Architects: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967 (Boston: Boston Society of Architects, 1967), pp. 41-42, but without noting the discrepancies between the minutes and the published report.

Renaissance seems taking its place".¹⁹⁶ His definition corresponded with the one that had emerged in the Boston Society of Architects discussion. Queen Anne partook more of the classic than the gothic.

A month later, the journal published a paper on Queen Anne which had been given at the April meeting of the Boston Society of Architects by Robert S. Peabody. A pragmatist, Peabody urged his fellow professionals to pay heed to the English developments because, as a matter of course, American architecture quickly reflected English work. But Peabody was also an apologist. The new style not only accommodated the eclectic tendencies of American architecture, but its eighteenth century sources were the foundation of colonial architecture as well. The most favorable characteristics of the style were those drawn from the past:

Of all this work the distinctive feature is beyond all its pleasant, homely, hospitable warm color, that should be backed up by the green of old English trees....Then its careful brickwork is to be noted, and the extraordinary affectation of cut brick; mouldings, carvings, garlands, all being cut in the bricks after they have become set in the wall....the only worthy material in which to carve the mysterious pot of sunflowers. Again, its white frames and sashes near the face, giving deep interior recesses, its turned wooden posts, and any eccentricity in general design that one can suppose would have occurred to designers one hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago.¹⁹⁷

Peabody renamed Queen Anne the "bric-a-brac" style. It was not meant as a disparaging term, although later writers applied it in that sense. Rather, it was intended to be more fully descriptive of the new and highly eclectic fashion which had come from changes in interior decoration brought by William Morris and company and the Pre-Raphaelites. The old, crude "medievalism" had been

¹⁹⁶"Correspondence. An Architectural Year," American Architect 2 (February 14, 1877): 60-61.

¹⁹⁷"A Talk about "Queen Anne"," American Architect 2 (April 28, 1877): 134.

replaced by:

gods and goddesses, Earthly Paradise and Chaucer and Old Kensington, sunflowers, sconces, blue china, turned work instead of notches and chamfers, and above all Japanese screens, fans, stuffs, papers, pictures, bronzes and china.¹⁹⁸

The exterior architecture, too, borrowed from many sources and became a suggestion of the "wealth of bric-a-brac" within. Although classical was an important element in the overall conception of Queen Anne, the new architecture was neither strictly Queen Anne nor Stuart nor Italian. What was called Queen Anne was in practice "odds and ends, beauty in any form, cosiness, comfort, picturesqueness." In short, the essence of the "bric-a-brac" style was the architectural freedom implied by the variety of sources allowed the architect. Pointed arch or lintel, the choice made little difference as long as the architect was artistic.

Eclecticism was seen by most architects as the only viable route for American architecture, but Queen Anne was so highly eclectic that consistent definition could not be agreed upon. The editors of the American Architect continued to publish letters and articles explaining the style and documenting the diffusion of the style, in whatever guise it occurred. In October of 1877, London architect John McKean Brydon stated it simply for American Architect readers, "The so-called revival grows apace, and, whether we like it or not, forces itself more and more on our attention." After he acknowledged that the style had been misnamed, he simplified the identification of sources for Queen Anne as English late gothic, English adaptations of Italian and French architecture, and old English domestic architecture. The features he described from these components and the resultant

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

new style were warm red brick construction, picturesque high pitched roofs, tall chimneys, bay windows, larger windows with many lights, sash windows, and for the interior "semi classic" woodwork and decorative items such as Japanese fans and blue china. But definition was not a simple task. The new architecture encompassed both the gothic of Norman Shaw's Leyswood and W. E. Nesfield's Renaissance design for Kinmel house, even though he adjudged there was "nothing" of Queen Anne in a house like Leyswood. For Brydon, too, the essence of the style was freedom from restriction of the classical, and in response to the criticism by "S" (Montgomery Schuyler), architects who were artists should have no difficulty in "combining classic detail architecturally with free planning and free designs."¹⁹⁹

The analyses of Queen Anne throughout 1876 and 1877 conveyed descriptions of a seemingly indefinable modern style to American architects. Above all, the style was described as an integration of the formerly antithetical classical and gothic tendencies. It was not, however, always viewed as an equally balanced integration. For some interpreters of the style, Queen Anne was primarily a classical style; for others, Queen Anne was more securely rooted in gothic.

Queen Anne Illustration in the AMERICAN ARCHITECT

Although the articles and letters published in the American Architect maintained a subtle negative editorial position regarding Queen Anne, illustrations of contemporary domestic architecture submitted by architects for publication in the 1876 journal had already begun to show fragmentary external and internal features

¹⁹⁹"A Few More Words about "Queen Anne"," American Architect 2 (October 6, 1877): 320-322.

of the style. More illustrations were included in the 1877 issues, most of which were examples of domestic architecture. While stylistic interpretations were varied, features from so-called Queen Anne comprised nearly half the designs: shingles superimposed over clapboard siding, coved cornices, turned posts, small-paned windows, molded and grooved chimneys, chamfered bays, oriels and large halls began to appear with frequency. The familiar sharply pitched gables became more gently pitched. The vertical directional thrust was reduced, although verticality remained. Yet, a common definition was still not evident. Each architect's version depended greatly on his predilection for, and understanding of, nineteenth-century gothic or classic.²⁰⁰ For the most part, the early interpreters considered the style medieval moderated by classic or a classic style reorganized with gothic freedom of planning. Both groups applied decoration from each category.

With few exceptions, the modern houses were not called Queen Anne, nor by any other appellation, for the journal rarely identified styles of illustrated buildings. But visual definitions corresponding to the written descriptions began to emerge. The most comprehensive Queen Anne adaption was published in March 1876. A. F. Oakey's design for a house at Lenox, Massachusetts is planned around a large central hall, the type which became known as a "Queen Anne living hall" (fig. 16). The exterior displays a free interpretation of a classical compositional motif. The squared yet asymmetrical plan generates a compact massing of exterior volumes

²⁰⁰Interestingly, American Architect's first published design by a woman did not reflect the fashion for Queen Anne. It was by Margaret Hicks, the "only female student in the architectural class at Cornell University" and illustrated a "Workmans(sic.) Cottage," American Architect 3 (April 13, 1878), n.p.; description, p. 129.

which results in a more balanced interplay between verticality and horizontality than found in the recent developments of modern gothic stylizations. The two-story structure, with clapboard on the first story and shingle on the second, is capped by a hipped roof whose broad eaves form a strong horizontal line which is repeated by a veranda roof wrapping around much of the house. A gabled dormer replete with windows divided into small panes of glass and a flower motif reminiscent of the ubiquitous modern Queen Anne sunflower juts up through the roof and counters the horizontal lines with a vertical thrust. Surface treatment reinforces the balanced interplay of vertical and horizontal. Patterns of stickwork on the first floor circumscribe predominantly vertical rectangles; on the second, horizontality is emphasized. On the dormered facade, the network of wood strips interconnect the large dormer and the second story.²⁰¹

Other architects did not embrace the new fashion as wholeheartedly. Among the buildings represented, houses by Henry F. Kilburn, W. G. Preston, and R. H. Robertson exhibit the elaborate stickwork and hooded dormers of earlier houses represented by R. M. Hunt's design published in January.²⁰² Architects Stone and Carpenter designed a house at Nayatt Point, Rhode Island with a greatly enlarged hall in the modern fashion, but on the exterior, a bracketed veranda, square tower, and steeply pitched gable roof are all features of the modern gothic interpretations (fig. 17). Only the strong coved cornices are typical exterior applications of the

²⁰¹"House at Lenox, Mass.," American Architect 1 (March 26, 1876), n.p. Early adaptations of the new fashion frequently incorporated stickwork and served as transitions from "stick" houses to so-called Queen Anne.

²⁰²Henry F. Kilburn, "Cottage for Dr. Humeston, Holyoke, Mass.," American Architect 1 (April 22, 1876), n.p.; W. G. Preston, "Westerly Prospect for Jas. Luke, Jr., Esq.," (June 17, 1876), n.p.; R. H. Robertson, "Cottage at Seabright, New Jersey," (July 22, 1876), n.p.

new Queen Anne.²⁰³ Boston architects E. C. Cabot and F. W. Chandler introduced a large hall to a squared and compact plan, perforated the roof with gabled dormers and eliminated the stickwork on the second shingle covered story (fig. 18). A broad band of decoration in the Queen Anne vein divides first and second stories.²⁰⁴ Broadened eaves signal the new style on Cabot and Chandler's house as well as on a house by pattern book author, George Palliser (fig. 19). Palliser's house for P. T. Barnum maintains most of the features of stick articulated houses, but the forms and planes are broadened.²⁰⁵

The number of illustrations showing domestic architecture increased in 1877, and Queen Anne stylizations became more frequent. Most of the designs show the American architects' reliance on British examples, especially buildings by Norman Shaw. At the outset there was great diversity in their interpretations, American architects being stimulated by the versatility and freedom of the indefinable so-called Queen Anne style. Indeed, Queen Anne was appreciated for its absence of specific style. For the most part, designs in the American Architect which followed the British fashion are visual translations of the individual architect's understanding of the preferred compositional balance between the opposing stylistic categories of classic and gothic. General schemes of spatial composition emerge in the 1877 journal issues which would remain in effect well into the 1890's.

²⁰³"Country House at Nyatt Point, Rhode Island," American Architect 1 (December 23, 1876), n.p..

²⁰⁴"House at Beverly Farms, Mass.," American Architect 1 (September 9, 1876), n.p.

²⁰⁵"Sketch for a House for Hon. P. T. Barnum, Black Rock Beach, Conn.," American Architect 1 (November 11, 1876), n.p.; description, p. 364.

One form of modern house in this fashion is a simple two-story standard box shape with applied bays, dormers and other so-called Queen Anne forms and decoration. Another type of interpretation is an attempt to reconcile classical containment and gothic verticality: multiple vertical elements and projections extend upward from the base of a squared plan. Although the volumes are compacted into classical rectangularity, a more picturesque silhouette is produced. A gothic verticality is injected by bays, dormers, and chimneys, but is modified with less steeply pitched roofs and gables. A third variation which emerges is also characterized by modified verticality, but the massing is an elaboration of that found in popular gothic stylizations. Rectangular volumes perpendicular to one another are assembled around a central core or an ell. Again, bays, dormers and chimneys are added. A fourth interpretation, later to be labelled the "shingle house," shows adaptation of colonial sources. The plan is less compact; the house spreads out over a large country or seashore lot. Horizontality rather than verticality is the directional emphasis.

A. F. Oakey's design of a house for the resort community of Mount Desert, Maine, published January 20, 1877, is the first overtly Queen Anne derivation (fig. 20). The design establishes several interpretive motifs that would lead to the shingle house. The central hall, small-paned windows and turned posts remain, but the dominant feature of the exterior would have been new to the journal's readers. A large jettied bay projecting over the brick and stone first story is elaborately decorated with Old English half-timbering similar to a form of decoration which British architect Norman Shaw frequently applied to his work in the early 1870's. A large second story octagonal room is given the shape and proportions of an octagonal bay on Shaw's Hopedene in Surrey which was

illustrated in the Building News in 1874 (fig. 21). But Oakey's design is a free adaptation of a then unconstructed style which could be adapted for specific sites and uses. He opened the walls of the faceted room with windows to a limitless vista of beach and ocean.

The floor plan is an even more innovative variation of the new plans coming from Britain. The house was a summer home and was the focal point for large gatherings of family and friends intent upon escaping the heat of the city. Open spaces were needed for entertaining large numbers of guests. Meeting that need was facilitated by the fact that winter heating systems were not necessary in summer homes. Rooms could be large, spacious and airy. The large living hall seen in the British examples becomes in Oakey's design even larger in proportion to its surrounding rooms, which are themselves expanded and drawn out to form a building that reflects and capitalizes on its expansive seashore site. In this early example of a new fashion for eastern seaboard summer homes, the plan is controlled with a compositional focus on the central hall. At the same time, the exterior projects both containment and vitality. The balance of the nearly symmetrical plan of the first floor is opposed by multiple projections delineating the rooms of the more intricate second story floor plan. Surrounded with a veranda and enveloped by a tent roof, the house appears both compact and rambling.²⁰⁶

A house designed for Long Branch, New Jersey, by the firm of W. A. Potter and R. H. Robertson of New York represents a further development of Oakey's expanded summer home floor plan as well as the multi-gabled roof silhouette (fig.

²⁰⁶"House at Mount-Desert, Me., for C. F. Dorr, Esq.," American Architect 2 (January 20, 1877), n.p. The description on page 21 did not describe the interior planning, but special note was made of the materials, including hardwood turned posts and molded brick decorative patterns.

22). Despite the more numerous gables, rambling horizontality becomes the major compositional theme. In contrast to Oakey's design, however, the surface treatment of the Potter and Robertson house is a wood interpretation of Shaw's Queen Anne, including the bands of vertical windows and half-timbering.²⁰⁷

Another such British interpretation appeared when Charles F. McKim's design for a country house for client Thomas Dunn at Newport, Rhode Island, was published July 28 (fig. 23).²⁰⁸ Planned as two elongated ells with a carriage-way joining the residential quarters with the stable and carriage house, McKim's design is to a large degree an assimilation of Norman Shaw's Leyswood that had been published in Building News in 1871 (fig. 24).²⁰⁹ Leyswood was one of Shaw's country homes done in an Old English, or late medieval "farmhouse vernacular," manner with half-timbered, tiled, jettied and gabled second stories.²¹⁰ As in Shaw's example, an arched vestibule provides entry and opens to a large hall. McKim's hall, however, was again to serve the functions of an American

²⁰⁷ "West Elevation of House for Bryce Gray, esq., Long Branch, N. J.," American Architect 2 (May 19, 1877), n.p. For descriptions of the Queen Anne houses designed by Potter and Robertson, see Sarah Bradford Landau, Edward T. and William A. Potter. American Victorian Architects (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), pp. 411-435.

²⁰⁸"Country House for Thomas Dunn, Esq., Newport, R. I.," American Architect 2 (July 28, 1877), n.p.

²⁰⁹Building News (March 31, 1871), n.p. Leyswood was built in 1868 and was the first Shaw design to be published by the British architectural press. See Scully, pp. 10-11 and Andrew Saint, Richard Norman Shaw (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art Ltd. and Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 38-44.

²¹⁰Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 25. The name "Old English" was in common usage early in the century and denoted Elizabethan architecture. Mark Girouard, "Attitudes to Elizabethan Architecture," in John Summerson, ed., Concerning Architecture. Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1968), p. 23.

summer home and is proportionately larger. It is a central living hall for entertaining, with a fireplace on an extended longitudinal wall, an entrance to a large veranda, and a multiple landing U-shaped stair. On the exterior, patterns of half-timbering fill the gables, and the large entrance gable is decorated with an interpretation of pargeting--not present at Leyswood but used on several buildings by Shaw. Creative borrowing from other sources also provided varied gable types for McKim's house. An arched gable signalling the entrance to the carriage house was more typical of works by British architects W. E. Nesfield and John J. Stevenson. Borrowing notwithstanding, the overall silhouette of the Thomas Dunn house does not follow contemporary British precedent. Shaw's dominantly vertical chimneys have been reduced in height and number and his towers have been deleted. For McKim was among the first American architects to advance the more restrained American colonial architecture translate that interest to his contemporary work.²¹¹

The inventive reconstitution of the new British fashion in the related American colonial domestic architecture was furthered in an illustration of a house remodeled by Boston architect William Ralph Emerson at Milton, Massachusetts (fig. 25).²¹² The original house was a small colonial home with a central chimney, and although colonial was considered an appropriate historical model for Queen

²¹¹See Roth, McKim, Mead & White, pp. 44-46 and Richard Guy Wilson, McKim, Mead & White, Architects (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1983), pp. 65-93, "Buildings of the Early Period."

²¹²"House at Milton," American Architect 2 (December 22, 1877), n.p.; description, p. 410. The house has been identified as "Old Farm," for Augustus and Mary Hemenway in Cynthia Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson 1833-1917 (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum and Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Harvard University, 1969), n. 19, p. 78.

Anne stylizations, Emerson could not integrate the symbolically important fireplace into a living hall and still utilize the existing walls. His solution is a plan which spreads laterally across the site at an angle from the rear of the original house.²¹³ The upper floor of the new home is clad in shingle and ornamented with half-timber gables. Windows with small-paned upper sashes, an octagonal oriel, turned posts, and dormers add to the so-called Queen Anne features. Shutters, not considered a historically accurate Queen Anne feature but by 1876 incorporated into some American versions, add to the colonial allusions.

A. F. Oakey, Charles McKim and William Ralph Emerson were among the architects who created an original idiom for Eastern seaboard houses derived from colonial-Queen Anne formulations typified by large halls, expanded plans, broad horizontal massing of forms and shingle cladding. Ten years later, W. P. P. Longfellow wrote, "The Queen Anne phase followed in England and was immediately imitated here; but it has not the qualities of a large style, and we shall soon tire of this, too. The 'Colonial' fashion has divided our attention with it."²¹⁴ By 1877, the preoccupation with stylistic nationalism, the Centennial, and a need for retreat to an idealized untroubled past converged with beliefs in progress. America's colonial and revolutionary period history became a source of vision for the present and future. Colonial buildings were particularly appropriate for

²¹³Scully, Shingle Style, p. 59. Remodelling for more space and for modernization was commonly done. Examples of such projects were included in later pattern books and was the subject of George Champlin Mason's, The Old House Altered (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878). Mason was also an apologist for American colonial architecture as a source for contemporary building. See, George C. Mason, "Colonial Architecture.-I.," American Architect 10 (August 13, 1881): 71-74 and "Colonial Architecture.-II.," (August 20, 1881): 83-85.

²¹⁴W. P. P. Longfellow, "The Course of American Architecture," New Princeton Review 3 (March 1887): 206.

adaptation to summer homes for the wealthy. Extending the implications of Henry Hudson Holly's definition of colonial architecture, the author of an article in the American Architect identified the "Renaissance" sources of colonial building, considering it "a style whose ancestry was good." It carried forward "character of good breeding and refinement."²¹⁵ In the estimation of some, interest in so-called Queen Anne should be diverted to a study of America's own past. Among the articles on colonial architecture, the American Architect published "Georgian Houses of New England," accompanied by drawings of "Old Houses at Lennox and Little Harbor." The author Robert S. Peabody, under the pseudonym "Georgian," had by this time come to conclusions about Queen Anne which he had introduced in his February article. The presumed freedom from style brought by studying sixteenth century architectural precedents was in actual practice resulting in yet another antiquarian revival. Warning his readers against imitation, he offered an alternative:

If we follow their lead without any native Jacobean or Queen Anne models of importance to inspire us, we shall but be adding one more fashion to our already rather long list. A neo-jacobean table can join the Eastlake chairs, the American rococo mantel, and the Puginesque sideboard in our dining rooms; but there is nothing in this but an additional fashion. Now, however, that this wave is felt along our shores, can it not be directed into more fitting channels than it has worn for itself in England?...With our Centennial year have we not discovered that we too have a past worthy of study?-a study, too, which we can explain and defend by all the ingenious Queen Anne arguments, strengthened by the fact that our colonial work is our only native source of antiquarian study and inspiration.²¹⁶

Those variations upon colonial practice by A. F. Oakey, Charles McKim and William Ralph Emerson were termed "shingle houses" by New York architect

²¹⁵"American Architecture-Past," American Architect 2 (July 29, 1876): 242.

²¹⁶Robert S. Peabody, "Georgian Houses of New England," American Architect 2 (October 20, 1877): 338.

Bruce Price in an 1890 article on contemporary suburban houses. Using terminology of pattern book descriptions, Price compared the new shingle clad houses with modern houses which were too frequently called "quaint," "novel," and "picturesque." The contrast between the two types of houses was not illustrated, but the image of the less desirable home could be called to mind easily, and it sustained Price's advocacy of a better inspiration for modern houses in the "architectural" buildings from America's past.²¹⁷ Shingle houses, however, were not considered a revival of colonial because the originals were essentially classical. Rather, the architects had responded both to colonial homes, which were "broad and generous in plan and treatment," and to modern Queen Anne. Thereby they had formulated the foundations for a national style.²¹⁸

Shingle houses which developed from Shavian country houses comprised one strand of development in American interpretations of Queen Anne. This type of house served for the well-to-do families having large summer homes in eastern resort communities. Although more modest versions were introduced in 1877, most notably one by William Rutherford Mead, shingle houses did not become popular in pattern books until the 1890's (fig. 26).²¹⁹ In the American Architect, the numbers of shingle houses increased as did references to and articles about colonial architecture.²²⁰ Pattern book authors meanwhile adapted the more

²¹⁷Bruce Price, "The Suburban House," Scribner's Magazine 8 (July 1890): 14.

²¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 6 and 17-18.

²¹⁹"Country House at Peekskill-on-Hudson for Dwight S. Herrick, Esq.," American Architect 2 (June 30, 1877), n.p.

²²⁰The seminal work on the subject remains Scully, Shingle Style and Stick Style.

compact plans to their clients' needs.

A house designed for a residential lot in Buffalo, New York, by Oakey and Bloor in the July 14 issue is planned much differently than Oakey's Mount Desert house (fig. 27). The red brick two-story rectangular structure is box-like with none of the rambling massing nor broad planes of the seashore homes. A large hall divides the first floor and opens to a dining room and a drawing room on either side. The classic simplicity of the body of the house contrasts sharply with a heavy sunflower-stenciled coved cornice supporting the eaves and is dominated by two-story high gabled oriels covered with shingles and bands of small-paned windows.²²¹

Rectangularity also characterizes the only building specifically defined in the American Architect as partaking of the new fashion (fig. 28). The illustration is a design for a "Gardener's Cottage and Stable," by Basset Jones, an architect who, as noted by Bruce Price, had worked in Norman Shaw's studio and was one of the exemplars of shingle house design. The small building is a greatly simplified version, called by the journal a "free adaptation of Queen Anne forms."²²² The facades are relatively plain, although one gabled and jettyed second story bay projects from each side of the hip roof, and a banded chimney stack projects well above the roof line. Windows in living quarters are shuttered and windows on the working side of the stable are enframed with moldings. Jones introduced popular

²²¹"House at Buffalo, N. Y. for the Hon. E. C. Sprague," American Architect 2 (June 30, 1877), n.p.; description, p. 224.

²²²"Gardener's Cottage and Stable, for William Keebs, Esq., Staten Island," American Architect 2 (May 5, 1877), n.p.; description, p. 140. Bruce Price identified Bassett Jones, along with McKim and Emerson in "The Suburban House," Scribner's Magazine 8 (July 1890): 18.

Queen Anne ornament with floral motifs in one gable, within a square panel near the entrance and as one flower applied above the entrance. The gable over the loft bay is decorated with a turned king post and sunburst, or fan, pattern.

Two general schemes are characterized by medieval verticality, although modified with less steeply pitched roofs than the earlier gothic stylizations, picturesque roof lines and a visually complex integration of closely knit volumes. These interpretations were frequently homes designed for country or suburban lots. As such, they had more widespread appeal and became a source for further adaptations by pattern book authors in the 1880's. Price's design for a cottage in Pittston, Pennsylvania, was a singular interpretation in the 1877 American Architect, but similar versions followed in later years (fig. 29). Price presented a large two story clapboard and shingle house with an underlying exterior shape of a classic rectangular box, but projections from the body of the house comprise a large proportion of the volumetric features for which Old English versions of Queen Anne were known. Hooded dormers and tall molded chimneys projects above a hipped tent roof whose broad eaves are supported by curved brackets. On the entrance facade, a two-story canted bay capped by a faceted conical roof is a sharp vertical accent adjoining a broad porch whose broad sloped roof is supported by turned posts. At the left of the front facade, a roofline matching the porch covers a glass-filled conservatory. In jetty fashion, the second story extends out slightly beyond the first floor, and vertical windows are grouped to form bands. Price filled the upper sashes with small panes of glass, diamond-shaped in the second story windows and square in the first floor windows. Graceful patterns, which are drawn to appear as stenciled or incised, decorate panels above the first

floor bay windows. Nonetheless, with all the features of the modern fashion, the living hall was omitted from the plan.²²³

Robert S. Peabody and his partner John G. Stearns, Jr. readily adapted many elements characteristic of the new style to houses for their east coast clients. An illustration of a clapboard and shingle house at Medford, Massachusetts was published in the February 17, 1877, issue of the American Architect; and it would have served well as an illustration for Peabody's later talk about Queen Anne (Fig. 30). With a semblance of symmetry, the rooms cluster around a large central hall, complete with a fireplace and staircase. The exterior silhouette is picturesquely complex with ells and a dormer, but the "tent roof" described by Holly and the massing of rooms around the central hall controls the composition's exuberance. Shingles cover the upper stories of the ells, and turned posts support the veranda. Medieval half-timbering decorates the gable of one ell, while arched windows and a spandrel striped with half-timber slats fill the face of a dormer. Although both draw from so-called Queen Anne, Peabody and Stearns's house carries a combination of exterior features different from the house by Bruce Price. Both houses maintain verticality and are enlivened by volumetric projections, but, again, each architect massed architectural volumes differently. The Peabody and Stearns house is composed of vertical and horizontal rectangular volumes intersecting with one another at right angles, reaching into the landscape and mimicking the varied heights of nature's bushes and trees. Even the porch parallel to the front facade is given a perpendicular gabled projection. The strict perpendicularity, not found in natural forms, is broken by a two-story

²²³Sketch for a Cottage at Pittson, Pa., " American Architect 2 (September 8, 1877), n.p.

rectangular bay projecting from a corner and an octagonal veranda projecting from the corner of an octagonal room.²²⁴

Several modest interpretations directed to middle class homeowners were published in 1877. For the most part, the architects responded to the modified verticality and perpendicular assemblage of rectangular volumes that had been adopted by Peabody and Stearns. The domesticity perceived in late medieval vernacular Old English houses attracted American architects as it had contemporary British architects producing suburban homes. Middle class homes in Newton, Massachusetts, and Orange, New Jersey, designed by the team of Daniel Appleton and H. M. Stephenson and by C. C. Haight, respectively, exhibit the features of the new fashion (fig. 31): tent roof, dominant ribbed and molded chimneys, dormers, clapboard and shingle siding, half-timbered gables, shingled gables, turned posts, jettied second floors, chamfered or canted bays, shutters, vertical bands of windows with upper sashes having small panes, and sunflower panels. One notable difference, however, is barge board decoration. Both architects produced greater visual interest through the vertical angles of the gables.²²⁵

A tower is added to a Queen Anne configuration by Carl Pfeiffer. The first floor of the West Virginia house is constructed of stone, while half-timbering and sunflowers decorate the second story, and shingle fills several gables (fig. 32).

²²⁴"House at Medford, Mass.," American Architect 2 (February 17, 1877), n.p. For Peabody and Stearns, see Wheaton A. Holden, "The Peabody Touch: Peabody and Stearns of Boston, 1870-1917," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 114-131.

²²⁵"House at Newton, Mass.," American Architect 2 (April 21, 1877), built for George Wells and "Design for a Cottage at Orange, N. J.," American Architect 2 (September 15, 1877), n.p.

The massing of closely knit perpendicular volumes is similar to the Orange and Newton houses, but the moderate verticality is punctuated with an octagonal tower.²²⁶ H. H. Richardson and McKim and Mead had introduced octagonal towers to their early designs, but such towers were infrequently seen in the modern Queen Anne examples published in the American Architect. In published illustrations, square towers were an identifiable feature of gothic stylizations which were decorated with stick work, but round and faceted towers appeared more frequently on contemporary houses drawn from French sources.²²⁷

Modern British Queen Anne was recognized as having features comparable with French seventeenth century architecture, but the verbal discourse concerning the style's definition emphasized its classical characteristics. The confusion in distinction caused by the presence of French sources for Queen Anne in Britain was noted by an American correspondent who went to London to search out the true Queen Anne. When he went to a reputable book shop to search for information which could lead him to an understanding of the style, he was told that British architects were now referring to Sauvageot's book on French châteaux. Indeed, Claude Sauvageot's well-known Palais, châteaux, hôtels et maisons de France, 1862-1867, brought French domestic design to the Queen Anne architects,

²²⁶"Osseo Lodge, W. Va.," "American Architect 2 (June 2, 1877), n.p.

²²⁷ American French stylizations also appeared as steeply-pitched roof gothic and as nineteenth century classical. A house for "Prof. J. D. Runkle, Brookline, Mass.," for example, combined sharply pitched gables and dormers decorated with stick work with segmented and round arches, a canted bay and a round tower with a conical roof. In American Architect 2 (May 5, 1877), n.p. An octagonal tower was introduced to a house by Boston architects E. C. Cabot and F. W. Chandler, but the tower was given the broader planes typical of shingle houses. "House at Pomfret, Conn., for Col. H. A. Babbitt," American Architect 2 (March 17, 1877), n.p. Indeed, there was historic precedent for British towers, especially in Scottish Baronial architecture; however, these were not featured in the journal.

and some, especially E. W. Godwin, remarked on similarity between sixteenth-century French and seventeenth-century British architecture, again, with emphasis on the Renaissance. But the frustrated researcher decided to call the new fashion "the anonymous style," and turned to lengthy and lavish praise for the house of gothicist William Burges.²²⁸

Towers and turrets were more frequently features identified with later American Queen Anne stylizations. References to French architecture in the definition of the British style may have encouraged the adoption of these picturesque features, but their use may have also resulted from the American Architect's promotion of European architecture. In its continuing ambivalence toward modern Queen Anne there was a curious dearth of articles about and illustrations of English historic architecture. Drawings of buildings antecedent to the nineteenth century appeared only occasionally in the weekly folios of illustrations, but they did occur and provided visual sources for the journal's readers. During the formative years of modern Queen Anne, historic buildings from France, Germany and other northern European countries were illustrated but, in comparison, few from Britain. In September 1877, the journal published a drawing of a large rectangular bay with many of the features of Queen Anne on a building in Innsbruck. On the same page was a drawing of a rectangular French tower with dormers projecting from a

²²⁸R. "Correspondence. So-Called Queen Anne Work.-Mr. Burges's House," American Architect and Building News 3 (November 2, 1878): 148. See Donald Bassett, "'Queen Anne' and France," Architectural History 24 (1981): 83-91. French influence notwithstanding, the author has noted that château designs did not immediately garner favor. John J. Stevenson turned to the French domestic form in 1897.

hipped roof.²²⁹ A November issue illustrated the Château de Gurlaine with a round turret projecting from the corner of a rectangular ell having elaborately decorated gabled dormers. An arched dormer, a form found on both British and American versions of the new fashion, projected from a lower roof line abutting the turret.²³⁰

With a visual emphasis on non-British architecture, which was typical of the journal, articles on contemporary northern European architecture were accompanied by illustrations, unlike those on so-called Queen Anne. But, again, the illustrations suggested forms also found on the new British buildings. In 1877, the American Architect published a lengthy series of articles translated from a soon to be released book by French author M. Felix Narjoux titled Journey of an Architect in the North-West of Europe. The third article, subtitled, "How Corners Are Treated at Hanover," illustrated rectangular bays and gables projecting from corners of buildings in the German city.²³¹ The seventh article included a drawing of a house with steeply-pitched roof and ogival windows but with a round medieval tower.²³² In November, a drawing of houses in Rotterdam illustrated a review of Narjoux's book. Each facade of the adjoining masonry houses was formed by a different "Flemish" gable, somewhat similar to those adopted by British

²²⁹"The Goldne Dache, Innsbruck; The Tower of Jean Sans Peur, Paris," American Architect 2 (September 8, 1877), n.p.

²³⁰"Château de Gurlaine, près Nantes," American Architect 2 (November 1877), n.p.

²³¹M. Felix Narjoux, "Journey of an Architect in the North-West of Europe," American Architect 2 (February 3, 1877), figs. 89, 91, 92, p. 40. Narjoux is not cited in the initial articles.

²³²*Ibid.*, March 17, 1877, fig. 119, p. 88.

architects.²³³ In 1880, the American Architect published an excerpt from the London Globe that examined Flemish details on the new English buildings and the relation of Dutch architecture to eighteenth-century Queen Anne architecture. In the reviewer's estimation, Dutch details and Dutch comfort were brought to English domestic architecture when William III ascended the throne. A Dutch and Elizabethan intermixture resulted in architecture of Queen Anne's reign.²³⁴ Again noting non-British architecture, the American Architect had already in 1877 recognized similar merits of domesticity in colonial Dutch architecture and had published a paper on Dutch farmhouses in New Jersey given at the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Modern houses were condemned as "tall and gaunt," and the members were prompted to look at the contrast with the "broad (seldom lofty)" Dutch colonial homes with their "simple, expressive, and often graceful" roof lines.²³⁵

The American Architect did not present an overt bias against British architecture, rather an uneasiness with the new Queen Anne architecture that appeared to be antithetical to French academic training as well as to the more exacting German architectural training. American architects turned to English sources most frequently because they were more accessible, but people of the United States were heirs to the arts of all the "Old World."²³⁶ Brief editorial

²³³"A Notable Architectural Journey," American Architect 2 (November 24, 1877): fig. 11, p. 377.

²³⁴"Queen Anne," American Architect 7 (April 17, 1880): 168. Much Anglo-Dutch building of the period could be found in East Anglia.

²³⁵J. Cleveland Cady, "Some Features of the Dutch Farm-Houses of New Jersey," American Architect 2 (December 1877): 401.

²³⁶V. B. (Van Brunt?), "Archaeology and the Vernacular Architecture," American Architect 4 (October 26, 1878): 143. In an article in the same issue:

notations of Queen Anne were published for a number of years in the American Architect, while illustrations of houses developed from the British fashion as well as subsequent American interpretations continued. For example, in 1878 a Gambrill and Richardson design with an elongated plan and half-timbering ostentatiously displays an enormous sunflower (fig. 33).²³⁷ Work by this architectural team had been earlier described by A. J. Bloor at the 1876 A. I. A. convention as "showing a considerable infusion of the latest fashion, the so-called Queen Anne style."²³⁸

Issues concerning the style introduced in the early pages of the journal changed little between 1877 and 1880. Defining the "so-called style" remained problematic. Without a precise definition for the English Queen Anne and with increased availability of European examples, American architects produced versions which were even more eclectic. In February, 1880, the author of a letter to the editor was confused because some architects identified The Craigs, Bruce Price's house illustrated in the December 27 issue, as Queen Anne, while he did not find it so (fig. 34).²³⁹ Two weeks later, two answers appeared. One was very brief and to the point. Where the first author lived the style was simply defined by

"The architects who in this century have shown the most original power are unquestionably the most systematic in training--the French." "American Architecture--With Precedent and Without," p. 139.

²³⁷"Bird's Eye View of House for James Cheney, Esq., South Manchester, Conn., American Architect 3 (May 25, 1878), n.p.

²³⁸"Annual Address," Tenth Annual Convention, Philadelphia, American Architect 2 (March 24, 1877): Supplement, v.

²³⁹"Sketch for 'The Craigs,' Mt. Desert, Me.," American Architect 6 (December 27, 1879), n.p.

"a spacious square bay-window which will contain a sheet of plate glass 72 x 80 inches, surrounded by setting of stained glass, and stucco work..."²⁴⁰ The other letter responded more directly to the question of Bruce Price's house:

How difficult it is to succeed in our second-hand imitation, Mr Price's pretty design...shows. His problem evidently was, to construct a country house of wood in a hot climate. This requires verandas, but there being no authentic example of a real Queen Anne veranda, the designer invented one, using posts suggested by the so-called Jacobean furniture legs, and supplied with a Queen Anne flavor by introducing a mock fanlight...between the posts. A tower, for a look-out, being also demanded, and the proper examples of such being in England, out of reach if they exist at all, the architect has adopted a kind of French Colombier, spiced, like mock-turtle soup, with a real Queen Anne sun-dial on its wall to give it the proper smack.²⁴¹

Ambivalence toward Queen Anne remained. Although the American Architect published both favorable and negative commentary, the verbal discourse decidedly questioned the validity of the "so-called style," while, throughout, approval of Queen Anne was suggested by the numerous illustrations. By 1881, reader Chauncey N. Dutton was incensed. The illustrations in the journal were evidence "of the extent to which the craze for 'Queen Anne' alleged architecture has prohibited true art, and paralyzed the spirit of progress in architectural design."²⁴² The editors in turn queried why people with such criticisms did not offer solutions to the perceived problems.

The American Architect did not publish substantial commentary on the subject after 1881. Although illustrations of houses developed within the Queen Anne

²⁴⁰Graphites, "The "Queen Anne" Style," American Architect 7 (February 21, 1880): 73.

²⁴¹C. "The "Queen Anne" Style," American Architect and Building News 7(February 21, 1880): 73.

²⁴²"A Protest," American Architect 9(May 7, 1881): 255.

mode of design were published along with newer fashions to the close of the century, illustrations of public and commercial architecture began to outnumber domestic examples. As the professional journal lessened its emphasis on both Queen Anne and domestic architecture, pattern book authors began to promote Queen Anne for America's homes.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND THE PATTERN BOOKS

Nineteenth-century architectural writing evidenced a continuing effort to reconcile tensions brought by social and economic change. Technology, science, and a belief in progress confronted the tenets of history at a time when the process of building presupposed historicism. Throughout the century, however, American architectural theory displayed a singular clarity of purpose: devising a framework for an architecture appropriate to the United States. Following the Civil War, two complex and inextricably interwoven issues were addressed by architects and critics. A search for a national style of architecture entailed questions about the correct use of historical styles, the definition of style, and the development of new styles. A search for universal principles in architectural design challenged the traditional bases of aesthetic judgment and required adjustments to the conception of the relationship between science and art in architecture.

Writings by European and British theorists formed the basis of American architectural theory, although the external ideas sometimes required adaptation to the far different social and political conditions. Many of the nation's leading architects had studied or travelled abroad and returned with ideas and pages of sketches for their new buildings. Influence from Britain and France was strongest. Books and articles by British authors, notably, John Ruskin, James Fergusson, Owen Jones, Robert Kerr, and John Stevenson, were readily available. John Ruskin's first book on architecture, Seven Lamps of Architecture, was published simultaneously in England the United States in 1849, and many other works by

that prolific author were published and reprinted throughout the century.²⁴³ In the 1870's works by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc were translated and brought to American architects by the James R. Osgood publishing firm in Boston.²⁴⁴ Both European theory and American architectural issues were explored and circulated through professional journals, builders' journals, popular periodicals and pattern books. Beginning in 1876, the weekly professional journal American Architect and Building News became the principal organ for architectural criticism and theory. The same authors who wrote for the American Architect also frequently published in periodicals such as Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, North American Review, and Scribner's. Such matters were introduced to an even broader public through both traditional format and entrepreneurial pattern books, and in both professional and popular architectural literature, the new Queen Anne fashion became a locus for contemporary criticism and theoretical inquiry.²⁴⁵ Architect Louis H. Gibson commented on Queen Anne in 1889, concluding, "It enabled the architects to get

²⁴³The publishing history of John Ruskin's works is examined in Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Ruskin and American Architecture, or Regeneration Long Delayed," in John Summerson, ed., Concerning Architecture. Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1968), pp. 166-175.

²⁴⁴An 1876 review of American architecture noted English, French and German influences. With regard to the last, "The German influence, strongest in the West, adds greatly to the confusion, because, although there is no such thing as a German style, the Germans, who come in considerable numbers, have a distinct manner of their own;...and we think the German influence likely to decrease;..." "American Architecture-Present," American Architect 1 (August 5, 1876): 251. It is worth noting that the distinction between theoretical and critical writing is not always clear, for theory was mediated by criticism in the journal.

²⁴⁵Sadayoshi Omoto used the critical discourse of Queen Anne as the basis for examining architectural criticism in late nineteenth century America, in "The Queen Anne Style and Architectural Criticism," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 23 (March 1964): 29-37.

out of the old beaten paths....The name 'Queen Anne' was the vehicle for the passage from an old conservatism,..."²⁴⁶

Pattern book authors were most characteristically selective in their response to the main trends of contemporary theory. They modified the issues to their concerns and integrated the issues with conceptions of the home and home ownership. Most pattern book authors were evidently well read and many kept abreast of recent publications and building trends, although conservative approaches to the conception of building sometimes lingered and were incorporated only gradually with new ideas. The authors were, above all, businessmen. J. H. Kirby clearly stated his purpose, "In putting forth this work we do not claim that it is gotten up for missionary purposes, but expect, of course, that it will prove of some profit to us in a business way."²⁴⁷ Houses known today as nineteenth-century Queen Anne were largely popularized by entrepreneurial pattern book architects who found the eclectic style eminently marketable, using it to further their respective businesses. In this light, Queen Anne was less an aesthetic manifestation than an economic product of free enterprise. Thus, architectural issues were selected to a large degree for marketing purposes. Entrepreneurial pattern book authors in particular borrowed freely from early nineteenth-century and contemporary sources, even from one another, in order to meet what they considered their clients' ideational, visual and functional needs.

²⁴⁶Louis H. Gibson, Convenient Houses with Fifty Plans for the Housekeeper (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1889), p. 105.

²⁴⁷J. H. Kirby, Modern Cottages (Syracuse, N. Y.: By the Author, 1886), p. 7.

Palliser, Palliser and Company, for example borrowed directly from articles published in the 1876 issue of the American Architect and Building News.²⁴⁸

The British Gothicists were most prolific at the time when pattern book publication itself was expanding, and the works of the promoters of a resurrection of the medieval past for contemporary architecture influenced pattern book authors to the end of the century. John Ruskin's beatification of the home, introduced into the parlors of America in Sesame and Lilies, was, of course, a particularly tenacious thread in pattern book literature. Although Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc differed in their theoretical outlooks, the French architect's functional theory was an equally important foundation to pattern book architecture. It was common for authors to juxtapose theory from the various available sources in single pattern book volumes. Robert Shoppell, for example, chose to include Benjamin Bucknall's 1872 translation of the French architect's Habitations of Mankind for his clients in his 1887 pattern book, Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, and in the same book drew from British conceptions of the Picturesque. In their 1892 Model Homes, the Pallisers, who had four years earlier introduced an interpretation of Viollet-le-Duc's theory of form and function, quoted Ruskin, included an article which criticized the "artistic clap-trap" of G. E. Street's architectural philosophy, and inserted the words to John Howard Payne's "Home Sweet Home" as a frontispiece.

²⁴⁸As noted previously, the Palliser brothers reproduced portions of articles without citation in Model Homes (Bridgeport, Conn.: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1878). Passages from the American Architect are found in "An Art Reply," (August 12, 1876): 264; "A Word with Clients.-I" (July 8, 1876): 222-223; "A Word with Clients.-III" (September 2, 1876): 284-285; Alexander F. Oakey, "Architect and Client," (August 26, 1876): 275-277.

The Search for a National Style

In 1868 and 1869, Samuel Sloan published articles in his Architectural Review and Builders' Journal on the state of American architecture. These articles were reprinted in 1871 for home owners as well as builders in his pattern book, City Homes, Country Houses and Church Architecture. The central message was the need for a national style:

The time must come, sooner or later, (and why not now?) when an original American style must be born of the National genius. This will be our *Naissant* style which would be *of* the country, as well as *for* the country.... Let everything be American, in feeling and effect. Such is our idea of what a National style ought to be.²⁴⁹

The words of the architect and pattern book author echoed a well established theme in nineteenth-century architectural theory, for most European and British theorists had long asserted that architectural styles could represent specific nations or groups of people. Late eighteenth-century European and British proponents of environmental determinism had convincingly argued that geography and climate formed a people's history and a nation's character, and visual expression of these attributes was accomplished through the arts. Theorists in Britain, France, and Germany claimed that a native style of architecture, the most public art, was a physical manifestation of a nation's character, its moral quality, its present condition and its history. John Ruskin articulated the substance of the belief when he explained his goals in writing Seven Lamps of Architecture. The final chapter begins, "It has been my endeavor to show in the preceding pages how every form of noble architecture is in some sort the embodiment of the Polity, Life, History,

²⁴⁹Samuel Sloan, City Homes, Country Houses and Church Architecture, or the American Builders' Journal (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1871), p. 612.

and Religious Faith of nations."²⁵⁰ Some three decades later, an American exponent of Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical works spoke eloquently to the Association of Architects in Washington, D. C. about architecture and history:

In the busy turmoil of daily life it is generally overlooked, that architecture is one of the clearest exponents of civilization, speaking a language from age to age, and from country to country, which is intelligible to all, and outlives centuries and races, being still understood, when their tongues are silent and their generations extinct, carrying to the furthest posterity messages of human skill and enterprise, and interpreting the spirit of past times, the existence and progress of dead sciences and arts in former ages, and other mysteries, which history does not reveal, nor knowledge can unravel--without the living stone.²⁵¹

Frequent struggles for statehood and dominant power in nineteenth-century Europe contributed to the fostering of nationalism as a controlling theme in the public arts in Europe and North America. Art and architecture became tools to promote political and social programs. Early in the century, a fledgling American nation attempted to forge a new aesthetic which would represent its distinct physical environment and democratic political system. American political leaders rejected contemporary British architectural fashions for government buildings and proposed more appropriate models from classical antiquity. Following the War of 1812, nationalistic fervor renewed attention toward generating distinctive American art. Architects continued to concentrate on buildings that represented America's political system, and once more turned to antiquity, more specifically to ancient

²⁵⁰ John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (New York: John Wiley, 1849; reprint ed., New York: Noonday Press, 1961), p. 188.

²⁵¹ John L. Smithmeyer, Our Architecture, and Its Defects (Washington, D. C.: C. W. Brown, Printer, 1880), p. 2. Delivered to the Association of Architects December 22, 1879. Richard Guy Wilson has noted, "To the public at large Ruskin was certainly the most influential publicist, but in architectural circles, he was overshadowed by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc." In "American Architecture and the Search for a National Style in the 1870s," Nineteenth Century 3 (Autumn 1977): 74.

Greece. Contemporary Greeks, too, were fighting for their freedom, and the drama of the prolonged struggle added to the meanings associated with ancient temples from the birthplace of democracy. Greek forms were adapted to American buildings from Ithiel Town's houses to Minard Lafever's St. James's Church in New York, Thomas Walter's Girard College in Philadelphia, and William Strickland's and Robert Mills's government buildings.

In the years leading to the Centennial of 1876 there was a clearer effort in literature and painting to realize symbolically the uniqueness of America. Although cultural and economic ties with Europe were recognized, even encouraged, nineteenth-century Americans considered themselves distinctly different from Europeans. The nation's singularity was manifest in the wildness and bountiful resources of the great frontier. For America, nature was the source of beauty and moral life; nature's vital energy generated the progress of the new nation. America's self-image was mirrored in nature; whereas, the European image was rooted in the historical past. American writers and artists celebrated the land's natural wonders from the first decades of the century and the homage accelerated in the years leading to the Centennial. In his famous speech at Cambridge in 1837, Ralph Waldo Emerson declared the end of America's dependence on other lands and looked to nature as the hope for the future.²⁵² George Bingham painted life on the broad rivers at the edge of the frontier a decade later. In the late 1850's, Albert Bierstadt traveled to the Rocky Mountains and recorded their

²⁵²Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," in The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 52. Interestingly, the ill-fated predecessor to the A.I.A., the Institution of Architects, was founded in 1837 but failed primarily due to a severe economic recession which began later in that year.

splendor for gallery visitors and patrons of the East. A few years before the centennial, Joaquin Miller published the first of many poems extolling the beauties of the Sierras, and by the centennial year, he was one of America's most respected poets. Nature defined the nation and its people. It was believed inevitable that a style of art peculiar to the American character and climate would materialize to express the qualities of the nation and its people. American architects, too, began to explore the possibilities of an architecture freed from the constrictions of a British and European past, but the task was more difficult. Within prevailing theory, architectural forms could not be invented for the new nation.

An equally important component in the search for a national style, and nineteenth-century theory in general, was the affective power of art and architecture. Samuel Sloan had not only called for a style *of* the people but *for* the people as well. Architecture to serve a people was more than a practical matter. Art, developing from the national character, was also believed to contribute strongly to the moral and intellectual development of the population. Given impetus by Ruskin and his fellow Gothicists in Britain, the belief was accepted as a certitude in America well before the Civil War. When W. J. Hoppin addressed the American Art Union in 1849, he bolstered his cultured audience of artists and patrons by terming art "a great Teacher of Truth to the people" whose task was "humanizing and elevating National Character."²⁵³ Architects and pattern book authors applied similar ideas to the art of building. Oliver P. Smith, author of The Domestic Architect, 1854, earnestly claimed, "Our minds and morals are

²⁵³In Lillian B. Miller, "Paintings, Sculpture, and the National Character, 1815-1860," Journal of American History 53 (March 1967): 698.

subject to constant influence and modification, gradual, yet lasting, by the inanimate walls that surround."²⁵⁴ Architecture, as a necessary and functional art form, was the most public expression of national character, and its potential for contributing to the good of the nation the strongest.

The potential of a built environment to communicate ideas and influence a populace became increasingly important to America at the time of Sloan's 1869 statement. Operative emblems of unity were needed. American federation established by the War of Independence, then strengthened with the war of 1812, had been ruptured by the Civil War. After General Robert E. Lee's surrender near Appomattox Courthouse and the assassination of President Lincoln, Congress and President Andrew Johnson began to forge a policy of reconstruction. On one hand, the American nation had survived, but Congress made it clear that the Union was not restored to its former political condition. Political reunion was official, but the pursuit of social unity was a long and difficult process requiring careful nurture. A period of Reconstruction was implemented and the achievement of unity was predicted.

Within a year following the end of the war, proposals were made for a large-scale celebration of the centenary of American nationhood that had been maintained throughout the trials of the Civil War. The year 1876 was envisioned a symbolic culmination to Reconstruction and a new beginning, and on March 3, 1871, Congress passed a bill to begin planning the celebration.²⁵⁵ From the outset, however, the Centennial Exhibition was considered both a symbol of and

²⁵⁴Oliver P. Smith, The Domestic Architect (Buffalo: Phinney & Co., 1854), iv.

²⁵⁵J. S. Ingram, The Centennial Exposition (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros., 1876), p. 42.

an opportunity to further cement national consolidation.²⁵⁶ Planning was a joint effort which drew together representatives from the states, territories and District of Columbia. Each member of the committee contributed ideas and each encouraged his individual constituency to erect a state building to display its bounty of agricultural and manufactured products. Soldiers from the formerly divided North and South were invited to march together; people from the east, north, south and distant west were expected to join in common celebration. The Exhibition was conceived as a propitious occasion to communicate and promote American unity. A reporter for the Atlantic Monthly who during the course of the celebration had heard Union and Confederate soldiers in conversation, observed, "one of the highest and most heart-felt hopes which the Centenary fostered has not been disappointed."²⁵⁷

The advent of 1876 brought a renewed interest in America's past and a commitment to America's future. A national pride in American achievements was encouraged by the ideologues of American progress, and a concerted effort followed to identify those things that were singularly American. An architectural confirmation of pride in American achievement was also evident in pattern books. In his 1873 publication, Hobbs's Architecture Containing Designs and Ground Plans for Villas, Cottages and Other Edifices, Isaac Hobbs had included one house designated as "American" in a list of over fifty titled house plans. The revised 1876 edition contained thirty-nine new plans and eight of them were

²⁵⁶James D. McCabe, The Pictorial History of the United States (Philadelphia: The National Publishing Co., 1877), p. 899.

²⁵⁷"Characteristics of the International Fair. V," Atlantic Monthly 38 (December 1876): 737-738.

defined as American. Houses were called "American Suburban Residence," "American Cottage", "American Cottage Villa," "American Ornamental Villa," and "American Gothic." And as earlier noted, George Palliser introduced a "Centennial Villa" as the first design in his Model Homes for the People, and Henry Hudson Holly proposed the British Queen Anne as a model for an American vernacular style.

Architectural Contradictions at the Centennial

The buildings which made up the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park were another matter. At a time when it would have been most appropriate, an immediately recognizable American architectural style did not materialize. Examined in the context of the message of national unity, the buildings were curiously diverse. German-born architect H. J. Schwarzmann was appointed directing architect and was commissioned to design two of the five primary United States sponsored buildings, Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall. Memorial Hall was built of granite, iron and glass, fireproof materials to suit its future function as a museum of art, science and industry (fig. 35).²⁵⁸ Schwarzmann himself called the domed Memorial Hall "modern Renaissance," and a reviewer noted the building's references to the German architect Leo von Klenze's work for Ludwig of Munich.²⁵⁹ The American Architect and Building News

²⁵⁸Ingram, Centennial Exposition, p. 114. Philip Quilibet quoted the commissioners' statement regarding the purpose of the Hall in "Drift-Wood," Galaxy 22 (October 1876): 554.

²⁵⁹Edward Strahan, The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1876); quoted in John Maass, The Glorious Enterprise; The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and H. J. Schwarzmann, Architect-in-Chief (Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1973), p.47.

described the Horticultural Hall as "quasi Moresque...but with an odd tinge of Renaissance and modern German in the detail, with occasionally a gothic touch" (fig. 36).²⁶⁰ According to one reporter, the iron and glass building was a better representation of the Saracenic than the exhibition buildings by Turkey, Tunis and Morocco.²⁶¹ Philadelphia architect, James H. Windrim, designed the Agricultural Hall (fig. 37) with a Gothic nave, transepts and arches, while the Philadelphia firm of Wilson & Petit planned the Main Building (fig. 38) and the Machinery Hall, the site of the famous Corliss Engine, as functional light-filled shells to enclose the many exhibits. The Main Exhibition Building, which dominated the exhibition grounds by its size, had few distinguishing characteristics and inspired comments similar to the Atlantic Monthly report, "It is not handsome nor agreeable, though not positively the reverse;..."²⁶²

The state buildings, in a show of individualistic representation typical of past and future exhibitions, contributed to the variety of architectural styles and forms. Arkansas built a large octagonal structure of the type earlier popularized by Orson Fowler. Mississippi, one of only three Secessionist states to contribute a building, brought rough hewn and bark-covered native logs to build a cabin hanging with moss and completed the scene with two young men, black and white. The former conducted tours through the cabin while the latter sat on the front porch chewing tobacco, with hat over his eyes and boots on the porch rail. Massachusetts and

²⁶⁰"Centennial Architecture. II," American Architect 1 (June 10, 1876): 186.

²⁶¹Donald G. Mitchell, "In and About the Fair," Scribner's Monthly 12 (September 1876): 748.

²⁶²"Characteristics of the International Fair. II," Atlantic Monthly 38 (August 1876): 233.

Connecticut recalled their colonial beginnings. Massachusetts built a cabin furnished with relics from the days of the Pilgrims and in which a young lady sat by the fireplace spinning.²⁶³ Connecticut had commissioned "Ik. Marvel," author Donald G. Mitchell, who was also an art judge for the fair and reviewed the Centennial for Scribner's Monthly.²⁶⁴ Several buildings served as three dimensional advertisements for the sponsoring states' products. New York architect Carl Pfeiffer designed the steeply roofed, picturesquely silhouetted New Jersey building with decorative half-timbering and made extensive use of state-manufactured brick and tile (fig. 39).²⁶⁵ Michigan constructed its building with various indigenous hardwoods. Ohio used stone from state quarries to erect the only masonry building in the group. Kansas and Colorado combined efforts to build the largest state building and capped it with a statue of Pomona, Roman goddess of fruit, atop a wooden dome copied after the Capitol in Washington.²⁶⁶

There appeared to be no stylistic theme among the American buildings, nor any architectural innovation to mark industrial progress as had been seen at the

²⁶³William Dean Howells, "A Sennight of the Centennial," Atlantic Monthly 38(July 1876): 100-101.

²⁶⁴Mitchell was probably chosen because he was a well-known champion of the joys of domestic life in his writings. His Reveries of a Bachelor written on the subject in 1850 remained popular to the end of the century, and he and Harriet Beecher Stowe had edited Hearth and Home, a periodical for "farm, garden and fireside" published from 1868 through December 1875. Stowe was editor with Mitchell in 1868 only. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1865-1885 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 99.

²⁶⁵"Notes and Clippings. New Jersey and the Centennial Exhibition," American Architect 1 (February 19, 1876): 64. Donald G. Mitchell noted that it was understood that the building "was intended to illustrate the adaptability of the red tile manufactured in New Jersey to the purposes of domestic construction." Mitchell, "In and About the Fair," p. 745.

²⁶⁶Ingram, Centennial Exhibition, p. 644.

1851 Exposition in England. With some disappointment after viewing the Centennial grounds in Fairmount Park, the reporter covering the Centennial for the American Architect and Building News suggested that a world's fair was not the place where the public should expect to see architecture of lasting artistic or monumental value.²⁶⁷

Planned impermanence and the adverse effect of current economic conditions largely explained the indifferent quality of the Exhibition and the unfavorable criticism. Only the Memorial Building was intended as a permanent structure to remain on the fair grounds. Yet, the Centennial was understood as an opportunity to demonstrate American ascendancy to the world. Comprehensive planning for the Exhibition began during the worst depression years following the Panic of 1873, and the commissioners were well aware of the enormous outlay of funds required to institute a world's fair. A group who were sent from Philadelphia to assess the Vienna International Exposition in 1873 returned with a prudent suggestion for the architects of America's own exposition. A display of exterior virtuosity was not appropriate to the American population, a plain and practical people who required like architectural qualities. The architectural designs for the Exhibition should show a greater concentration on interior planning. The buildings should be suited to their purpose of accommodating exhibits and thousands of visitors.²⁶⁸

Journalists were fascinated with the products displayed by nations from around the world, but of the foreign buildings, the Japanese and British elicited most

²⁶⁷"Centennial Architecture," American Architect 1 (June 3, 1876): 178.

²⁶⁸Report of the Centennial Commission to Vienna (Philadelphia, 1876), quoted in Maass, Glorious Enterprise, pp. 31-32.

commentary. Reports from the Exhibition in 1876 concurred in their overall praise of Japanese art, and from the opening of the exhibit, the Japanese pavilion drew throngs of visitors from the neighboring exhibits.²⁶⁹ Although one reporter found the Japanese bonsai garden with its "famous dwarf trees, hoary little abortions not three feet high, gnarled and twisted,...an absurd imitation of landscape gardening on a tiny scale," the building it surrounded was admired.²⁷⁰ Ten years later, Edward S. Morse credited the "craze" for Japanese decorative objects to the Centennial Exhibition and produced a book on Japanese architecture, Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings.²⁷¹ At the time of the exhibition, Donald G. Mitchell communicated his awe of Japanese precision in joinery and tile roofing to the readers of Scribner's:

The Japanese houses are entitled to even more careful regard, and show charming novelties in their joinery, and expressive carved work, as well as an almost perfect system of tile roofing. In this latter respect, no structures on the grounds, and no houses will compare with them. It is not so much that the tiles are sound and firm in themselves, as that they are laid with such precision, and so solidly bedded,-- so sharply trimmed in the valleys and so thoroughly dressed, and capped, on the ridges and hips of the building,...²⁷²

²⁶⁹"Characteristics of the International Fair," Atlantic Monthly 38 (July 1876): 89; Charles Wyllys Elliott, "Pottery at the Centennial," Atlantic Monthly 38 (November 1876): 575-576.

²⁷⁰"Characteristics of the International Fair. V," Atlantic Monthly 38 (December 1876): 733.

²⁷¹Edward S. Morse, Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886), xxix.

²⁷²Donald G. Mitchell, "In and About the Fair," p. 748. Although Japanese architecture was noticed by Exhibition reporters, most attention was directed to the craft and artwork from Japan. Neil Harris, "All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at the American Fairs, 1876-1904," in Akira Iriye, ed., Mutual Images. Essays in American-Japanese Relations (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 31. See also Dallas Finn, "Japan at the Centennial," Nineteenth Century 2 (Autumn 1976): 33-40.

British art at the Exhibition received mixed reviews, but their government buildings immediately caught the public's imagination. Mistakenly called Queen Anne by some, the three buildings were steeply gabled half-timber and white stucco work typical of the sixteenth century.²⁷³ While the buildings were yet under construction, Philadelphia based Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine reported to its female audience that the buildings were "an odd and picturesque feature of the landscape."²⁷⁴ In the months of 1876 preceding the opening of the fair, the American Architect and Building News suggested the buildings would be the most interesting foreign structures on the grounds.²⁷⁵ The American Builder and Harper's Weekly both published drawings of the buildings, along with lengthy glowing praise from the Builder (fig. 40).²⁷⁶ After the Centennial opened in May, reviewers for the popular periodicals were in accord. Mitchell looked across a small lake on the grounds to a "veritable bit of historic and homely England."²⁷⁷ The British buildings were quaint, comfortable, home-like, quiet, yet rich; whereas, American homes had yet to achieve these qualities.

Nineteenth-century critics and architects considered in retrospect the half-timbered style important to American architectural development, but in their

²⁷³J. M. Brydon argued against the Queen Anne designation in "A Few More Words about "Queen Anne"," American Architect 2 (October 6, 1877): 320-322.

²⁷⁴"Centennial Notes," Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine 43 (November 1875): 689.

²⁷⁵"Foreign Buildings at the Centennial," American Architect 1 (March 25, 1876): 101.

²⁷⁶American Builder 12 (April 1876): 81-82, plates 18 and 19; "English Cottages," Harper's Weekly 20 (April 29, 1876): 344 and 354.

²⁷⁷Mitchell, "In and About the Fair," p. 743.

determination, the style's significance was not that it became a prototype for future buildings. Rather, the medieval cottage architecture inspired American architects to look anew at America's own past. Bruce Price observed:

One beautiful truth fell upon many, Colcott's group of English cottages, the head-quarters of the English Commission of the Exposition, built in half-timbered and shingled work, revealed how lovely a thing a cottage could be when built with artistic intelligence. The influence of these buildings upon both the public and professional mind was, at the time, very great. They showed us not only the ugliness and unfitness of the French-roof villa, but taught us to appreciate, from the example of their own fitness, the merit and beauty of our national work about us on all sides...;and so the good in the old with us was sought out and studied.²⁷⁸

The British buildings reminded America of its history, a task not accomplished by America's own exhibits. Other than the two state buildings, showing a less than cultured past, there were few examples of colonial or revolutionary period art and architecture at the Centennial. From the period only a pair of George Washington's false teeth, various army uniforms and a reconstruction of an 1776 kitchen were in view--none of which had anything resembling aesthetic value.²⁷⁹ The United States exhibitors were more interested in displaying the present and future.

Contrary to Centennial promotion of American achievement, the external appearance of the buildings erected by American architects underscored the reliance of American architecture on foreign sources. Indeed, in the midst of hopes for emblematic unity, the Centennial buildings appear to have legitimized stylistic eclecticism for American architecture. But negotiating such inconsistencies

²⁷⁸Bruce Price, "The Suburban House," Scribner's Magazine 8 (July 1890): 5-6.

²⁷⁹Thomas J. Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville: Association for State and Local History, 1980), p. 139-140.

formed the substance of American architectural theory, especially at the popular level.

The Definition of Style

The hope for a national architecture in America continued throughout the later nineteenth century. Architectural critic Barr Ferree in the first volume of Architectural Record, 1891, observed, "With us, one of the most popular of modern architectural ideas is that there will someday be devised a truly original American style."²⁸⁰ Although Ferree recognized the ongoing discussions about the need for an American style, he also isolated the major problem facing its realization. A style could not be invented. Few would have disagreed with the critic for he expressed a long held view accepted by professional critics and architects as well as by pattern book authors. John Stevens and Albert Cobb of Portland, Maine, related the issue to their readers:

it is vain to discuss the possibility of inventing "a new style" in Architecture. To build rationally in an "original style" is no more possible than to furnish society with a useful code of "original statutes," in which shall appear no trace of the commands of Moses, or of the laws of Greece and Rome.²⁸¹

Stevens and Cobb grounded their position on the importance of historical foundations for style, but this certainty that a style could not be invented did not completely stifle aspirations that a new, distinctly American style might eventually emerge. As the widely read British architectural historian James Fergusson

²⁸⁰Barre Ferree, "An 'American Style' of Architecture," Architectural Record 1 (July-September 1891): 39. The question of an American style gained momentum in the 1890's with planning for the Chicago Columbian Exposition and the contemporary work of the western architects.

²⁸¹John Calvin Stevens and Albert Winslow Cobb, Examples of American Domestic Architecture (New York: William T. Comstock, 1889), p. 19.

suggested in his History of Architecture in All Countries, a new style could develop through the process of change. The development of a characteristic architecture depended on "an aggregation of experiences" building on the past, not copying it.²⁸² Fergusson's suggestion was common to contemporary architectural understanding. Even twenty years before Ferree's article, the American critic Russell Sturgis had assessed the nation's modern architecture in an article which contained specific references to Viollet-le-Duc and in a phrasing similar to that of Fergusson and Gottfried Semper. He concluded, "It is not desirable that people should annoy themselves about the invention of a new style; it will come of itself when we have common sense and simplicity enough to let it come."²⁸³

In this context the problem was not so much the invention of a new style but the feasibility of a progressively unfolding American style. Here, too, American architects faced a difficult predicament. America lacked indigenous forms and traditions. A historical foundation from which to begin was not provided the architect. Because America did not have a lengthy history comparable to that of the European nations and because America's heritage was drawn primarily from Europe, its architecture must naturally rely on European architecture for its stylistic sources. To reflect the American character and history was a problematic task for an American architecture which was developed from external sources. There was a distinct uneasiness about the incompatibility of historical determinism and nationalism even while both were accepted. In 1883, the critic Montgomery

²⁸²James Fergusson, A History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day (London: John Murray, 1874), pp. 44-47.

²⁸³Russell Sturgis, Jr., "Modern Architecture," North American Review 112 (January 1871): 165.

Schuyler had tired of the public's demands that architects, in the slang of the day, "talk United States." He considered the search for an American style provincial. He agreed with Russell that Americanism would come of itself.²⁸⁴

Others considered America's peculiar situation beneficial to architecture. A respondent to an article on English architectural style which had been published in the London Architect lamented the pursuit of archaeological accuracy by British architects, then argued that America's freedom from the "tyranny of archaeology" was a "national privilege." Americans could master the past, but the past would not master the Americans.²⁸⁵ With similar words, the eminent critic and architect Henry Van Brunt praised the genius of American architects whose "freedom from the tyranny of historic precedent...encouraged them to a far wider range of experiment in architectural forms." Despite this exploration, however, there were as yet "no definite promises for art."²⁸⁶

Another distinctly American situation added to the difficulties. In the commonly held view of the ethnographic value of architecture, Fergusson also stated, "When properly studied, it [architecture] consequently affords a means as important as language for discriminating between the different races of mankind,...."²⁸⁷ America was an immigrant nation with a population of mixed ethnic origins, and its

²⁸⁴Montgomery Schuyler, "Recent Building in New York," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 67 (September 1883): 561-562. Reprinted in William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe, eds., American Architecture and Other Writings by Montgomery Schuyler (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 459-461.

²⁸⁵American Architect 4 (August 10, 1878): 47.

²⁸⁶Henry Van Brunt, "On the Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture," Atlantic Monthly 57 (March 1886): 880.

²⁸⁷Fergusson, History of Architecture, p. 2.

geography, from which its history and national style were to develop, appeared to be too diverse for a single definable character. Territorial boundaries encompassed climatic conditions ranging from arid desert to lush grain fields and snow-capped mountains. A narrowly circumscribed style of architecture could not be aesthetically and functionally suitable to the different climates. Nor could it suit the tastes of a nation of individuals.

The questions raised by the problems of style were posed in a paper read to the Architectural League of New York in 1881 by Charles Howard Walker, a young architect who later became the head of fine arts at M.I.T. After noting the startling nomenclature of styles being produced, he said:

...when one and all are urging us to give them a new, a distinctly new and American style,___it is well to see what claims the old styles have to our allegiance, whether a new one is possible, and if it were presented to our friends the critics and the public, whether they would recognize it as such, and whether there is not some common and broad basis to start from, which will allow freedom of design in all directions, without incurring the clash of the different advocates of this or of that style.²⁸⁸

Walker recognized the crumbling foundations of traditional conceptions of architecture as style. Progressive architects who designed for the modern age needed a freedom of conception not allowed by present critical formulae. In a publication of the same year, Leopold Edilitz observed that the complexity of modern society necessitated a new style, but in a reference critical of Ruskin, he noted the answer was not to be found in the use of past forms.²⁸⁹ Freedom of design could not function within the limiting parameters of style as a narrowly

²⁸⁸Charles Howard Walker, "The Use of Architectural Styles," American Architect 9 (April 16, 1881): 184.

²⁸⁹Leopold Eidlitz, The Nature and Function of Art, More Especially of Architecture (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1881), p. 34-37.

defined collation of related forms. Style in the traditional sense was a prescribed formula of architectural characteristics. Eidlitz began to expand the definition:

Methods of building as determined by prevalent ideas, by materials used, and by the progress of architects in the science of construction in the art of expressing ideas in matter, all go to make up style in architecture.²⁹⁰

Later nineteenth-century writers acknowledged that the word "style" had more than one meaning. Citing Viollet-le-Duc's Discourses, critic and historian A.D.F. Hamlin explored the evolution of the word's meanings. In his essay on American architectural style he explained the word with its definitive and qualitative meanings. If a building had style, it had "character, unity of effect proceeding from some dominant quality in the design." The definitive style, of course, offered more concrete visual results. Using a phrase borrowed from Montgomery Schuyler, Hamlin added, style was an "understood way of working," or in his own words, "a particular manner of designing peculiar to a race, age or person."²⁹¹ A building could exhibit an identifiable style, or classification based on historic precedent and contemporary interpretation, but lack inherent qualities of character, integrity and refinement. Architectural elements forced into a stylistic mold without an underlying principle of design resulted in architecture without qualitative style. Hamlin did not clearly deny the possibility of national character in building, but he refuted the custom of using the word "style" to mean a recognizable grouping of forms. And as the architectural criticism antecedent to Hamlin's article demonstrates, Queen Anne, whose introduction to the United States coincided with

²⁹⁰Ibid., p. 330.

²⁹¹A. D. F. Hamlin, "The Battle of Styles," Architectural Record 1 (January-March 1892): 272. Hamlin adapted Viollet-le-Duc's Discourses on Architecture, lecture 6, for this discussion.

early modifications to the conception of style, was problematic because it could not be precisely defined. Important to the conception of late nineteenth-century architecture in general, style was becoming less an application of stylistic forms and more an internal characteristic which began with the planning of interior spaces and the conceptual manner of building. The Centennial commissioners may have proposed a more appropriate criterion for American architecture than they realized.

The need for a new understanding of style was founded in the architectural requirements of the time. As Leopold Eidlitz stated in 1881, modern science had introduced new ideas. There were political, social and religious changes which required buildings with a "new expression" in the character of architecture. He called for a new style that would "constantly grow and change." Eidlitz also criticized his fellow architects because they hoped accidentally to find a style by changing from one to the next. And when styles were applied in an archaeologically correct manner, they were inappropriate to the modern context; when styles were "subdivided" into small components of the original styles, they became meaningless.²⁹²

Eclecticism and the "Battle of Styles"

Frustrated by a denial of the possibility for inventing a new style, nineteenth-century architects thus tended to reach into the past in order to form appropriate contemporary styles. The battle of styles, begun predominantly in Britain, was waged in some degree throughout the century in America. Classicist opposed

²⁹²Eidlitz, Nature and Function, pp. 33-35.

gothicist and archaeologist opposed eclecticist. The choices between classical and medieval became increasingly difficult, since a building must not only be functional, but beautiful and expressive as well. It must embody the prevailing criteria of aesthetics and science. And for the American architect, it must be, above all, American.

For many in the United States, the buildings of ancient Greece displayed a rational style of simplicity and austerity which seemed to better symbolize the democratic nation. With trust in America's destiny, communities established early in the century were given such names as Athens, Ithaca, Salamanca and Syracuse. From monumental public buildings to plantation homes in the South, from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, the interpretation of Greek models was apparent. Perhaps the most ubiquitous form was the modest wood frame house with its Greek temple front. The transformation of a simple gable roofed farm house into a fashionable white residential temple was both easy and inexpensive. An architect's services were not required. But such revivalism, using forms from what some conceived as one definable historical era, was for others thereby redundant, and many architects turned to the broader architectural vocabulary offered by eclecticism.

Nonetheless, architects who designed buildings associated with political authority continued to use forms from ancient Greece and Rome throughout the century. From the end of the 1830's the Renaissance and subsequent expressions of the classical tradition had assumed a greater prominence which was to be augmented by the influence of Beaux-Arts education. Thus, the Centennial buildings defined as Renaissance were part of the classical expression. And when America's next large-scale international exhibition opened in Chicago in

1893, the tenacity of classical association was emphatically underscored in the buildings of the Great White City.

Meanwhile, the gothic had won adherents because many ideas understood as intrinsic to gothic architecture were compatible with America's own version of environmental determinism. The structure of gothic architecture emulated organic growth, and towering gothic spires and steeply pitched roofs echoed the uplifting lines of the forest trees.²⁹³ John Ruskin called it "Living Architecture" because:

There is sensation in every inch of it, and an accommodation to every architectural necessity, with a determined variation in arrangement, which is exactly like the related proportions and provisions in the structure of organic form.²⁹⁴

Gothic was moreover accounted especially suited to churches, libraries and collegiate buildings. However, domestic gothic caught the imagination of the American middle class public. Alexander Jackson Davis had introduced a small book of house architecture, Rural Residences, in 1837 containing drawn perspectives and floor plans of houses in styles he considered more picturesque than the Greek temple form. His preferred style was the "English collegiate" with its "bay windows, oriels, turrets, and chimney shafts."²⁹⁵ Davis's book was not widely disseminated, but other antebellum pattern book authors followed with much the same intent: improving house architecture by educating the public and introducing contemporary picturesque styles.²⁹⁶ Houses with steeply pitched roofs,

²⁹³See James Early, Romanticism and American Architecture (New York: A. S. Barnes And Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 84-93.

²⁹⁴Ruskin, Seven Lamps, p. 153.

²⁹⁵Alexander Jackson Davis, Rural Residences (New York: By the author, 1837), advertisement.

²⁹⁶Architectural taste was a general concern among architects. Thomas Ustick Walter, for example, wrote to John Loudon in 1838, "...the true source of the

board and batten siding, decorative barge boards, ogival windows, dormers, and finials became prominent features of pre-Civil War pattern books, including those by Alexander Jackson Downing, Calvert Vaux and Gervaise Wheeler.

Although Italian, Swiss and, in particular, modern French stylizations were introduced to pattern books, gothic in one form or another sustained its popularity. In 1875, Amos Jackson Bicknell predicted gothic as the style of the immediate future because it was the most beautiful, economical and adaptable for domestic architecture.²⁹⁷ By this time, gothic villas and cottages dominated the pages of pattern books, but architects also questioned the propriety of translating a style with pointed arches and vaults intended for churches into a style for houses. A year after Bicknell's prediction, Harper's published an article on gothic architecture by British architect John J. Stevenson.

A leader in the formulation of late nineteenth-century Queen Anne, Stevenson explained the limitations of pointed architecture for homes.²⁹⁸ Caroline W. Horton, a strong supporter of modern gothic derivations in general, had already observed in her Architecture for General Students that new sources were being used, most

carelessness with which this--the noblest of all the arts of polished life, has been treated is to be found in the want of a cultivation of Public taste...." Quoted in Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, "T. U. Walter's Gift of Drawings to the Institute of British Architects," Society of Architectural Historians Journal 39 (December 1980): 307.

²⁹⁷Amos Jackson Bicknell, Wooden and Brick Buildings with Details (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1875), Plate 94. Praise for gothic was abundant during the decades between Davis's and Bicknell's publications. For example, a review of the National Academy of Design was actually a lengthy glorification of its revival and the author proposed that American architects "should study Mediæval art, and work in the 'Gothic style' to the exclusion of all other schools and systems." "An Important Gothic Building," New Path 2 (June 1864): 18.

²⁹⁸John Stevenson, "Gothic Architecture," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 52 (January 1876): 239-240.

notably, the Elizabethan.²⁹⁹ In Britain, gothic had been a link with the nation's architectural past that provided a foothold for examining related eras. Borrowing from Jacobean, Elizabethan, and sixteenth and seventeenth century cottage architecture firmly established a more syncretic eclecticism. Those styles portended a historical precedent for merging medieval and classical, thereby contributing to the creation of Queen Anne.

Eclecticism and the Picturesque

Growing freedom of design accompanied the changes in style. There was little room for an archaeological motive in architecture for the modern world. Revivalist architecture, superficially, at least, discounted the reality of new materials, new methods of construction and new functions for buildings. At the same time, nineteenth-century architecture was too rooted in the historical past to be anything other than derivative. The architects' only remaining alternatives were to select from one of the opposing stylistic classifications, each of which provided a plentiful supply of forms, or to integrate the two, which generated an almost infinite number of variations. But a danger was seen in the abundant information now available to architects. Histories, professional books and photography provided an embarrassment of riches, and unsuspecting architects could be easily tempted to employ a random mix of styles.³⁰⁰ Architects were "like children in a toy-shop,

²⁹⁹Caroline W. Horton, Architecture for General Students (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1874), p. 261.

³⁰⁰"Art," Atlantic Monthly 33 (January 1874): 122.

dazed with the multitude of...opportunities."³⁰¹ It was clear to contemporary architects that governing principles were needed to guide this freedom with which historical architecture was interpreted for modern buildings.

Early in the century, the conception of the Picturesque both allowed for freedom from inviolable academic rules and afforded guidance for architects. The Picturesque was an aesthetic judgment given shape by British late eighteenth-century landscape designers and theorists, notably, William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, and Humphrey Repton. The early formulations of the Picturesque were primarily requisites for exterior visual properties related to the pictorial convention and arguments for taste, the cultivated appreciation of beauty, as an indicator of status. Both were important for later nineteenth-century architecture, especially in American pattern book literature, where "picturesque" was among the most frequently applied attributes in the house descriptions. It became a desirable quality in terms of fashionable beauty and a recognition of the public's desire for cultural refinement.

The foremost exponent of the Picturesque in American architecture was, appropriately, a landscape gardener, Andrew Jackson Downing, whose architectural pattern books were in popular demand for four decades. In his Cottage Residences, first published in 1842, Downing borrowed freely from the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century British publications of the Picturesque. He criticized Greek Revival homes because they looked like Greek temples rather than houses, mirroring judgments in the earlier Picturesque literature. Uvedale Price, author of the first extensive treatise on the subject,

³⁰¹"American Architecture-Present," American Architect 1 (August 5, 1876): 251.

Essays on the Picturesque, 1794, was cited by Downing in his criticism of the white pseudo-Greek houses:

One of the most charming effects of sunshine is its giving to objects not merely light, but that mellow golden hue so beautiful in itself, and which, when diffused as in a fine evening over the whole landscape, creates that rich union and harmony so enchanting in nature and Claude. In any scene, whether real or painted, when such harmony prevails, the least discordancy in color would disturb the eye: but if we suppose a single object of a glaring white to be introduced, the whole attention, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary, will be drawn to that one point; if many such objects be scattered about, the eye will be distracted among them.³⁰²

With Price's argument against white buildings which were placed in the muted but rich colors of nature, Downing introduced a major requisite of the Picturesque as it was applied to American architecture: both a building's color and its shape must harmonize with the landscape. A picturesque building was not bound by rectangularity; rather, it was a composition of movement. The conception of the Picturesque implied an emphasis on irregular visual qualities and embraced the arrangement of the building and landscape into a composition similar to those found in landscape paintings by the seventeenth century French artist, Claude Lorraine, in which architecture and landscape were conjured as indivisible in an idealized vision seen from a distance.

A picturesque building was not a building alone but a part of nature. The irregular shapes were geometric projections of the corresponding irregularities of nature; the colors were the colors of nature. Nestled in tree dappled sunlight, the house caught the play of sun and shadow. Nature completed the composition. Downing quoted Price, "an object of sober tint, unexpectedly gilded by the sun, is

³⁰²Andrew Jackson Downing, Cottage Residences, new ed. (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, 1873; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980), p. 14.

like a serious countenance suddenly lighted up by a smile; a whitened object like the eternal grin of a fool."³⁰³

Such associations with landscape made the Picturesque particularly germane to American ruminations on style, nature and national character which informed the promotion of the Queen Anne style. And with the accretion of Picturesque associations promoted through articles on healthy country living, the scene soon embraced rural countryside, village and suburban settings.

On the whole, the conception of the Picturesque freed architects from the academic restraints of symmetry and rigid correspondence of parts, and it was welcomed by American architects. A letter from Cleveland, Ohio to the American Architect and Building News quoted James Fergusson's History of Modern Architecture to explain the problem of strict adherence to mathematical ratios:

The real fact is, however, everywhere apparent, that the orders are intractable for purposes they were never designed to subserve; and when an architect is bound to use only pillars of ten diameters, and to use these for all purposes of internal and external decoration, he has forged fetters for himself from which no ingenuity has yet been able to set him free.³⁰⁴

The broken fetters opened the way to new attitudes toward design and broader definitions of style--as noted, basic to Queen Anne. The word "picturesque" quickly entered architectural vocabulary as a generally favorable descriptive term in professional and pattern book literature. It conveyed implicit meanings regarding visual characteristics. A picturesque building had irregular exterior contours and produced a coloristic play of light with its shapes and materials.

³⁰³Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰⁴"The Orders Applied to Interior Decoration," American Architect 9 (April 16, 1881): 189.

From the outset, gothic forms were considered most naturally picturesque, which suited the avid style separatists, but by the last quarter of the century, the sense of freedom fostered by current conditions had affected most American architects.³⁰⁵ Classic and medieval could be integrated into one design and yet be based on historical precedent. In his lecture, Charles Walker found little reason for the battle to continue between gothic and classic proponents because seldom in history had definite characteristics been identifiable. Throughout history, styles had merged one with another.³⁰⁶ For contemporary nineteenth-century architects, the change was not swift, but it was steady. George C. Mason wrote for his 1879 publication:

The catholicity of architects in the selection of models or motifs for their designs seems to be a move in the right direction, and one by which we may, as on a stepping-stone, advance gradually nearer to freedom.³⁰⁷

And for many, especially the entrepreneurial pattern book authors, the dilemma of style came to a resolution in the Queen Anne.

³⁰⁵Some prominent American architects opposed merging stylistic categories. John Smithmeyer, with John Peltz, architect of the Library of Congress, was adamant, while Montgomery Schuyler took a more moderate position. He claimed the architect must select a definite style, but that was merely a starting point, for the architect could then add other details and features. Montgomery Schuyler, "The Romanesque Revival in America," Architectural Record 1 (October-December 1891): 194. On Smithmeyer, see Lois Craig, et. al., The Federal Presence. Architecture, Politics and Symbols in United States Government Building (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1978), pp. 188-189.

³⁰⁶Walker, "Use of Architectural Styles," p. 185.

³⁰⁷George C. Mason, Thoughts on Architecture; Its Literature and Practice (Newport, R. I.: By the author, 1879), p. 11.

Picturesque Aesthetics and the Pattern Book

The picturesque house met practical needs and exhibited the latest theories of architecture and style. It also exhibited artistic sensibilities, or taste. With the accretion of Picturesque associations promoted through the literature of domesticity, the picturesque house became a retreat during decades of economic, political and social instability. It recalled a time past when the family drew together in comfort and camaraderie around a blazing hearth. In popular and pattern book literature, picturesque homes were "fashionable" and "modern," yet "home-like," "quaint," and "old-fashioned." Supported by the increasingly pervasive British Aesthetic Movement, it became fashionable to be old-fashioned. Moncure Conway described the ambience of Bedford Park, the modern London "aesthetic" suburb of "Queen Anne" homes, within the definition of picturesque for American readers in Harper's. The view was like a "lunette picture projected upon a landscape," and for his friend, the artist Edward Abbey, a visit to the streets of houses, gardens and orchards simulated a walk through a water-color.

The Picturesque provided a basis for artistic criteria for pattern book houses, and many of its eighteenth-century associations with aesthetics of taste were preserved also. In the traditional conception, taste was a relative determination of admirable, but difficult to define, qualities in the arts. The sensibility to recognize these aesthetic properties was possessed by a knowledgeable few, the landed gentry, who were the arbiters of taste for society. This implication of class distinction required some manipulation for an American audience. Calvert Vaux, a proponent of the Picturesque who had trained in England and emigrated to America at the encouragement of Downing, struggled with the contradictions in his

1857 publication, Villas and Cottages. In doing so, he also indicated the complexion of contemporary architectural theory and its relation to nature.

Vaux asked, "Why is there comparatively so little beauty in American buildings?"³⁰⁸ He posited an absence of taste as the reason, and he lamented, that since Americans were such prolific builders this defect was all too evident.³⁰⁹ Alluding to American social structure in his commentary, Vaux identified the problem with the "industrious classes" because they funded most of the construction in America. The active workers determined national standards of building. Americans surely appreciated beauty, but the majority of the population were not properly educated to have taste. Here, Vaux was caught in the dilemma of applying a hierarchical social pattern to a democratic system. In the eighteenth century, the wealthy were regarded as the arbiters of taste because, as people of leisure, their minds were unencumbered with quotidian details and open for abstract thought. The daily experiences of the wealthy contributed to their knowledge, and among those experiences was the opportunity to retire to, and be inspired by, nature. Calvert Vaux adroitly found a similar place for the new American leisure class comprised of the sons of men who had worked hard to become wealthy. Their contribution to a society in which the work ethic prevailed was to establish a level of discernment in the arts; they could become "earnest laborers striving for a higher national excellence,"³¹⁰

³⁰⁸Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages, 2d. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864), p. 26.

³⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 27.

³¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 39.

Nonetheless, America was a land of social mobility, and citizens of lesser means could strive to become wealthy themselves. They could also be educated, but because they had little free time from their labors, they were to be taught not to form taste, rather, to recognize the taste established by the leisure class. This education was possible through popular literature, and those with moderate income had opportunities for a liberal education.³¹¹ And for all Americans, appreciation of the beauties of nature was an equalizing factor. Nature became a source of education and the source of *a priori* aesthetic principles. In America, nature was a gift to all citizens, a contradiction of the premise that taste was a bastion of the wealthy.

Late nineteenth-century pattern book authors manipulated the suggestion of class distinction within the conception of taste to accord with middle class notions of social status and mobility. Houses and their owners were described as "cultured," "dignified," "elegant," "noble," "refined," "genteel," "tasteful" and "tasty," all signifying educated artistic sensibilities. Readers were impressed with the sense that taste was the entitlement of a select few. New standards now came from the progressive middle classes for whom taste was a matter of social distinction and intellect. The old aristocracy or those born to wealth were no longer the sole arbiters of taste and appreciators of beauty.³¹² Now architects who

³¹¹Ibid., p. 44.

³¹²Walter Morris stated, the wealthy "have no chance of spending time enough over the arts to know anything practical of them...the only real help for the decorative arts must come from those who work in them." Quoted in Walter Hamilton, The Aesthetic Movement in England, 3rd. ed. (London: Reeves & Turner, 1882), p. 136. Entrepreneurial pattern book authors, however, found the craft ethic of Morris's circle more appropriate for household decorative art than for architecture.

had acquired cultivated taste through years of study determined architectural criteria, and their clients were sufficiently intelligent and cultivated to recognize architectural authority.³¹³ British artist and author Charles Eastlake, a respected voice on the subject for the American public, noted contemporary changes in his article on taste in Scribner's:

But it requires intelligence of a peculiar order—a rare combination of the best qualities of head and heart—to endow men with that degree of refinement which is necessary to fit them for a higher sphere of life than that in which they were born, and for the society of those whose superior breeding and more polished manners are due not only to education but to Nature herself.³¹⁴

In pattern book language, prospective homeowners were cultivated members of the middle class who valued beauty, and it was their duty to educate the lesser endowed American citizenry through properly built houses. Readers of G. B. Croff's 1875 pattern book of houses having "picturesque variety of skyline, depth of shadow, and sweet repose so charming in an architectural conception, with their romantic and varied plans" were assured that such designs contributed "elevating and refining influences" to the community in which they were built.³¹⁵ Pattern book authors directed this message to people in a variety of professions. But the most esteemed professional appellation was "businessman." For the Pallisers in 1887, the businessman's home in the suburbs would serve to "educate

³¹³Palliser, Model Homes, p. 20. Interestingly, Robert Kerr remarked in his review of American architecture that even without the beneficial influence of a cultured class in America, the arts had progressed favorably. Robert Kerr in James Fergusson, History of the Modern Styles of Architecture, vol. III. 3rd ed. rev. (London: John Murray, 1891), p. 347.

³¹⁴Charles Locke Eastlake, "De Gustibus," Scribner's Monthly Magazine 17 (April 1879): 741.

³¹⁵Gilbert Bostwick Croff, Progressive American Architecture (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1875), n.p.

the public taste to appreciate the sensible and artistic treatment that is so satisfying and pleasing to the mind through the eye,..."³¹⁶ Robert Shoppell included a home for a wealthy cultured family with the commentary, "This building is a mansion, in the full sense of the word, and affords everything which art, comfort and taste can provide."³¹⁷ Although success in business and its subsequent wealth were highly esteemed, it was not a prerequisite for owning a tasteful home. Nor were the wealthy capitalists alone responsible for contributing to artistic excellence of the nation. Croff had directed his book to the "progressive mechanic" of the middle class. In 1885, Samuel B. Reed told future owners of a small home for \$1,200, "Our dwellings, even if small, should contribute to good taste and inspire respect."³¹⁸

Building a tasteful home had its rewards, too. The homeowner could gain the respect and esteem of his community by projecting his personal image by way of his home, a point which became an important pattern book sales message. The Pallisers assured their readers in 1878, "One can by the exercise of appropriate taste, produce the right kind of an impression in a house of this character...."³¹⁹ Whether large or small, a villa or a cottage, a tasteful home communicated a message of cultural achievement. In the same year, Reed explained, "To a certain extent, one's dwelling is an index of his character. Any effort at building

³¹⁶Palliser, Palliser & Co., Palliser's New Cottage Homes and Details (New York: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1887), Plate 1.

³¹⁷Robert W. Shoppell, How to Build, Furnish and Decorate (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1883), No. 76.

³¹⁸Samuel Burrage Reed, Dwellings for Village and Country (New York: O. Judd Co., 1885), p. 16, Design V.

³¹⁹Palliser, Model Homes, p. 34, Plate V.

expresses the owner's ability, taste and purpose." He also assured his less wealthy readers that, indeed, one could build an inexpensive house without compromising one's self respect.³²⁰ Taste was more important than size or expense.

The owner's taste was to be prominently displayed with a house visible to passers-by. Homes were not to be tucked away and hidden from view or pushed to the back of the lot. The Pallisers lauded a house they had built in Bridgeport, Connecticut:

The story of the beauty of this Cottage has been noised far and wide, and hundreds of people have visited it-some who were intending to build having come a hundred miles to see it and consult us. Such cottages as this are the stimuli that is to work a revolution in domestic architecture, and sweep away everything that is ugly and pernicious to the eye of the cultivated.³²¹

The language of the pattern books, however, indicated that there were varying degrees of taste to be viewed by the public. Tasteful homes of the middle classes were described as "pretty," "attractive," "cheerful." The larger homes of the wealthy, or upper middle class, such as Shoppell's mansion, had "commanding" exteriors. The descriptions implied that a cottage affably *attracted* attention whereas, a large villa or mansion *commanded* the regard of the community. In the context of a conservative Atlantic Monthly article on architecture in 1876, the distinction would have been appropriate, for the author stated there were three classes: the rich and cultivated, the amiable and comfortable, and the poor and ignorant.³²²

³²⁰Reed, Dwellings, pp. 10 and 18, Design III.

³²¹Palliser, Model Homes, pp. 44 and 46.

³²²"Rural Architecture," Atlantic Monthly 37 (April 1876): 429.

Just what constituted a tasteful home was not fully agreed upon. For the most part, "fashionable" and "tasteful" were synonymous in pattern book descriptions. One distinction, however, was the home's appropriateness to the owner's financial and social status. A family of moderate means should not entertain pretensions for a large home; nor should a small home have elaborate decoration. Reed's homes for families of taste ranged from an inexpensive \$1500 cottage described as "sufficiently trim and neat to satisfy persons of the most refined taste" to a home for \$10,000 described as "A suburban villa with picturesque exterior and adequate accommodations for a genteel family...the details are ornate, expressive of domestic feeling and cultivated taste."³²³ Reed's distinction was common to pattern book literature and appealed to a large audience. Cheaper pattern book houses frequently had less ornamentation than did those larger and more expensive. Pattern book authors explained an obvious and practical reason for building small houses with less ornamentation. Because decoration made the house more expensive, the owner's investment was better directed to a convenient plan than to ostentatious display.

Yet, many pattern book authors and their middle class clients continued to elaborate their homes. Exuberant interpretations of John Ruskin's belief that ornament distinguished architecture from building and vestiges of early century class attitudes in the discussions of ornament and architecture remained in pattern book literature to the end of the century.³²⁴ A house with ornamentation communicated a financial and social position which contrasted with the purely

³²³Reed, Dwellings, pp. 20 and 102.

³²⁴Ruskin, Seven Lamps, p.16.

functional home of the common laborer. One response was to decorate house exteriors with moldings, gable ornamentation and turned posts in the amount appropriate to the owner's status. The unfortunate farmer was one who was frequently reminded of this notion, and Elisha Hussey was quite straightforward about it in his introduction to a "plain" and "substantial" farm home in 1876:

The farmer, whose buildings are situated upon an unfrequented road, and whose income is limited to certain bounds, beyond which it would be hopeless for him to attempt to go, would not be justified in the eyes of a prudent judge in expending any very considerable sum on elaborate exterior ornaments,...³²⁵

Problems arose, however, when profligate use of ornamentation confronted both social assumptions and architectural theory. Mass production of wood trim and lincrusta walton molded patterns had made exterior architectural ornamentation more accessible to a much broader public. Gables were filled with patterns of sunbursts and garlands; porch eaves were lined with rows of spindles. Some entrepreneurial pattern book authors and many home builders applied ornamentation so freely that the structure of the house was obfuscated. Among the pattern book authors who continued to publish ornamented designs, not all ascribed to a strict demonstration of status through exterior ornamentation. California architects Samuel and Joseph Newsom produced highly elaborate homes for their clients, whether the homes were small cottages or mansions.³²⁶ However, their more expensive Queen Anne home was also more highly decorated with scroll-sawn and lathe-turned wood ornament.

³²⁵Elisha Charles Hussey, Home Building (New York: By the author, 1876), Plate No. 10.

³²⁶Samuel and Joseph Cather Newsom, Picturesque California Homes (San Francisco: By the authors, 1884; reprint ed., Los Angeles: Hennesey & Ingalls, Inc., 1978).

For the class conscious Wilson Flagg, the advocates of ornament applied decoration in order to conceal the evidence of existing classes. For architectural theorists, the applied decoration was not an honest expression of the structure of the building. Ruskin had spoken of ornamentation at length in his Seven Lamps, and within his analogies of architecture and nature, ornament was a natural expression of the fabric of the building. Although the architect was "not *bound* to exhibit structure;..that building will generally be the noblest, which to an intelligent eye discovers the great secrets of its structure."³²⁷ With an opinion typical of most pattern book authors, the Pallisers justified their ornamentation of a picturesque "Jacobite design" with the explanation, "its constructive features are fully represented in the gables, cresting, finials, chimneys and porches," even though they admitted that the house was of frame with an appearance of timber construction.³²⁸ D. S. Hopkins, who was an advocate of simplicity, reacted to the increased use of decoration and advised his clients, "Here it is in a nutshell....Here is where the study and good taste comes in. We often see houses overloaded with "gingerbread" or cut work, and the party who built it thought he had accomplished a beautiful thing."³²⁹

Taste was individual, variable and influenced by arbiters of contemporary fashion. Standards of critical judgment were needed to accomplish the difficult integration of science and artistic taste in architecture. Boston architect Alexander

³²⁷Ruskin, Seven Lamps, p. 40. Ruskin's opposition to machine-made ornament was discounted in practice by most architects.

³²⁸Palliser, Model Homes, p. 52.

³²⁹David S. Hopkins, Houses and Cottages, Book No. 4 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: By the Author, 1891), pp. 4-5.

F. Oakey defined this interrelationship in an article for the American Architect in 1876.³³⁰ Although Oakey was among the leaders in forming contemporary architecture, he took a conservative theoretical position. Alluding to pattern books, he was most adamant when he argued against mass produced architectural designs and more expedient methods of building which allowed overly ornamented and complex buildings. Oakey upheld the conviction that the trained architect, knowledgeable in art and scientific principles, must contravene the public's wayward tastes. Paradoxically, as noted earlier, the Pallisers, contributing to the problems perceived by Oakey, adopted portions of Oakey's essay for their 1878 pattern book. However, they did not include his castigation of architects who manufactured plans.³³¹

Oakey's article encapsulated aesthetics of taste and function and gave them a scientific foundation, which may have attracted the Palliser brothers. The qualities of architectural taste were governed by "excellencies." The excellence of plan met functional requirements and allowed for an aesthetic expression of the building's purpose. This "practical excellence" required knowledge of materials and building techniques, and as such, it was not a matter of opinion but founded on mechanical and scientific principles. "Sensual beauty," which was expressed with the practical, was also not a matter of opinion. It resulted from "combinations and relations of form and color" determined through science. Good taste entered again because there should be no attempt to deceive; there should be no

³³⁰Alexander F. Oakey, "Architect and Client," p. 276-277.

³³¹Oakey incorporated the same material into his Building a Home (New York: Appleton and Company, 1881), and the Pallisers again published the Oakey passages in their 1887 pattern book.

"vulgarity" and "sham decoration."³³² With a composite of taste and beauty, function and science, the author summed up the contemporary integration of theoretical positions also typical of pattern books.

The Issue of Function

The Picturesque had also become inseparable from functional integrity and had become allied with practical concerns. The picturesque exterior, with its irregular silhouette, enclosed a floor plan correspondingly free from symmetrical constraint. Sizes of rooms and their placement were not regulated by symmetry and proportional ratios but by their uses. This identification of the Picturesque with functional considerations provided pattern book authors with a means to accommodate a traditional means of aesthetic judgment to contemporary theoretical developments. Function and beauty were conventional requirements of architecture, but with contemporary studies of the processes of nature and evolution, the interactive relationship of the two became increasingly important.³³³

Downing had also addressed function and the Picturesque. Symptomatic of the American public's false taste, houses had been designed with little concern for

³³²Oakey, "Architect and Client," p. 277.

³³³A. W. N. Pugin's widely read exposition of gothic as moral and honest architecture brought as well the idea of beauty derived from function to American architects. In True Principles, 1841, he emphatically stated, "The picturesque effect of the ancient buildings results from the ingenious methods by which the old builders overcame local and constructive difficulties," (London: John Weale, 1841), p. 62. Humphrey Repton had stated in Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening, 1795, "Places are not to be laid out with a view to their appearance in a picture, but to their uses, and the enjoyment of them in real life; and their conformity to these purposes is that which constitutes their beauty." Quoted in Dorothy Stroud, Humphrey Repton (London: Country Life Limited, 1962), p. 84.

convenience, the highest form of utility.³³⁴ Homes in the picturesque manner, on the other hand, had convenient floor plans and provided both utility and beauty. Downing did not consider beauty a natural product of utility, but he praised country houses (meaning the rural vernacular tradition) which had developed as needs arose. Using words similar to those of his contemporaries Ralph Waldo Emerson and Horatio Greenough, who were equally impressed by the union of function and beauty in growing things, Downing maintained that such a house grew "as a tree expands which is not crowded by neighbors in a forest, but grows in the unrestrained liberty of the open meadow."³³⁵

Later nineteenth-century pattern book authors continued to present the Picturesque as a quality encompassing the two necessary ingredients of architecture, and they were united in recognizing a functional, or convenient, plan as the determinant for a building's elevations and exterior configuration. In 1878, the Palliser brothers, as had Downing, criticized symmetry because it precluded interior comfort, the most important factor of house design. Their interpretation of the relation between picturesque beauty and function differed from Downing's, however, because they more clearly expressed functional considerations as the source of beauty. For the Pallisers, attention paid to interior arrangement resulted in a picturesque exterior. The Picturesque did not begin as a body of exterior visual criteria but as a product of functional planning.³³⁶ A. J. Bicknell agreed and

³³⁴Downing, Cottage Residences, pp. 10-11, 23.

³³⁵Alexander Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), pp. 22-23.

³³⁶Palliser, Model Homes and American Architecture; or Every Man a Complete Builder (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, Publisher, 1888), p. 8.

endorsed the position that the Picturesque freed architects from using proportional systems while it facilitated devising plans appropriate for a family's activities. Then he astutely explained another product of functional picturesque beauty important to his clients:

By abandoning the old "dry goods box" style, the arrangement of the rooms and their individual comfort and convenience is greatly increased, while to the appearance of the whole there is given such character and picturesqueness as will add greatly to the value and attractiveness of the property.³³⁷

The idea derived from the Picturesque that utility and beauty were synonymous persisted in pattern books to the end of the century, but by the mid-1880's, scientific explanations began to be incorporated. In 1886, Harvey L. Page remained close to the gothicists in his demand for truth and harmony in architecture. Beauty was not from ornament alone, nor proportions and exterior outline. A successful, or beautiful, building was characterized by an exterior which was the product of a plan devised to meet the building's purpose.³³⁸ The Pallisers' above-quoted explanation was published in 1887. But in 1888, with words exhibiting the intricate amalgam of Picturesque meanings and architectural theory, the Pallisers could well have drawn from Pugin's criticism of eighteenth-century Picturesque, Ruskin's truth in architecture, Viollet-le-Duc's structural determinism, and contemporary organic language. They assured their clients:

we shall have nothing concealed, nothing artificial, nothing useless; all the details throughout, though modest being direct results and a necessity of the structure and requisite to suit the needs of the occupants, so that the structure when built will always permit you to see its organs and how these

³³⁷Amos Jackson Bicknell, Specimen Book of One Hundred Architectural Designs (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1878), p. 14.

³³⁸Harvey L. Page, Architectural Designs (Washington, D.C.: By the author, 1886), p. 5.

organs work. This sort of construction is the only satisfactory one to people of sense and taste,...³³⁹

Style and Scientific Principles

The Palliser brothers and their competitors interpreted current architectural theory and attempted to communicate their understanding of theory in language sufficiently simple for their clients' comprehension. Their positions were not always consistent, but, for the most part, they brought together terminology and ideas consistent with the late nineteenth-century search for a course through the maze of eclecticism for principles of architectural design. In pattern book literature, early definitions of the Picturesque merged easily with later functional theory. John Ruskin remained an important and quotable source, although his writings did not remain sufficiently germane to contemporary building for many of the professional architects. His denial of the viability of new construction materials was not fitting for a country bent on finding expedient methods of building. For pattern book architects, professional architects and critics alike, Viollet-le-Duc's rational view of architecture began to provide a more suitable theoretical basis to their daily work, and his understanding of the correspondent processes of nature and building was imminently relevant to a nation whose sense of the past was founded in nature.

From the beginning of the century, the laws of nature had offered solutions to unraveling the American problems of national style and eclecticism. By the late nineteenth-century, references to nature were already thoroughly incorporated into architectural thought, but the laws of nature were now conceived differently.

³³⁹Palliser, American Architecture, p. 8.

Hieratic considerations of nature were being integrated with, if not supplanted by, the scientific. Architecture had been long understood as both an art and a science, and commensurate with the preeminence of scientific studies in the late nineteenth century, architectural theorists turned to science for principles governing design as well as for answers to their practical engineering problems. Principles which assured unity to building without restricting freedom were necessary to buildings for contemporary society, and the need for a scientifically based model was confirmed by Viollet-le-Duc in his Discourses on Architecture:

In our days, therefore, if we would produce an architectural design, it is more than ever necessary to adhere with ardent firmness to the true and invariable principles of art, and methodically to classify the knowledge we have acquired of the creations of the past.³⁴⁰

Although architecture was undoubtedly an art for nineteenth-century architects, constant, eternal and unifying scientific principles were needed to balance the vicissitudes of the aesthetics of taste, and by studying architecture of the past in a scientific manner, the principles could be found and transposed for contemporary buildings. According to Viollet-le-Duc, the principles were not academic rules; nor were they clearly defined. Laws of architecture which had been misunderstood as rigid rules were in truth principles which formed a basis to all architecture. Built according to such a program, the resultant modern form was dictated by the current "requirements, the habits, the tastes, the traditions, the materials, the methods of employing them." A direct relationship between form and function was established, a relationship which was as necessary to the life of architecture as it

³⁴⁰Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Lectures on Architecture, vol. I, trans. Benjamin Bucknall (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1877; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987), p. 330. See also vol. II, p. 206, for Viollet-le-Duc's explanation of a scientific basis for the arts.

was to the life of nature. The language of the natural sciences became an instrument for expressing architectural animism. Whether from Ruskin's "living architecture" or from Viollet-le-Duc, a building represented organic vitality. J. H. Kirby said of building for his pattern book clients, "The interior is the life; the exterior is the expression of that life."³⁴¹

Although immutable, the principles of nature allowed for change and progress. Viollet-le-Duc, as had others, including Ruskin, observed that plant shapes expressed their functions and were derived from the needs of the plant. In his advocacy of French gothic architecture, the French architect established his biological analogy:

It is desirable to show at the outset that it is impossible to separate the form of the architecture of the thirteenth century from its structure; every member of this architecture is the result of a necessity of that structure, as in the vegetable and the animal kingdom there is not a form or a process that is not produced by the necessity of the organism: amid the multitude of genera, species, and varieties, the botanist and the anatomist are not mistaken as regards the function, the place, the age, the origin, of each of the organs which they separately examine.³⁴²

The author continued with a statement disclaiming any possibility of defining the rules by which form was governed because form in nature adapted itself to the requirements of the structure. Architecture adapted to physical and social conditions. Architecture grew and changed as inexorably as nature.

Viollet-le-Duc's emphasis on the relationship of function and form appealed to American architects who considered meeting practical necessities of building the first requirement of architecture. Henry Van Brunt, in the introduction to his translation of Discourses, criticized the "tyranny of aesthetics" and literary theory

³⁴¹Kirby, Modern Cottages, p. 83.

³⁴²Viollet-le-Duc, Lectures, vol. I, p. 283.

brought by the popularity of Ruskin's writings and praised Viollet-le-Duc, a practical architect who worked from a scientific basis.³⁴³ The French architect's amplification of building as an organic process also provided a legitimate course for America's theories of organic functionalism. Architects and critics in the last quarter of the century readily applied biological references, especially that of adaptation, to explanations of architectural principles and judgments of buildings. In an article in American Architect and Building News, 1876, Montgomery Schuyler, paraphrasing Viollet-le-Duc, said of distinctive architecture, "If it has any vitality; it must have a vital principle." And, "A building is an organism of which the architecture is...the expression of its functions and conditions." The vital principle, again, was "independent of any particular set of forms, but...adequate to meet with new forms, new exigencies of requirement and material."³⁴⁴

An organic analogy emphasizing adaptation was also particularly attractive to architects at a time when the speculations and vocabulary of evolution were being incorporated into painting, literature, theology and political and economic theories. Pattern book authors, especially, explained the importance of adapting houses to their owners' needs and requirements of the sites. As defined in histories of architecture and professional journals, change in architecture was analogous to the evolutionary process of nature. In America, direct and indirect references to Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution and Herbert Spencer's theory of

³⁴³Henry Van Brunt, Intro., Discourses on Architecture (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1875), in William A. Coles, ed., Architecture and Society. Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 101-102.

³⁴⁴Montgomery Schuyler, "Concerning Queen Anne," American Architect 1 (December 16, 1876): 404.

social evolution were common in architectural literature. Distinctions between Darwin and Spencer were not always made, nor perhaps always understood, but the ideas of evolution fortified the integration of science and art in architecture and encouraged greater latitude in the definitions of style. Science and art were co-operatives because beauty was the result of the processes of nature. According to Darwin, beauty resulted from competition and the organism's adaptation to environmental conditions.³⁴⁵ Architectural beauty was easily extrapolated from natural beauty when beauty was understood as a product of the changes in an organism's structure in response to functional needs. And for architects, critics, and pattern book authors alike, following the adaptive processes of nature was the answer to finding an American architecture of merit. Pattern book authors commended adaptation in their architecture frequently, but they did not use the language of evolution as explicitly as Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer who wrote a series of articles on country houses. With censorious commentary on houses which had been most likely inspired by popular pattern books, the critic deplored the products of miscreant builders and their overly ambitious clients, then used Herbert Spencer's often repeated phrase to appeal to the public:

And can we say that their species is not still prolific? Now at last it has come into active competition with another and better species. But that the "fittest" shall survive in this one special struggle for existence, depends almost entirely on you to whom I speak....³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵Charles Darwin, On the Origin of Species (1859; reprint ed., New York: Heritage Press, 1963), pp. 163-164; 430.

³⁴⁶Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, "American Country Dwellings. I," Century Magazine 32 (May 1886): 14. Herbert Spencer introduced the phrase "survival of the fittest."

Charles Darwin was frequently cited as a scientific source in both popular and architectural literature, but Herbert Spencer was an equally prominent authority. His theory of social evolution provided a scientific foundation to the ideology of progress and social mobility in America and, as such, entered the mainstream of both social and architectural theory. Admiration of Herbert Spencer in America was unmistakable in the laudatory speeches at the banquet held in his honor in 1882 at the famous Delmonico's. The subscribers for the festive banquet covered a broad sampling of prominent professionals, scientists, industrial magnates, theologians, publishers, politicians, artist and architects. Among the latter were Albert Bierstadt, Calvert Vaux and Richard Morris Hunt.³⁴⁷

Herbert Spencer's theories had been well known before the Civil War, and they became more familiar to the public in the next decade when Popular Science Monthly published The Study of Sociology. By the 1880's, many elements of Spencer's social theories had become thoroughly integrated into the entrepreneurial attitudes of Mark Twain's "gilded age." Spencer's was a vitalistic theory which was particularly relevant to the complex make-up of American society and its products, including architecture, because it gave a sense of order to change and multiplicity. Spencer argued that society ameliorated when the strongest members asserted their superiority. The ability to compete and adapt constituted the fitness of a social organism and formed its vitality. The change inherent to life was regulated by a universal principle, or vital force, and the social organism evolved progressively if the process occurred without interference. The

³⁴⁷Edward L. Youmans, comp., Herbert Spencer on the Americans and the Americans on Herbert Spencer (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1976), pp. 22-24.

vital force behind evolution caused organisms to change from the unstable homogenous form to the complexity of the heterogeneous, and finally, to perfection.³⁴⁸

America was easily construed as a model of Spencer's heterogeneous stage of societal development in which diversity was unified by the underlying vital principle of nature. Particularly attractive, too, was his emphasis on non-interference which promoted the nation's laissez-faire doctrine. And while the theory described a people working together for the benefit of the society, it also allowed for individual action and encouraged personal initiative. Competition in economic action fostered vitality in the people and contributed to the development of personal character, giving Americans moral justification for the unimpeded accumulation of wealth. In Spencer's theory and American thought, change was natural, thus favorable and moral.³⁴⁹

In architectural theory of the late nineteenth century, many parallels can be recognized, although direct theoretical connections were not clearly articulated until

³⁴⁸See Stanislav Andreski, Herbert Spencer: Structure, Function and Evolution (London: Michael Joseph, 1971) and David Wiltshire, The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer (London: Oxford University Press, 1978).

³⁴⁹See Richard Hofstadter, rev. ed., Social Darwinism in American Thought (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959), pp. 31-50.

Louis Sullivan's Autobiography of an Idea.³⁵⁰ Within the theory of social evolution, architectural innovation and diversity were promoted. The traditional restrictive bounds of the historical style were further loosened when heterogeneity was understood as being governed by scientific principle. More importantly, the unifying vitalistic theory provided a link between social and artistic action, and the conjunction of the two further strengthened the scientific foundations to answers for the problems of style.

For the architects who understood architecture as a changing and living entity governed by the principles of nature, the predicaments inherent in the perceived need for an American architecture were ameliorated. With broader interpretations of the vital principle of nature than Viollet-le-Duc would have allowed, but permissible within theories of evolution, architectural adaptation sanctioned a diversity of stylistic forms within a unified character and manner of building. Use of past styles and historical precedent remained fundamental to the development of new architectural forms because the principles were eternal. By way of a thorough study of historical buildings, American architects could extrapolate the spirit and the governing principles of the past because they were elements in a process of natural evolution. There was no single style for a nation of mixed peoples and geography because stylistic differences naturally resulted when

³⁵⁰Donald Drew Egbert noted the influence of Herbert Spencer on Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. "The Idea of Organic Expression and American Architecture," in Stow Persons, ed., Evolutionary Thought in America (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1956), pp. 336-337. A more thorough analysis of "darwinism" and American architecture can be found in Timothy Taggart Lindblad, "The Impact of Darwinian Thought on Nineteenth Century Architectural Theory in America: John Wellborn Root and Louis Sullivan," (M. A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1984).

buildings were adapted to requirements of climate, site, local resources, function and individual taste. Co-existence of different styles was permissible and syncretic eclecticism therefore justified.

Although gothicized stick, Queen Anne, shingled colonial, and classical forms of architecture were proposed in the last quarter of the century, America did not possess a specific national style. Rather, America had a style of building defined by a dominant character, or quality. Because American architecture was defined by adaptation, the character of American building was one of vitality. American building was nascent, continually evolving. In the preface of the 1864 edition of his book, Calvert Vaux found every good thing could be expected from "earnest vitality" and remarked on the beneficent results of vitality on architecture and commerce.³⁵¹ In the last decade of the century, America and its architecture were described similarly, both exhibiting originality, activity and vigor. In 1891, British critic Robert Kerr also defined the American style when he paid tribute to H. H. Richardson's "manner" of building which produced architecture that was "bold" and characterized by "muscularity" and "strong naked health," all words commonly applied to the general conception of vitality in nineteenth-century literature.³⁵²

Pattern book authors would not have found it desirable to describe houses as bold and muscular, but they recognized the adaptive character of American building as being truly national. J. H. Kirby had already stated in 1874:

³⁵¹Vaux, Villas and Cottages, p. 35. Over a decade later, Vaux read a paper before the New York "Fraternity Club" in which he applied the theories of social evolution to Imperial Rome of Marcus Antoninus. In the essay he also compared Emerson with Antoninus. "A Philosophical Emperor," Popular Science Monthly 11 (August 1877): 461-469.

³⁵²Kerr, in Fergusson, History of the Modern Styles, pp. 357-361.

We have avoided introducing any of the standard styles and orders,...But we have accomplished the purpose of this work by bringing together and making a harmonious arrangement and combination of general details to suit American ideas and tastes, and therefore, we might say, with truth,producing an "American Architecture."³⁵³

In 1884, A. W. Brunner told his clients, "In these designs for cottages it will be observed that there has been no attempt made to adhere to any historical style." Rather, styles were "Americanized."³⁵⁴ And in 1887, the Pallisers complained of architects attempting to designate the styles of their houses,

we must excuse many mistakes that have been made, as it really would be impossible to give any name to a large number of the designs made unless they were honestly called, what they are in reality, "American Vernacular," as they come nearer to what might be termed an American style than anything else, being the results of the needs of each case and the materials at hand...and has had great effect upon the formation of a style for general use.³⁵⁵

Most pattern book authors dealt with the new conceptions of American style by working within the Queen Anne mode of design, thus blurring the parameters of the traditional definition of style. Although nomenclature was often applied, houses in their books were presented more frequently without precise stylistic designation. Reed found his solution to the problem of communicating such an abstract definition of style by adopting a phrase associated with Queen Anne and publishing a book with homes in what he labelled the "free style."

³⁵³ J. H. Kirby, Kirby's Domestic Architecture (Philadelphia: By the Author, 1874), Concluding Remarks, n. p.

³⁵⁴ Arnold William Brunner, Cottages or Hints on Economical Building (New York: William T. Comstock, 1884), p. 28.

³⁵⁵ Palliser, New Cottage Homes, Plate 24, Design 75.

CHAPTER FIVE

QUEEN ANNE IN THE PATTERN BOOKS

Pattern books published in the centennial year of 1876 did not show a marked response to the new British Queen Anne style. Although established professional east coast architects who wished to educate the public often introduced the latest fashions to their traditional format books, the architects who were most innovative in developing a market for pattern book services by selling plans and goods did not experiment as readily. Most pattern books in 1876 were still filled with illustrations of houses in a variety of the ever-popular nineteenth-century gothic and classic stylizations, but word of a new fashion had begun to circulate.

In the centennial year, the fledgling professional journal, the American Architect and Building News, carried articles on new British buildings in the Queen Anne style; Harper's New Monthly Magazine published Henry Hudson Holly's articles on the subject, and the British display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition featured Queen Anne household decoration. In 1877, a house designated as "Queen Anne" first appeared in a pattern book when George and Charles Palliser, who that year formed their company in Bridgeport, included a design for a block of masonry row houses specifically labelled "Queen Anne" in their mail-order pattern book, American Cottages. The next year, the Pallisers followed their first Queen Anne design with a small frame cottage in Palliser's Model Homes, and in the same year, Henry Hudson Holly's articles on the adaptation of the British fashion

for American architecture were enlarged and published in book form. Although limited in scope, this introduction by Holly and the Pallisers presaged a fashion that would soon dominate pattern books. Several pattern book authors thereafter inserted illustrations of "Queen Anne" houses into their books, and through those designated houses, an identifiable character of the style emerged.

With the work of pattern book authors, a compendium of characteristic features was assembled and a manner of building evolved. Precisely because its definition was so elusive, so open to subjective interpretation, Queen Anne enabled designers to experiment with structural and decorative forms drawn from a wide range of sources. Inherently eclectic, it offered a flexibility of design which fostered individual expression within general parameters of stylistic conception, becoming, as has been argued, not so much a popular style as the prevailing mode of design--a *modus operandi* for contemporary domestic architecture at least to the close of the century. The absence of specific style encouraged an inventive interplay of external features, and the necessary picturesque silhouette ostensibly permitted a natural adaptation of house and plan to site and function, both allowing an artistic prerogative encompassing a rich palette of colors for their exteriors.³⁵⁶ Queen Anne released architects from the limitations of earlier traditions and gave them for the first time the essential freedom necessary to develop dwellings that would both satisfy the needs and demands of a burgeoning

³⁵⁶Rich, deep paint colors became possible with the development of a paint grinding mill by Henry A. Sherwin in 1876. His invention eliminated the prevalent problem of streaking in ready-mix paints. Roger W. Moss, Century of Color. Exterior Decoration for American Buildings, 1820-1920 (Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1981), p. 11. The intense entrepreneurial competition to produce high quality house paint is chronicled in William Dean Howell's novel The Rise of Silas Lapham (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1885).

residential market and at the same time partially answer the call for a distinctive American style. The pattern book client was no longer invited to choose among many styles but to select from the innumerable architectural variations made possible by the large Queen Anne vocabulary.

Meanwhile, the arguments concerning both the theoretical validity and appropriateness of the so-called style for modern America that had begun with the discourse on Queen Anne in the American Architect and Building News continued in popular and professional literature. From the beginning, the imported British fashion and its myriad adaptations elicited judgments which were typically either laudatory or vehemently critical. A neutral position was seldom taken. The new style was to some the logical direction for future American building, but for others it was a nondescript "melange" of forms. Architect John L. Smithmeyer responded so strongly to the growing popularity of Queen Anne that he published a diatribe against the fashion titled, Strictures on the Queen Anne Style of Architecture.³⁵⁷ Soon after its introduction to North America, Queen Anne was declared out of fashion and inappropriate for modern architecture; at the same time, it was hailed as a direction for the future of American architecture. While architects and critics tussled year by year, Queen Anne continued its steady progress in the pattern books.

Preliminary Experimentation 1876-1878

George Palliser's small pattern book of 1876, Model Homes for the People, advertised mail-order plans for "gothic" and "Italian gothic" houses as well as

³⁵⁷John L. Smithmeyer, Strictures on the Queen Anne Style of Architecture (Washington, D. C.: By the author, 1881).

houses with "French" or "mansard" roofs.³⁵⁸ Each of the styles had been popular for decades. Nonetheless, some features of his houses were a foretaste of the changing fashion. Palliser's "Centennial Villa," which was in the newer gothicized style with stick work, was given a picturesque silhouette with gables and dormers; his Italian houses had broader eaves, segmented bays and turned posts. Another entrepreneurial pattern book author, Elisha Hussey, enticed his clientele of migrating Americans with evaluations of the quality of life and opportunity in over 250 communities.³⁵⁹ The designs which accompanied the lengthy survey were in the current Italian, gothic, Swiss and French stylizations, although Hussey advocated mixing styles more freely than many architects would accept.

William Woollett, a fellow of the American Institute of Architects who cannot be classed with the innovative pattern book entrepreneurs in 1876, was typical of the established professional architect-authors who produced pattern books. Woollett's book, Villas and Cottages, followed the traditional didactic format of mid-century pattern books, but it offered neither plans nor other services for sale by mail order.³⁶⁰ As an architect who worked in the cosmopolitan east, however, he was more aware of contemporary British design. Explicitly eschewing the French mansard roof houses still popular in other pattern books, Woollett advocated the modernized gothic currently in vogue and represented by Richard Morris Hunt's house published in the first issue of the American Architect. He also presented

³⁵⁸George Palliser, Model Homes for the People (Bridgeport, Conn.: By the Author, 1876).

³⁵⁹Elisha Charles Hussey, Home Building (New York: By the Author, 1876).

³⁶⁰William M. Woollett, Villas and Cottages, or Homes for All (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co., 1876).

houses in Italian stylizations and experimented with integrations of gothic and classic as well. The resultant house designs frequently exhibit decorative forms not previously associated with either gothic or classic but with British Queen Anne buildings then considered modern.

The encroachment of the new fashion was clearly evident to his readers when they compared Woollett's Villa No. 1 and his Cottage No. 1 (figs. 41, 42).

Although both retain the applied stickwork found on many modern gothicized houses, their massing and proportions are different. The villa is characterized by a vertical emphasis which in the cottage is checked by broadened proportions, a double hip roof and less steeply pitched gables. In Queen Anne fashion, the dominant gable in the perspective drawing of the cottage is deeply coved and shingled, and the gable finials are floral forms in drooping resemblance of sunflowers, and both cottage and villa display chamfered eaves of the new fashion.

The brothers George and Charles Palliser in 1877 published the first of over twenty pattern books which served as vehicles for selling their plans, specifications, details and consulting services.³⁶¹ Although other pattern book authors had offered plans for sale following the Civil War, the Palliser brothers were the first to establish their business on this new concept. They were also the first to designate houses specifically as "Queen Anne." Their initial response to the new style was a straightforward interpretation of late eighteenth century British and American building details. Plate 28 in American Cottage Homes illustrates a row of four "Queen Anne" brick city houses having fanlights and balustrades and

³⁶¹See Michael Tomlan, introduction, George Palliser, Model Homes for the People, reprint ed., (Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1978), n.p.

fronted by a two story segmented bay with sash windows in which small square lights surrounded a larger central light in the upper sash (fig. 43).³⁶²

The city house was not a prevalent type in pattern books nor in architectural journal illustration. Most architects directed their domestic designs to new suburban dwellers. And while architects whose designs were published in the American Architect actively experimented with the new British fashion for American country houses, the Pallisers did the same for their less wealthy clients. There is no question that they were aware of the architecture being published in this professional journal. In fact, as noted previously, a large portion of the lengthy essay in Palliser's Model Homes was plagiarized from the journal. However, the Pallisers did not find in the American Architect complete models for their small frame houses, but they did select from the journal forms and features which indicated their adaptation of the new mode.

Two houses are given stylistic identification in Model Homes, and the similarities in massing, architectural forms and decorative features between these and the remainder of the designs imply to the reader that all are in the new fashion. According to the Pallisers, Plate IV, a cottage built in West Stratford, Connecticut at a cost of \$1,460, was "a free rendering of what is known as the Queen Anne style of architecture" (fig. 44).³⁶³ Plate XIV, a larger \$3,000 home in Lyons, Iowa, was fashioned after homes of the "Jacobite period," a reference made by Henry Hudson Holly in his May 1876 article (fig. 45). The Queen Anne

³⁶²Palliser, Palliser & Co., American Cottage Homes (Bridgeport, Conn: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1877), Plate 28, design 38. Each of the homes cost \$2,400.

³⁶³Palliser, Palliser & Co., Model Homes (Bridgeport, Conn.: Palliser, Palliser & Co., 1878), p. 30.

house shows a simple frame structure typical of village homes across the country, but it is given the requisite picturesque silhouette with a gabled roof enclosing an enlarged staircase bay projecting from one side of the main roof. The eaves of the gables are moderately pitched, much as the roofs for George Palliser's earlier Italian stylizations. The front gable is decorated with queen and king posts embellished with sawn edges in curvilinear patterns. The rectangular spaces formed by the intersections of the boards are filled with a sunburst/floral pattern. This decoration and its indistinct delineation became typical of illustrations of Queen Anne. The semicircular pattern was open to individual interpretation as a sunburst, a shell, a Japanesque fan, and a flower, usually the ever present symbol of constancy, the sunflower.³⁶⁴ A broad horizontal veranda roof line then counters the verticality of the bay, and a porch hood cuts perpendicularly into the veranda roof in a configuration established in the American Architect. The sash windows are decorated with small panes, some of which contained stained glass. The house was to be painted "Venetian red," a color popular with pattern book authors and reminiscent of the red brick building material for modern British Queen Anne homes. "Indian red" highlighted the trim while black delineated the chamfers and "cut and sunk work."³⁶⁵

Although the sharply pitched gables and stick-like gable decoration did not belong to the Queen Anne style, the Jacobite house introduced design features

³⁶⁴Generic petalled flowers were not uniquely British. For example, two floriate forms embellished the facade of a country home in Viollet-le-Duc's Habitations Modernes. Vol. 1 (Paris: Ve. A. Morel et Cie., Libraire-Editeurs, 1875), Pl. 13. The sunflower was also drawn similarly to Japanese chrysanthemum decoration. Clay Lancaster, The Japanese Influence in America (New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963), p. 61.

³⁶⁵Palliser, Model Homes, p. 30.

which were integral to interpretations of the British fashion by architects publishing in the American Architect. The first floor exterior is clapboard with stickwork in emulation of half-timber, and the second story is sheathed in shingle, the now common American substitute for the British tile. The second story, supported by brackets, projects slightly over the first with the appearance of a medieval jetty. The Jacobite house, too, was to be painted Venetian red with black details, but a colorful accent was added with yellow sash and veranda panel details.³⁶⁶

Other houses in the Pallisers' 1878 book do not have stylistic labels, but features associated with Queen Anne were added to many of the frame structures. On the simplest of plans, multiple light windows and turned posts signal the new fashion. On larger homes, stained glass upper sashes, window hoods, sunburst gable decorations, shingled gables, projecting bays and chamfered bays with broad decorative brackets, half-timbering, decorative panels with floral motives, and barge boards with molded decoration expand the pattern book vocabulary of forms. Several houses are enclosed with Holly's tent roof as defined in his May 1876 Harper's article.

The large living hall advocated by Holly is not incorporated into the floor plans of the Palliser houses identified as Jacobite and Queen Anne, although other designs introduce changes in plans which accompanied the Queen Anne style. Practical necessity in a physician's home provided a reason for the Pallisers to introduce the Queen Anne hall in Plate XVI much as Holly had suggested (fig. 46). The central hall with both a fireplace and a staircase is enlarged to become a reception area and to provide a spatial division between living and office quarters.

³⁶⁶The Pallisers sharply criticized one client who had painted a house white instead of the specified sage with buff and black detailing. Ibid., p. 42.

The houses titled, "Residence of N. Carpenter, Sterling, Ill.," and "Residence of Frank H. Underwood, Tolland, Conn.," are given enlarged halls with fireplaces. The three plans apply Holly's expense-saving method of placing three back-to-back corner fireplaces serving the hall and two adjoining rooms.³⁶⁷ The first floor public rooms of the Underwood house are opened to one another with sliding doors, a feature which Holly had not introduced in 1876 but would in his 1878 pattern book (fig. 47).³⁶⁸

Sliding doors were most likely inspired by admiration for Japanese interior partition screens and became a popular feature in pattern book houses, even more so than the large Queen Anne hall which was often eliminated in favor of a functional passage hall. Allotted square footage for a home often did not allow for a seldom used room. But sliding doors, with or without the enlarged central hall, suggested an open plan.³⁶⁹ Pattern book architects began to promote such plans on the basis of healthier air ventilation and sociability among guests and family.

In 1878, Holly produced the most complete sourcebook for Queen Anne. Holly was an established architect who had been trained by Gervaise Wheeler and, like Woollett, was a member of the American Institute of Architects. His book was

³⁶⁷A multiple fireplace was considered a "giant radiator" for surrounding rooms and a means to better ventilation because fresh air would be drawn to the center of the house. Gavin Townsend, "Airborne Toxins and the American House, 1865-1895," Winterthur Portfolio 24 (September 1989): 38.

³⁶⁸Palliser, Model Homes, Plate XVI, p. 57; Plate VIII, p. 40; Plate XIX, p. 63.

³⁶⁹Edward S. Morse later commented about Japanese interior sliding screens, "For communication between the rooms, therefore, swinging doors are not necessary." Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886), p. 7.

produced in the traditional instructional pattern book format. Based on his 1876 series of articles, Modern Dwellings was an educational resource for prospective homeowners and builders rather than a source for plans and building specifications.³⁷⁰ By producing a traditional format pattern book, Holly positioned himself with the east coast architectural hierarchy. However, many of his contemporaries were already turning from Queen Anne to its shingle interpretations, and Holly had in fact allied himself with their promotion of colonial architecture in a letter to the American Architect in 1877. With no mention of Queen Anne, he argued for an "American style of architecture" drawn from the "Dutch and Puritan" examples.³⁷¹ Yet, Holly's popular publication was an exposition on adaptations of Queen Anne for American soil.

In Modern Dwellings, Holly explained site selection, sanitation, building materials, balloon frame construction, plumbing, heating, ventilation, home decoration and women's art-schools for his readers in a general but informative way. Interspersed among the chapters were twenty-three house designs with plans and details. The style for the houses was Queen Anne. The architect emphatically told his readers, "Now, this vernacular style is precisely what this book is intended to advocate, it being none other than the free classic, or Queen Anne."³⁷²

³⁷⁰Henry Hudson Holly, Modern Dwellings in Town and Country (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1878).

³⁷¹Henry Hudson Holly, "The American Style," American Architect 2 (August 18, 1877): 267.

³⁷²Holly, Modern Dwellings, p. 21.

As he had in his articles of two years earlier, Holly defined the Elizabethan, Jacobite and Francis I sources for Queen Anne as "free classic," and added that Queen Anne was also "influenced by what is known as the 'cottage architecture' of that period." Such cottages, he explained, were timber with tile, had prominent chimneys, details with classic character, and a bold silhouette which was similar to the picturesque and "ever-varying Gothic." The British examples Holly chose to highlight for his readers were Norman Shaw's Leyswood and Cragside, and Thomas Colcutt's British Government buildings at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, each of which partook of the "cottage architecture" more than of the classic. Holly's designs, too, de-emphasized the classical aspects of Queen Anne. The cottage architecture from England's late medieval past was, for Holly, timeless and adaptable, both conceivably important to a modern developing nation. The majority of the new designs added to the original six published in his May 1876 Harper's article do away with the broad sweeping lines of the tent roof. The enveloping tent roof remains but takes on the character of a hipped tent roof punctured by dominantly vertical ells and bays (fig. 48).³⁷³ The massing of shapes and volumes is similar to one type of Queen Anne interpretation concurrently published in the American Architect, especially by architects Peabody and Stearns. Rectangular volumes are placed perpendicular to one another and abutted at a central core or ell. Verticality, evoking the gothic roots of Queen Anne architecture, is dominant in the overall massing but modified with less sharply pitched roof lines than had been prevalent in earlier gothic interpretations. This type of massing, with added bays, dormers, chimneys and other appendages

³⁷³ Ibid., Design No. 21.

became the most prevalent in pattern book Queen Anne. Holly's exterior cladding of the multiple volumes was already indicative of so-called Queen Anne and remained so: first story clapboard was replaced at the second by shingle, and half-timber filled many of the gables.

While most of Holly's house exteriors feature sunflower panels, "sgraffito" panels and barge boards decorated with applied patterns of molding, he also included designs of extreme simplicity that depended on the outline and massing of the building. These, however, do not conform to the colonial and Queen Anne integrations which resulted in the shingle covered houses published in the American Architect. The houses are simple frame structures. Design No. 15, for example, is a two-story clapboard home with shingled gables, banded chimneys and turned posts, but little else detracts from the compact, yet picturesque, silhouette (fig. 49). This range of interpretation from simple, relatively unadorned houses to more elaborate configurations, all under the aegis of Queen Anne, recommended Queen Anne for a pattern book mode. Most pattern book authors would include such a range of interpretation in order to reach clients with different incomes.

Evolution and a Compendium of Forms 1880-1883

The diversity that characterized Queen Anne can be illustrated in these contemporary comments published in the architectural literature several years after its introduction to American home construction:

1881

Queen Anne has now arrived at the currency to which a new opera attains when its tunes descend to the hand-organ.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁴Smithmeyer, Strictures, p. 8.

The term (Queen Anne) is so loosely used, and the real examples of the style have so little that is characteristic about them, that every builder and furniture dealer can rehabilitate his obsolete designs, or invent new and unheard-of ones out of his own head, and put them boldly forward as examples of the new style without much risk of being repudiated.³⁷⁵

1883

...at present our architects are so much in the habit of calling an eccentric design by any name that is likely to please the owner, that until something like a style has been developed out of all this confusion, it will be difficult to discuss intelligently the meaning of the various names now in common use.³⁷⁶

While Queen Anne eclecticism and experimentation made it difficult for critics to identify buildings as Queen Anne, many pattern book authors found this inexactitude a means to facilitate the development of a market for their books, plans, specifications and other services. Entrepreneurial pattern book architects, especially, adopted Queen Anne and launched the style for public consumption. In 1881, the architectural publisher William T. Comstock produced a compilation of designs by architects with the express intent "to furnish good example of complete buildings, as well as practical details."³⁷⁷ His architectural publishing company, formerly headed by Amos J. Bicknell, was not in the business of selling plans but of reproducing designs completed by practicing architects. Comstock advised his readers that the extensive changes in contemporary architecture necessitated his book. Modern fashions formed a group of related styles which were modifications

³⁷⁵C., "The Queen Anne Style," American Architect and Building News 7 (February 21, 1881): 73.

³⁷⁶"Correspondence. Styles of Architecture." Carpentry and Building 5 (February 1883): 36.

³⁷⁷William T. Comstock, Modern Architectural Designs and Details (New York: William T. Comstock, Architectural Publisher, 1881), Preface.

of the gothic to which classic features had been added, as explained in his

Preface:

The French...has been supplanted by our present modified Gothic, which appears as "Queen Anne," "Elizabethan," "Jacobean," or "Colonial," and is a revival of the old Gothic, as it appeared during the periods referred to under these respective names. The present styles, while bearing many characteristics of their prototypes, do not adhere strictly to any of them. Thus, what is known as the Queen Anne (of the present day) is frequently introduced classic features, and the same is true of the other styles.³⁷⁸

Comstock's estimation was a commonly held view of modern architecture.

Complex, irregular massing and exterior silhouettes punctured with gables, chimneys and dormers were considered a heritage of medieval building. Implicit within these motifs was the lore of the medieval past. At the close of the decade, William Morris assessed the work of contemporary British Queen Anne practitioners and concluded that much of their work's appeal was founded in the fact that it retained some aspect of gothic. His commentary was equally applicable to North America. However, for the American public, what Morris called the "differentia" of Queen Anne sustained its popularity as much as its gothic implications of domesticity. Himself a proponent of the "good taste" and "good sense" of recent Queen Anne building, Morris asserted,

In truth with the best of them it was not the *differentia* of the Queen Anne style that was the attraction; all that is a mere bundle of preposterous whims; it was the fact that in the style there was yet left some feeling of the Gothic, at least in places or under circumstances where the buildings were remote from the progressive side of the eighteenth century.³⁷⁹

The preceding separatist battle of styles had been transformed into a struggle of balance between the two categories manifest in individual buildings. As the

³⁷⁸Ibid.

³⁷⁹William Morris, "The Revival of Architecture," Fortnightly Review n.s. 43 (May 1, 1888): 672.

decade passed, architects who interpreted Queen Anne through its colonial interpretations also tacitly professed classical simplicity. William Comstock labelled two larger homes and three small cottages shown on one page "Queen Anne," and his selections illustrate the fluctuating balance. The larger houses are suburban New Jersey homes designed by the New York architectural firm of Lamb and Wheeler. The first house, the introductory plate in the book, is illustrated with a long narrow rectangular plan with entrance to the house on the longitudinal side (fig. 50). In massing and decoration, the house draws strongly on the British and European vernacular merging of classic and gothic. The plan is classically contained and rectangular, although the long two-story facade which faces the front of the lot is given vertical lines with three windowed gables, each of different size, projecting from a tent roof. Gables are ornamented with half-timbering and windows are filled with small squares of glass. Pages of details which follow the perspective drawing display a variety of decorative features, some of which add to the pattern book definition of Queen Anne ornamentation: barge boards lined with cut quatrefoils, rectangular sunflower-filled panels, greatly enlarged balcony brackets, incised decoration, and turned and grooved posts.

Plate 45 is a larger home and illustrates the breadth of Queen Anne interpretation that contributed to the allure of the so-called style (fig. 51). Adapted to a more expansive country setting than the cottage in Plate 1, the house is planned with picturesque irregularity, and rooms are assembled with a sprawling rectangularity that echoes the undulations of the surrounding hills. Gables, prominent chimneys and an oriel introduce vertical irregularity, but the overall effect is one of restraint rather than Queen Anne exuberance which would soon emerge in entrepreneurial pattern books. Clad in clapboard and shingle, the

house is similar to the more vertically massed eastern seaboard shingled houses which were derived from the assimilation of colonial into Queen Anne. The surfaces of the exterior walls are decorated only with scalloped shingle cladding, but panels of decoration underscore bands of windows. One centrally featured panel displays a vase with a sunflower with classical rinceau-like leaves. The interior planning, too, was appropriate to the new fashion, for the visitor to the home entered a twelve by thirteen foot reception hall with a an inviting fireplace and looked to a larger staircase hall. For freer movement and ease in entertaining, both halls, parlor and dining room were opened one to another with sliding doors.

A subsequent plate illustrating three homes graduated in size from two to three first-floor rooms and an enlarged hall demonstrated to the reader that Queen Anne was an equally appropriate fashion for small inexpensive houses (fig. 52). Each cottage is clad in the characteristic clapboard and shingle, and on each ornamentation is also graduated with the largest having more complex fenestration and more decorative detail. Small square lights in the upper sash of the windows also signal Queen Anne, but they are not as elaborate as those featured on the page of windows, "Window Sash Queen Anne Style" (fig. 53).

Comstock selected examples of work by practicing professional architects who represented neither the progressive designers nor those still embracing outmoded fashions. In the American Architect, a barometer of changing fashion for more expensive homes, houses contemporary with those published in Comstock's book were displayed in a variety of interpretations of the Americanized British fashion. Among them were palatial masonry homes and shingle houses such as those by

W. R. Emerson and W. A. Bates (figs. 54, 55).³⁸⁰ The shingle house which would be later praised by critic Bruce Price and critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer was not prominently featured in the journal, but its advocates were prolific authors of educational pattern books and promoted the colonial versions of the British fashion. In the same year as Comstock's book, Boston architect A. F. Oakey published Building A Home, containing both practical and aesthetic instruction.³⁸¹ The architect's shingle-clad houses maintained the rectangularity which had characterized his houses earlier published in the American Architect but for some, the massing is now compacted into upright rectangular shapes. Most are box-like configurations clad in natural shingle which would weather into a patina of gray; the popular colors of paint and stain recommended for other pattern book Queen Anne houses did not conform to Oakey's criteria of fitness.³⁸² In diametric opposiiton to verticality in house design, he also introduced houses whose horizontal emphasis was based on the bungalows of India. For Oakey, these homes, which are one-story attenuated rectangles, were "more hospitable" and their upkeep was easier.³⁸³

³⁸⁰"House at Beverly Farms," American Architect 9 (June 25, 1881), n.p. and "Country House to Cost \$25,000," American Architect 10 (July 30, 1881), n.p., respectively.

³⁸¹Alexander F. Oakey, Building a Home (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881). Republished 1882, 1883, 1884.

³⁸²Ibid., p. 69, quoting Emerson, "The plumage of the bird, the mimic plumage of the insect, has a reason for its rich colors in the constitution of the animal...."

³⁸³Ibid., p. 29. Oakey also integrated the bungalow expansiveness with the popular Queen Anne inspired features as had W. G. Preston in his design for a bungalow published in the American Architect. "Bungalow, Monument Beach," American Architect 7 (March 27, 1880), n.p.

While Oakey was moving away from the prevailing developments in Queen Anne residential architecture and exploring simpler forms, other pattern book authors were cautiously employing Queen Anne stylizations. In 1882, Almon C. Varney of Detroit, Michigan published a hefty volume of nearly five-hundred pages titled Our Homes and Their Adornments. The title continued with a lengthy subtitle, "Practical instructions for the building of homes, interior decoration, wood carving, scroll sawing, house painting , window hangings, screens, curtains, decorative-art needle-work, and economic landscape gardening; to which is added a household compendium of new, practical and valuable recipes, the whole being designed to make happy homes for happy people."³⁸⁴ The author, who wrote a book in the traditional, rather than the new entrepreneurial, format for his western audience, included only eleven designs for houses, of which two alone exhibit clear intentions toward the new fashion. Evidently the new fashion had not yet affected his Michigan practice, since the remainder are similar to designs published in the centennial year pattern books.

One design, however, deserves remark because other pattern book authors included it in their publications, too. Figure 9, a small cottage with a truncated gable covering a jettied upper story ornamented with panels of decoration and a rectangular bay, earlier appeared in 1878 in two of Bicknell's books, Cottage & Villa Architecture and Specimen Book of One Hundred Architectural Designs. It was later featured in Robert Shoppell's 1883 book, How to Build Furnish and Decorate (fig. 56). Indicating the extent of borrowing and adaptation by pattern book authors amid claims of originality, the inspiration for this design may well

³⁸⁴Almon C. Varney, Our Homes and Their Adornments (Detroit: J. C. Chilton & Co., Publishers, 1882).

have been a double cottage published in House-Building, an 1873 book by British architect C. J. Richards.³⁸⁵

Although periodicals and books published in the cosmopolitan eastern United States were available in the far west, consensus about the style's interpretations disintegrated as the style moved west. In 1882, the San Francisco Evening Bulletin compiled a series of designs which had been published in issues of their newspaper from April 1880 to January 1882. Each of the designs was drawn by local architect John C. Pelton and each was accompanied by epistolary notes on the character of the house and by construction and specification information. Aware of the new fashion but not fully informed, Pelton obviously wanted his clients to know that trend-setting east coast designs were also available in the west. In his letter describing "A Seven Room Cottage," he observed the improving condition of American domestic architecture. According to Pelton, the early American copies of Queen Anne domestic architecture were followed by new styles, among them the Swiss, which in the eastern United States had evolved into an "American style." Just what Pelton meant by the style was unclear because he did not explain, choosing instead to describe contemporary interpretations of Queen Anne as wood translations of stone. After intimating the undesirability of such Queen Anne interpretation, he favorably described, and applied, the "English" hall with staircase and fireplace. Clearly, he had not fully synthesized the information about new fashions in building which were filtering to

³⁸⁵C. J. Richards, House-Building from a Cottage to a Mansion (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1873), title page and p. 66.

San Francisco.³⁸⁶

Pelton's "A Five Thousand Dollar Cottage" was also presented to his west coast readers as typical of modern "Eastern States" domestic architecture and much different from "California fanciful bird-cage imagination." The praiseworthy eastern houses were painted in "green, olive, yellow, sage, brown, Indian and Venetian red, vermillion, crimson, salmon red, black, etc.," and were simpler with "bold and striking outline, deep shadows, and the heavy lines of the finish."³⁸⁷ Pelton's cottage, however, is an incongruous interpretation of contemporary architecture, only faintly resembling Queen Anne stylizations published in any of the current periodicals (fig. 57).

To the confusion about definition of the new style, New York pattern book architect Robert W. Shoppell contributed substantially in his 1883 book, How to Build, Furnish and Decorate, in which one hundred twenty-six house designs included gothic, Italian, stickwork, and French stylizations, all typical of pattern books published ten years earlier.³⁸⁸ Few of the houses were given stylistic designation, but among the designs are eight houses identified as Queen Anne. Shoppell's conflations of the new fashion did not incorporate many of the already established Queen Anne forms and features, although his houses appear to have resulted from attempts to integrate gothic and classic. Much of the former was drawn from the manner of vernacular gothic from several decades earlier, while

³⁸⁶ John C. Pelton, Jr., Cheap Dwellings (San Francisco: The San Francisco Bulletin Company, 1882), p. 23.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 50.

³⁸⁸ Robert W. Shoppell, How to Build, Furnish, and Decorate (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1883).

the classic is represented with fragments of decorative detail, much as if Shoppell relied on verbal descriptions of the new fashion rather than on visual models. One feature from classical antiquity often unconventionally appears on his houses—large molded or carved akroteria perched on gable apexes.

Whether out of ignorance or inventiveness, Shoppell took advantage of the style's inherent freedom, and his designs demonstrate the emergent character of Queen Anne as a mode of design in entrepreneurial pattern books. Among the exterior configurations, Design No. 58, a cottage originally designed for "a clergyman, the esteemed pastor of a well-to-do community," is clad in horizontal siding on the first story and vertical siding on the second (fig. 58). Windows having no relation to the fashionable Queen Anne windows are surrounded with sawn moldings; a rectangular bay with lower panels "cut in imitation of filigrane work" projected from the front. The "piazza" roof is supported with turned posts and reticulated wood work, similar to patterns formed by Japanese shoji screens. Design No. 59 is clad in the more familiar Queen Anne clapboard and shingle, and an akroterion dominates the front facade gable, while two smaller akroteria accent the lowest point of the eaves (fig. 59). Design No. 125, a smaller home for a person of "moderate means", has horizontal clapboard, vertical boards, shingle and decorative half-timber (fig. 60).

For the most part, Shoppell's designs do not have the lively picturesque silhouettes which Holly and others characterized as Queen Anne. The central rectangular structure dominates the silhouette in Shoppell houses, and projections from the main body of the structure do not reach out into the landscape, but rather, offer subtle variations on the overall rectangularity. Bays are featured, but these appear incidental to the controlled exterior. Design No. 98, a home

estimated at a cost of \$750 for "people of limited means," is called "Queen Anne" but it displays few of the usual motifs associated with Queen Anne (fig. 61). The exterior walls are covered with vertical siding rather than the more familiar horizontal clapboard. Broader strips of siding delineate rectangular panels, not in stick-like fashion but more in a simplified form of half-timber decoration. The gable is filled with vertical boards held in place by a king post and horizontal brace. "Pretty" decorative features include a finial which finishes the gable apex and turned posts supporting the "piazza" roof.

Queen Anne Divergence 1884-1887

The Queen Anne debate continued, and although a mode of design had evolved, precise definition remained elusive. While some entrepreneurial architects manipulated and exaggerated the features introduced by Holly into incomparably elaborate extensions, their work contradicted the essential simplicity of the version of Queen Anne promoted by establishment architects:

1884

During the past few years our conception of what a country house should be, has entirely changed. Simplicity, elegance and refinement of design are demanded, and outward display, overloading with cheap ornamentation, is no longer in favor. Naturally, the more expensive homes were the first to get the benefit of the architectural inspiration drawn largely from England. But now that English gables and dormers have spread so widely, now that we realize the beauty of our own colonial architecture, and that the Queen Anne craze is subsiding, so that only the best features remain; the less ambitious of dwellings must not be left to the mercy of those builders whose ideas of beauty are limited to scroll saw brackets and French roofs.³⁸⁹

1885

Let us build strongly, honestly, and conveniently,--eclectically if we will,--and our modified and beautiful Queen Anne will become the logical expression of

³⁸⁹Arnold William Brunner, Cottages; or hints on economical building (New York: William T. Comstock, 1884), p. 7.

domestic American architecture. It contains the germ of greatness and artistic truth.³⁹⁰

1887

The Queen Anne phase followed in England, and was immediately imitated here; but it has not the qualities of a large style, and we shall soon tire of this, too.³⁹¹

Specimens of this exotic architecture have obtruded themselves on our stroll in the shape of smart little Queen Anne villas, with an impudent gable here and a meaningless turret there, strongly suggesting that Queen Anne has gone mad and has attired herself like a dude on Easter day.³⁹²

In 1884, Shoppell's Co-operative Building Plan Association published forty designs in Modern, Low-Cost Houses (Nos. 127-167). The intervening year brought a striking change in the styles of houses offered by the company, for most of them now exhibit standard operative features of Queen Anne. Although the company's designs are simple in conception, with few gables and bays, Queen Anne windows and clapboard and shingle cladding predominate. One-fourth of the house designs are identified as Queen Anne; few others are given stylistic designations. The only "Gothic" building noted in the price list was recommended for a colonial American setting. A gate lodge for Thomas Jefferson's Monticello was described: "This beautiful and quaint looking little structure with its turreted

³⁹⁰George C. Mason, Jr., "Queen Anne or Free Classic Architecture," Lippincott's Magazine o.s 36, n.s. 10 (November 1885): 454.

³⁹¹W. P. P. Longfellow, "The Course of American architecture," The New Princeton Review 3 (March 1887): 206.

³⁹²John Carrere and Thomas Hastings. Florida, the American Riviera, St. Augustine the Winter Newport (New York: Giliss Brothers and Turnure, the Art Age Press, 1887), n. p.

bay window is in the sixteenth century Gothic style."³⁹³

The Queen Anne houses in Modern, Low-Cost Houses are not as idiosyncratic as the 1883 designs, but Shoppell re-interpreted the popular forms and features of Queen Anne with characteristic freedom. Designs No. 142 and 155 introduce a chastened Queen Anne with a minimal number of distinctive features. Although the exterior of No. 142 is bisected with a gabled projection of the sitting room, the floor plan produces an asymmetrical exterior with varying roof heights and an entrance at the left side of the longitudinal facade (fig. 62). One small dormer is shingled, and the classical and gothic integration of Queen Anne is proposed with a balustraded rectangular bay superimposed with a kingpost decorated gable. No. 155 was designed for two families, each occupying a separate floor (fig. 63). Meeting this requirement, the house is formed by vertical rectangular volumes amassed under a hipped roof, a configuration which had developed with the early Queen Anne experimentations in the American Architect. Shingle, a reticulated tile pattern, and segmented arches also imply Queen Anne.

Broadly sloped eaves envelope Designs No. 132, a \$900 cottage, and 148, a \$2500 house, and enclose coved and shingled covered gables (figs. 64, 65). Exterior walls are covered in clapboard on the first story and shingle on the second. The fenestration of both is typically so-called Queen Anne, with grouped vertical windows having upper sashes with small panes of glass. The dominant feature of the small cottage is an eleven foot wide second story "chamber" which is jettied over a rectangular bay on the ground story. The larger house is a squared plan, two-story structure with a kitchen extending from the rear. The

³⁹³Robert W. Shoppell, Modern Low-Cost Houses (New York: The Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1883), Design No. 129.

main body of the house is wrapped on two sides with a veranda, and the entrance to the veranda and house is marked with a small gable decorated with the now familiar sunburst pattern.

Designs 131, 135, and 136 are modestly priced two-story Queen Anne homes with emphasis on vertical massing. The least expensive house of the three, at \$700, is the simplest (fig. 66). The ell-shaped plan provides the requisite multiple gables which are in this example, hipped gables. The familiar clapboard and shingle cladding configuration is replaced by facades sectioned into rectangular panels with applied narrow bands of wood. Designs No. 135 and 136, \$1200 and \$1400 respectively, are more elaborate, although the compact rectangularity is maintained. Applied decoration increases as do the number of dormers. On house No. 135, a gable nearly the width of the front facade, and decorated with a network of applied decoration and a centered Queen Anne window, projects upward from a coved base (fig. 67). The plan includes a large staircase hall with a multiple corner fireplace as suggested by Holly. House No. 136 is a another ell-shaped plan with two gables, the ell and a dormer, facing the viewer (fig. 68). An orieled molding supports an upper story Queen Anne window, and a band of decorative panels divides the first from second stories. The entrance of the second house opens directly into a hall with a staircase, a configuration that had been introduced with the style, but the size of the house prevented an accurate rendition of a living hall.

The designs called "Queen Anne" become progressively more complex with Nos. 145, 152 , 155, 160 and 163. The first of them, a \$2300 house, recast features of the pattern book's smaller homes enlarged with a more complex plan. The massing of No. 145, like most of the Association's houses, is controlled and

contained with tightly knit rectangular volumes (fig. 69). There is little fanciful intersection of the rectangular forms. Designs No. 152 and 160 are somewhat less restrained (figs. 70, 71). The two together carry a broad selection of Queen Anne features: compact yet picturesque massing, complex roof lines with gables on multiple dormers, ell and projections, small-paned windows, chamfered bays, prominent chimneys, finials, shingle and clapboard, decorated panels. No. 152, a "really elegant house," prominently exhibits classical effects with bulls' eye windows and a pedimented window. Described as "a style that meets with greater favor for American houses than any other--a style, too, that will last, as it is true to the requirements of art," the "Model Queen Anne House" has the appearance of more complex massing than is typical of Shoppell designs. Gables step forward to the street, and gables perpendicular to those frontal reach to the lateral sides of the lot. The composition is characteristic of domestic designs which would endure as popular Queen Anne for the American public. Evidently the design sold well for Shoppell's company, since it was the only early design included in their 1890 pattern book Shoppell's Model Houses.

The "\$6000 Queen Anne Villa," No. 163, is introduced with some typical pattern book puffery: "This beautiful design is one that meets the requirements of a large family of cultivated taste. The elevation is noble and dignified and yet home-like" (fig. 72). Again selections from the store of Queen Anne features are incorporated. The dominant feature is a heavy, squared tower-like third story room above the second story chamber. Square towers were another feature of early interpretations of the British fashion published in the American Architect. A similar but smaller tower is incorporated into design No. 153, "a \$2700 Queen

Anne house" (fig. 73). Both towers are given Queen Anne sash windows with small square panes of glass filling the upper sash.

In the year Modern Low Cost Homes was put on the market, Century Magazine published an analysis of contemporary American architecture by Van Rensselaer. The architectural critic was unquestionably opposed to contemporary Queen Anne in its elaborated manifestations. In her estimation, the demand for picturesque buildings had corrupted American taste by substituting decoration for integrity. With the free use of racial analogies typical of the late nineteenth century, overly decorated country cottages were likened to "card-board boxes put together by a Chinese child."³⁹⁴ Although she did not specify architects, her judgments undoubtedly would have been applied to the work of two California architects, Samuel and Joseph C. Newsom.

In 1884, the Newsom brothers contributed Pacific coast versions to the panoply of Queen Anne. Houses decked with ornamentation filled their pattern book, Picturesque California Homes, and the plans were available to the public for reproducing the houses and their exterior decoration.³⁹⁵ Plans for thirty-four houses were marketed, and following the selective stylistic categorization common to pattern books, only four were given stylistic designations. One is Swiss, the others are Queen Anne. Within the short span of years between John Pelton's

³⁹⁴Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, "Recent Architecture in America. Public Buildings. I," Century 28 (May 1884): 61. A. D. F. Hamlin praised the planning of the shingle houses but also noted that in many cases the "affectation of picturesqueness" was detrimental. Hamlin, A Text-Book of the History of Architecture (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897), p. 398.

³⁹⁵Samuel and Joseph C. Newsom, Picturesque California Homes (San Francisco: By the Authors, 1884; reprint ed., Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1978).

designs and the Newsoms' interpretations, Queen Anne had become more well-known on the west coast. The massing of volumetric forms common to Queen Anne houses inform most of the Newsom designs, including the three titled Queen Anne. But their ornamentation is heavier and more exuberantly displayed, particularly on facades visible to the public.

Plate 5, a "Queen Anne" city residence costing \$5000 conforms to a narrow rectangular city lot, and lavish decoration is applied to the front facade (fig. 74). A rectangular bay projects forward. Its gable is given two Queen Anne windows surrounded by moldings, including button molding and applied pendants, a large floral motif, and shingle patterns. Pendant moldings and brackets suspend from the top corners of the second story portion; a band of molding separates second and first stories, followed by a shingled hood with scalloped edge that curve to meet a broken pediment. The stepped back entrance at the side of the house repeats the motifs, adding even more to the lavish display. Plate 19 illustrates a small cottage costing \$2,700 (fig. 75). It, too, displays an exuberant application of standardized features and adds one which was becoming a recognizable Queen Anne form, a square bay projecting from the corner of the front facade. The Newsoms' virtuosity is then displayed in a fourteen room house, costing \$12,000 (fig. 76). On the most expensive house in their pattern book, the ornamentation almost obscures the massing of the house, which in itself is highly complex with chamfered bays, curved bays and a second story rectangular bay projecting from a corner.

While Robert Shoppell's firm and the Newsom brothers were capitalizing on an eclectic mode of design, New York architect Arnold William Brunner in the same year compiled Cottages, a book of designs by practicing architects. Following the

traditional didactic format, he assumed the role of educator to inform his readers that the elaborate ornamentation which had developed with builders' interpretations of English architecture was, and should be, supplanted by greater simplicity. Opposed to the popular pattern book that offered plans for sale, he allied himself with his fellow established east coast architects and critics while specifically arguing against "ready-made houses."³⁹⁶ Brunner clearly told his readers that the illustrated houses served as examples of contemporary design, but the drawings were not intended as patterns for a builder to copy; nor were his plans available for purchase. The chapters and drawings prepared the client for hiring an architect's services. Twenty-four designs were contributed by Brunner, W. A. Bates, C. I. Berg, J. D. Hunter, Jr., the team of Rossiter and Wright, T. Tryon, W. B. Tuthill, F. F. Ward, and F. B. White. The designs are predominantly of the shingle house cast and similar to houses contemporaneously being publicized in the American Architect.

The "Queen Anne craze" was at an end according to Brunner who argued strongly against both the popular pattern book version of Queen Anne and the earlier fashion of French roofs. Exemplifying the divergence in opinion concerning contemporary domestic architecture, Brunner urged, a modest dwelling should not be pretentious. A cottage could "assert itself sufficiently without being decked with tawdry ornaments, or the vanity of cupola or towers."³⁹⁷ The inspiration for American house design should be colonial, for the best of historic Queen Anne architecture had been retained and mediated by American colonial buildings. The

³⁹⁶Arnold William Brunner, Cottages; or, Hints on Economical Building (New York: William T. Comstock, 1884), p. 8.

³⁹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 26.

only design having a title in the book, however, is a "Bungalow (with Attic)" (fig. 77). By Brunner himself, the drawing, which serves as the book's introductory illustration, ironically displays some typical features of Queen Anne interpretations: clapboard and shingle, a row of small-paned windows and half-timber in the gable, turned posts and dormers. But different from the other illustrated compact two-story houses in the book, a single story bedroom wing is attached to a one and one-half story living area with a kitchen, dining room and twelve-foot square hall which appears to double as parlor or living room. The silhouette of the house is elongated and horizontal.

Two pattern books published in 1885 again demonstrate the conflict in domestic architectural design, especially between professional and entrepreneurial author-architects. William Tuthill, whose work is illustrated in Brunner's book, asserted in The Suburban Cottage: "All good designs should be characterized by unity and directness, with truth and breadth of expression," much in contrast to "recent building, notably so in suburban and seaside cottages."³⁹⁸ Tuthill, who later established himself as a proponent of colonial, the new romanesque and the classical styles at the Columbia Exposition in an 1893 publication, presented his 1885 readers with houses reflecting a simplified version of Queen Anne, although not the shingle interpretation found in Brunner's book. The untitled shingle and clapboard sided houses have hipped tent roofs and are irregularly silhouetted with gables, dormers and oriels. The lack of ornamentation on both modest and expensive houses is in stark contrast with the Newsoms' Queen Anne, exterior wall expanses are wider, and appendages, such as oriels, are weightier.

³⁹⁸William Burnet Tuthill, The Suburban Cottage (New York: William T. Comstock, 1885), p. 8.

S. B. Reed, on the other hand, stepped into the arena of popular Queen Anne and exploited the versatility and eclectic possibilities of the style, although he did not refer to it directly. Reed had not embraced the new fashion when it was introduced by other pattern book authors. In 1878, his architectural designs for the American Agriculturalist were published in book form, and the popular response to his book prompted him to publish another in 1883. In each, the houses are examples of earlier prevailing styles and are drawn with rough, bold lines for his rural readers. When he produced a book for new suburban homeowners in his 1885 Dwellings for Village and Country, his house designs and the drawing style had become more sophisticated. Fashionable houses are drawn with more delicate line and each is titled with a name suggesting suburban living. Attractive and prosperous settings for his homes are communicated with such titles as "Norwalk," "Vineland," "New London," and "Mamaroneck" (fig. 78).³⁹⁹ Having previously appealed to rural clients, Reed told his newly perceived audience, "The ideal and real home will always be found in the country." With a suburban home, "the owner's personal identity would be recognized in the community, and thoroughly established and realized through his presence, example and general interest."⁴⁰⁰ Reed's houses range from simple two-story cottages to extremely elaborate houses that he called the "free style."

³⁹⁹Samuel Burrage Reed, Dwellings for Village and Country (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1885), "Vineland," Design XIII. His earlier books were also published by Orange Judd: House-Plans for Everybody, 1878, and Cottage Houses for Village and Country Homes, 1883.

⁴⁰⁰Reed, Dwellings, pp. 120-121.

The "free style" houses are the only designs given stylistic confirmation (fig. 79).⁴⁰¹ Queen Anne had been termed "free classic" in Henry Hudson Holly's publications, and both this and "free style" were familiar references as applied to the new fashion in architectural literature. As Reed used the term, "free style" did not imply the mixture of sixteenth through eighteenth century classic forms but an exaggerated eclecticism. His houses compound the forms and massings typical of so-called Queen Anne, but the individual forms are expanded in size. Enlarged forms compete with one another for the viewer's attention and introduce a full blown robustness for late nineteenth-century domestic architecture.

By 1886, the popular mode of design merited a book explicitly dedicated to houses in the Queen Anne style. Syracuse, New York architect J. H. Kirby, with illustration assistance from his brother Henry who practiced in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, produced and published Modern Cottages with "125 illustrations of Cottages, Dwellings and Miscellaneous Work."⁴⁰² Many of the drawings are actually small sketches, but of some forty houses presented, twenty-seven are depicted in half-page perspective drawings, with plans. Although lacking mail-order plans and services, the book is an unmistakable entrepreneurial endeavor functioning as an advertisement for Kirby's professional expertise and a means to enlarge his practice. Kirby clearly told his prospective clients that his book was published to improve his profits, and in this, it deviated from the "missionary"

⁴⁰¹Ibid., "Wallingford," Design XXVII.

⁴⁰²J. H. Kirby, Modern Cottages (Syracuse, New York: By the Author: 1886). Kirby had previously published a pamphlet, "Portfolio of Cottages," 1885, and Kirby's Domestic Architecture (Philadelphia: By the Author, 1874).

intent found in traditional publications.⁴⁰³ The book was prepared for prospective clients to use as a preliminary step before hiring an architect. It was a "starting point, enabling them the more definitely to arrange and mature their general plans before placing the work in the hands of a professional architect."⁴⁰⁴ Accordingly, the last chapter, "Hints on the Practical Construction of Dwelling Houses," was not directed to the education of builders; rather, Kirby discussed construction in a generalized fashion with just enough specific detail to enable the home builder to ask knowledgeable questions.

Most of Kirby's Queen Anne houses cost between \$1,000 and \$10,000, with "one or two, however, touching as high as twenty or thirty thousand dollars."⁴⁰⁵ By Reed's "free style" standards, these are designed with restraint. Kirby opened with an observation that contemporary architecture was "more quiet and less florid than it has been for several years past." His houses were designed to be timeless; they would carry well into the future because he avoided "flimsy and trashy details." A house design "should be more for repose and harmony and less for ostentatious display."⁴⁰⁶ He encapsulated the now developed perception of Queen Anne as, "a style which is calculated to meet the wants of people who desire good, comfortable homes and yet something pleasing to the eye. The picturesque roof is the principal feature...."⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁰⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁰⁵Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁰⁷Ibid.

Kirby's understanding of Queen Anne followed the direction taken by architects such as Peabody and Stearns nearly a decade earlier. The plans of the larger homes are basically rectangular but with irregular perimeters, and in the most prevalent Queen Anne manner, they are composed of rectangular volumes assembled perpendicularly (fig. 80).⁴⁰⁸ Plans for smaller homes are tee and ell shapes and the irregularity of the plans increase as the houses become more expensive. Although Kirby introduced homes with distinctive interpretations, there is an overall sense of a singular style. Kirby's book is an essay on the versatility of Queen Anne. The least expensive homes display little decoration, but shingle and clapboard cladding, and gables partially filled with decorative half-timber, signal Queen Anne. Somewhat larger homes are given chamfered and jettyed bays, Queen Anne windows and oval windows. Most of Kirby's Queen Anne designs follow the gothic interpretations earlier introduced, although shingle-clad Design 5 was directed to the new interest in colonial design with broader gables and an exterior compositional balance between vertical and horizontal lines. In all, the characteristic Queen Anne visual complexity is produced more with the massing of the exterior volumes and roof forms than with decorative features. Design 21, for example, is a rectangular structure with a broadly angled gable covering the longitudinal facade (fig. 81). Gables perpendicular to the main structure contribute to a picturesque effect which is completed by a round oriel with a conical roof projecting from a corner, directed to a vista of the sea. These gestures of verticality are then dramatized with tall, commanding chimneys. Ornamentation is understated but all are typically Queen Anne. Clapboard covers

⁴⁰⁸Ibid., Design 18.

all but the gables, which are shingled, and upper window sashes are lined with small panes of glass. The upper peak of one gable perpendicular to the main roof slope is filled with vertical half-timber, and swag molding decorates the shingled gable which distinguishes the entrance to the veranda and the home. The front door opens into a square staircase hall and sliding doors open the hall to the parlor which then opens to the living room.

Design 25 is more complex in massing and detail and is at the same time an allusion to the simpler shingle houses (fig. 82). Stepped gables, oriels, bays, and dormers provide a picturesque silhouette; panels of decoration, moldings, and hood-like brackets provide decorative detail. Fenestration is also varied. A modified Palladian window and molded decoration fill one gable, while rows of hooded small paned windows line the others, and Queen Anne windows puncture the walls with a frequency which would have produced light-filled rooms. The first story is faced with pressed brick and the second with shingle. The dominant feature of the shingled second story is a tall round tower in proportions similar to the broad massing found on the east coast shingle houses. The plan, however, is a mere gesture to the new open plans that centered on living halls. Kirby's central hall opens to a staircase but is not a living hall reception space, and sliding doors connect only the hall and sitting room.

Scalloped shingles are a prominent decorative feature of Design 14, and the facade has a saltbox roof configuration behind which is a multiple gabled roof reminiscent of Holly's tent roof (fig. 83). Designs 15 and 16 employ hipped tent roofs with gabled projections covering bays, balconies and room extensions (figs. 84, 85).

The massing of the three houses produce at once a complex picturesque silhouette and a volumetric containment that characterized the Queen Anne and preserved the so-called style's gothic roots and gothicized massing. In such Queen Anne designs, containment and a functional order are achieved with an axial treatment of the floor plan (fig. 86).⁴⁰⁹ A longitudinal axis is formed with the abutment of rooms, one on each side, down the center or near center of the house. In some plans, the axis is formed by a hallway, providing a clear division; in others, it is demarcated only by the somewhat irregular conjoining of rooms. The axis is seldom indicated on the exterior, but inside it is a controlling factor. Rooms of different sizes abut or interlock along a line cutting through the near center of the house. On the exterior, an irregular perimeter is formed by the varying rectangular projections of the rooms. Each shape projecting beyond another on the longitudinal sides of the axis is given a gable covering perpendicular to the axis, while those projecting from the front and rear of the house are also provided multiple gables. As a result, these exteriors appeared to Rensselaer's eyes a play card-box house of assembled rectangular volumes. But the irregularity is controlled by the axial plan, and the control is often communicated by a central hipped portion of the roof.

Although the houses were left unnamed, the many manifestations of Queen Anne continued to dominate pattern books in 1886. Pierce & Dockstader of Elmira, New York published Modern Buildings of Moderate Cost, a book of designs in chapters titled "Cheap Houses," "Houses of Medium Cost," and "Better

⁴⁰⁹Ibid., Design 25, plan.

Houses."⁴¹⁰ Plans and specifications for each house were available, as were photographs of the houses constructed from the plans. The photographs were tangible evidence of the novelty and appeal of the plans; further, they were proof that their designs were indeed buildable, a sales point stressed by most entrepreneurial pattern book authors.

Architects selling plans also often allowed the client to participate in designing his or her home by directing modifications to the adaptable Queen Anne houses illustrated in the pattern books. An example of this practice is the Cottage Portfolio issue in 1886 by D. S. Hopkins, an architect in Grand Rapids, Michigan. This small book of twelve designs for "Convenient, comfortable and artistic low-cost homes" offered plans for sale, but the future homeowner was asked to submit information concerning site, local conditions and local materials, and for a reasonable fee, Hopkins offered to individualize the plans. In this way, he assured the readers, the architect planned the home, and the builder or contractor built it, supervising the contracted work of the mason, carpenter, plasterer and painter.⁴¹¹ Stylistically, the houses are liberal interpretations but identifiably Queen Anne. Plate X, a house which Hopkins described as the "more suburban" of his designs, most closely resembles the Queen Anne designs in Shoppell's and Kirby's pattern books (fig. 87), but Plate V shows many Queen Anne features with one prominent addition. Hopkins described this house in typical pattern book hyperbole as "a new and different style; a blending of the 'Moorish' which gives many graceful

⁴¹⁰Pierce & Dockstader, Modern Buildings of Moderate Cost (Elmira, N. Y.: By the Authors, 1886.)

⁴¹¹David S. Hopkins, Cottage Portfolio (New York: Fred A. Hodgson, Pub., 1886), Preface.

lines to the exterior, and a design to be much admired for its grace and dignified appearance" (fig. 88). The "Moorish" touch, as hyperbolic visually as Hopkin's verbal description, obviously refers to a faceted onion dome atop a turret, yet another addition to the idiosyncratic elements that characterize later Queen Anne.

Queen Anne is projected for the frontier and rural areas in D. W. King's Homes for Home Builders, also published in 1886. King's pattern book, described as "a plain and practical aid" by the author, instructed readers who lived where architects' services were not available.⁴¹² Plans were not made available, but building specifications were given and a list of materials was included with each design. Only ten designs for wood frame houses were offered; the remainder of the over two hundred-fifty pages consists of text and instructions for building sod, adobe and concrete houses, as well as outbuildings such as sheep barns, piggeries, and pigeon houses. The frame houses begin at a low construction cost of \$100 for an easy to build homestead and progressed in cost to \$3,600 and \$4,697 respectively for two Queen Anne homes, designs nine and ten.⁴¹³

Prevailing convention held that elaborate decoration was inappropriate for plain and sturdy farm homes, and his Queen Anne houses therefore had little ornamentation, although the diversity of Queen Anne is readily apparent in King's book, with modest houses appropriate for rural settings and expensive homes

⁴¹²David Woodbury King, Homes for Home Builders or Practical Designs for Country, Farm and Village (New York: Orange Judd Co., 1886). Nonetheless, King included estimates for architects' fees in his lists of materials and labor costs.

⁴¹³A Swiss cottage was also offered and described as "quite in contrast to the so-called Queen Anne cottages." Ibid., p. 69. Curiously, King's "Modified Swiss Cottage" had been previously published in Godey's Lady's Book (August 1885) and called a "Modified Queen Anne Cottage." Four "Queen Anne Cottages" designed by King were published in Godey's in 1885.

suited to cultured and well-to-do rural and suburban families. The Queen Anne houses command special attention: both Design IX, "designed to meet the requirements of a family of musical inclination and cultivated tastes," and Design X, "for a family of means," are covered in horizontal siding and shingle, and each is covered with a tent roof (figs. 89, 90). Gabled dormers and an eyebrow dormer, a type that had entered the Queen Anne vocabulary of forms through its colonial interpretations, contribute to a moderately complex silhouette, but less complex than many in this price range offered by other architects. Nonetheless, in design 10, an expensive house, a segmented bay fronting a stairwell hall is terminated with a segmented tower and segmented conical roof, and a broken pediment caps a tower window. Other than the tower, decoration consists primarily of moldings around windows.

While the Queen Anne eclecticism had over the decade tended to become somewhat standardized, professionally trained architects of the eastern seaboard continued their battle against the proliferation of operative housing design. In 1886, Harvey L. Page published the third edition of Architectural Designs. A respected professional architect from Washington, D. C., Page paid tribute to the design principles found in H. H. Richardson's work: "Strength, Simplicity, Breadth, Richness, and often, though not always, Refinement." And he recommended that architects study both northern and southern colonial architecture as models of good design and construction for contemporary architecture.⁴¹⁴ Page's houses exhibit an amalgam of British Shavian Queen Anne, northern and southern

⁴¹⁴Harvey L. Page, Architectural Designs (Washington, D. C.: By the Author, 1886), p. 4. Interestingly, Page eliminated the words "richness" and "refinement" from his praise for Richardson in the 1889 edition of his book.

colonial, and Richardsonian Romanesque. In the latter two sources of architectural design, especially, he represented the directions being taken by many professional architects. The colonial forms had already become evident in pattern books, and the Richardsonian Romanesque forms would soon enter the architectural vocabulary in entrepreneurial pattern books. Marking the change in architectural fashion, D. S. Hopkin's 1889 pattern book, Houses & Cottages, contains some house designs similar to his Cottage Portfolio, but many more are given the broader planes and massing of the shingled colonial interpretations and of Richardson's Romanesque.⁴¹⁵

The divergence in Queen Anne interpretation continued in 1887. Some architects, shunning colonial and shingle house horizontality, underscored the continuing dominance of gothic sources for middle class Queen Anne houses. Others prematurely promoted designs for modest modern colonial homes, a fashion to become popular a decade later. For most, discomfort with the style's elaborations remained. As several of his contemporaries had done, Frank L. Smith attempted to rectify the problems stimulated by overly enthusiastic interpretations of the Queen Anne fashion. In his book titled, A Cosy Home, the text is written as a dialogue between a client, "Mr. Charles Alden," and Smith, the architect. Smith asked his client, "Do you like the modern style of house usually termed 'Queen Anne'?" Alden answered, "Yes, and no. I am fond of ornament, but do not like architectural gymnastics, I want something more quiet, perhaps,

⁴¹⁵David S. Hopkins, Houses and Cottages (Grand Rapids, Mich.: By the Author, 1889).

than I commonly see, yet I do not want a 'boxy' house."⁴¹⁶ Smith's response to his client's preference was a group of houses designed in the mode of Queen Anne and with Queen Anne decorative motifs, but the plans are less irregular and the decoration less lavish (fig. 91).⁴¹⁷ The client with the venerable Alden surname with its colonial connotations was presented with house designs only modified slightly in the direction of shingle colonial and Queen Anne integrations, then given "something different," a house in the colonial style with more gently sloped broad eaves rather than the popular Queen Anne modified gothic verticality (fig. 92)⁴¹⁸

Although Smith's book is highly didactic in both aesthetic and practical matters from selection of building materials to loans, it was designed to sell his advertised blueprints as well as services. Perhaps constrained by a popular taste that had been established through pattern book promotion, Smith sanctioned the prevailing mode of design for middle class homes and at the same time assured his future clients that his versions were more up-to-date.

Manly Cutter and the New York Building Plan Company stepped more aggressively into the slowly developing market for middle class colonial and shingle interpretations of domestic architecture. Plans and specifications for regular perimeter plan houses with gambrel roofs, gently canted gables and arched doors and windows outnumber examples of gothicized verticality in their

⁴¹⁶Frank L. Smith, A Cosy Home (Boston: Press of T. O. Metcalf & Co., 1887), p. 8.

⁴¹⁷*Ibid.*, Design H, Front Elevation.

⁴¹⁸*Ibid.*, Design D, Side Elevation.

book, Designs for Modern Buildings (fig. 93).⁴¹⁹ The firm's approach to the pattern book business is also the most entrepreneurial. The prospective homeowner could now order all the building materials, furniture and materials needed for interior decoration. If complete interior decoration was not desired, the firm could provide a schedule of furnishings in good taste. The company's legal department was the client's source for consultation concerning real estate transactions, building contracts, loans and insurance. With the assurance of contemporary styles and modern business methods, the client, however, was also given the comfort of tradition. John Ruskin, Owen Jones and Lewis Day were cited as authorities, and the client was told, "Of modern ornament, the most perfect is that which is not modern."⁴²⁰ After a decade of gothicized Queen Anne prominence in the entrepreneurial pattern books, colonial and shingle houses were considered sufficiently marketable for the sales of plans on the east coast.

For many architects, American colonial architecture was becoming a more fitting source for contemporary homes, and the freedom of design within the Queen Anne mode allowed for a comfortable progression from medieval foundations modified by vernacular colonial architecture and colonial classicization to colonial revivals. The pattern book public in the rapidly growing western lands,

⁴¹⁹Manly Cutter, Designs for Modern Buildings (New York: New York Building Plan Co., 1887), Design No. 5.

⁴²⁰Ibid., "Useful Suggestions." Citing E. W. Godwin as an authority, the company included a lengthy chapter on Anglo-Japanese interior decoration, but the interpretation did not promote simplicity in Japanese design. Ornate decorative patterns such as those found on vases and furniture panels were enlarged to cover complete wall surfaces. Godwin's interest in Japanese art encompassed their use of pattern and rendition of natural forms as well as architectural simplicity. Interestingly, he found similarities between the character of Celtic and Japanese design. Dudley Harbron, The Conscious Stone. The Life of Edward William Godwin (London: Latimer House Limited, 1949), p. 78.

however, held tenaciously to the gothicized Queen Anne. The many historic house surveys completed by communities a century after this period of pattern book publication clearly show that colonial and shingle houses did not become prominent selections made by homeowners for nearly a decade.

In 1887, two of the more successful entrepreneurial pattern book firms marketed new volumes. Robert Shoppell's Co-operative Building Plan Association published Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, and the Palliser brothers published New Cottage Homes and Details. Neither firm was ready to embrace fully modern colonial, although many of Shoppell's designs are similar to shingle houses. Shoppell's book is divided into five parts.⁴²¹ Part I illustrates company designs 168 through 422. Part II covers a variety of subjects, including remodeling, heating, painting, and landscape gardening as well as "removal of house slops" and "privies and earth closets." An insert illustrated appropriate paint selections in color. Part III is an excerpt from Viollet-le-Duc's Habitations of Man in All Ages, and Part IV, a lengthy exposition on interior decoration. Part V provided legal forms and information for the prospective property owner. Shoppell produced a book designed to appeal to both men and women, to the practical minded, and to readers who wished to be educated in modern fashions. Just as he avoided a narrow definition of his reading audience, he eschewed promoting one style of house. Of the many houses illustrated, only four are given stylistic identifications. Design Number 202 is the requisite pattern book Swiss house, Number 209 has "an appearance of beauty and domesticity that are characteristic of the Colonial style," and Number 214 is described quaintly as "quite Queen Anne." Design

⁴²¹Robert W. Shoppell, Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes (New York: Co-operative Building Plan Association, 1887).

Number 187 has "a touch of colonial feeling," but the author continues with an explanation that carpenters find modern styles, including colonial and Queen Anne, difficult to build. The balance of sales in the pattern book market was teetering between colonial and Queen Anne, and Shoppell played it safe; allowing neither to dominate.⁴²² While the designs have a decidedly shingle house tendency, an illustrated history of American houses in Part II criticizes earlier box-like houses and concludes the evolution of design with a "modern" house in the Queen Anne mode (fig. 94).⁴²³ Design Number 214, the Queen Ann house, is given a contained and regular perimeter characteristic of Shoppell's earlier and current designs (fig. 95). A hipped roof centralizes the nearly square house, while gabled dormers project above the roof line to add a modicum of picturesque irregularity.

While professional architects with whom the Pallisers wished to identify themselves were beginning to turn to colonial gambrel and salt box roofs and bungalow horizontality for contemporary home building, the brothers published a book with houses which are unmistakably medieval in interpretation. Readers of New Cottage Homes and Details, 1887, were informed that the houses they perused were not in any "well defined style." A transplanted foreign style which had been "perfected" for a different time could not be considered suitable for modern American architecture. The houses illustrated in their pattern book were peculiar to America, a land where differing people and their needs required variety in domestic design. Their houses were designed in what could be best described

⁴²²Robert Shoppell also offered plans for a house with a French mansard roof even though he stated that, "From an artistic point of view, we do not admire the Mansard or French roof, yet it has some advantages over other forms..." Ibid., description for Design Number 307, p. 126.

⁴²³Ibid., p. 64.

as a national style, for, as they wrote, still echoing the nationalism fueled by the Centennial, "there is springing up a National style which is becoming more distinctive in character and unlike that of any other nation, as the American climate, life, economy of time and labor, requiring greater facility and conveniences, with snug and comfortable quarters for Winter and shady porches and verandas for Summer." American architecture by necessity was adaptive because America was a country without its own history of building and was a land of great geographic diversity.⁴²⁴ The Pallisers recognized the national style as a mode of building more than a specific style.

Holly had called for a national style, too, but a decade later, the Pallisers did not reiterate Holly's emphatic call for Queen Anne as an American vernacular. In the text, Queen Anne is treated with some ambiguity. Responding to the apparent waning of the style's popularity, the authors intimated that the style was no longer the most current fashion. In the introduction, following a passage proclaiming a national style, the Pallisers predicted an architectural future of styles adapted from the Classic. Yet, Queen Anne visual and textual references are frequent, and the cover features none other than "an adaptation of the so-called Queen Anne, with all the eccentricities and nonsensical features of the same entirely dispensed with..." (fig. 96). Not only is the design placed in the most prominent position in the book, its communicative attributes were described with eloquence:

...a good sample of what the homes of many successful business men ought to be who appreciate their spare moments and desire to spend them in enjoyment and social intercourse with the family, free from the cares and restraints of the business world. Such homes as this are wanted all over our country, and it is the business men of fair means who can live in them, and who, by so doing, will educate the public taste to appreciate the

⁴²⁴Palliser, Palliser & Co., New Cottage Homes and Details (New York: Palliser, Palliser, & Co., 1887), Introductory.

sensible and artistic treatment that is so satisfying and pleasing to the mind through the eye, cultivating the taste for something honest and simple in construction, and leading the desire away from that which is pernicious...made only to gratify the whims and caprices of the ignorant and uneducated,...⁴²⁵

A comparison between the introductory Queen Anne adaptation illustrated on the cover and plates 6, 24, and 41 forces an interesting conclusion. In effect, the interplay of text and visual characteristics of the houses suggests that Queen Anne was the American vernacular. Plate 6, Design 16, is described as a house which would indicate a national style more than any of the other designs in the book (fig. 97). The architects elected to title the house, "Modern American Renaissance" because classic tendencies had been adapted to wood construction.⁴²⁶ Plate 24, Design 75, was described, first, as a house for a client with good taste, then as "an example of modern work without any of the nonsensical features and gew-gaws so often met with in the so-called houses of Queen Anne style" (fig. 98). The Pallisers observed that architects called everything Queen Anne, and they offered a better name, "American Vernacular." And, the mistakes seen in overly pretentious houses notwithstanding, these vernacular designs resulted from adaptation to needs and available materials and funds. Plate 41, Design 127, was favorably presented "in the popular style often called Queen Anne," and, indeed, the house sports a signifying pot of sunflowers on the center panel of the front door (fig. 99). Design 127 is a country home in

⁴²⁵Ibid., Plate 1.

⁴²⁶From the beginning of the decade, the term "American Renaissance" was applied to definitions of America's cultural blossoming and denoted inspiration from "Renaissance" France and England as well as seventeenth and eighteenth century America. Richard Guy Wilson, "Expressions of Identity," in Brooklyn Museum, The American Renaissance, 1876-1917 (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum/Pantheon Books, 1979), p. 11.

which comfort was the most important consideration and maximum space was provided within the client's means.

Design 1, so-called Queen Anne, and Design 16, the national style, or, "American Renaissance," were designed with much the same floor plan (fig. 100). A large central hall separates the dining room and parlor on one side and the library and sitting room on the other side of the hall. The sitting room is placed at the front of the house in Design 1 but behind the library in Design 16. Both houses have verandas across the front. The veranda in Design 16 wraps around the corner to cover a chamfered bay projecting from the sitting room. Design 1 has a two-story rectangular bay angled from the corner of the library while on the corresponding facade Design 16 has a triangular second story bay above the veranda. Exterior massing is also very similar, both being predominantly vertical in conception. The major difference between the two lies in the materials used. Design 16 is a wood clapboard and shingle translation of the introductory design's brick and tile construction.

These differences point out one of the earliest distinctions between British Queen Anne and American adaptations, but the Palliser brothers did not intend a firm nationalistic differentiation. For example, Design 127, a frame house with clapboard siding, narrow decorative bands of shingle, and half-timber decorated gables, is designated as a Queen Anne house. It is a more modest house, and the plan does not include a large living, or Queen Anne, hall. As a smaller home, the exterior is less complex, but the massing simulates the larger houses. Rooms abutting the central hall project outward to form an irregular perimeter plan and provide opportunities for numerous gables and a gothicized picturesque verticality. The half-timber motif and brick construction of the two Queen Anne houses are

combined on Design 75, the house that best illustrates the Pallisers' discussion of Queen Anne buildings as the "American Vernacular." The plan incorporates a large hall with a staircase and fireplace and features Holly's popular multiple fireplace configuration. The exterior again exhibits comparable massing, but the medieval sources are more overtly communicated. Above a brick first story, the second story and gables are frame with plaster panels and applied half-timber.

Queen Anne and British design are illustrated in several designs. Houses in Plates 26 and 42 wear the sunflower motif, and the commentary accompanying plate 54 praises the houses in Bedford Park. Verbal and visual references are made to historic English building on Plate 23, and with half-timber in Design 72, the Pallisers emulated methods of construction in England then two hundred years old. Design 74 on plate 23 celebrated "Ye Hall," a large living hall with a fireplace and staircase.

In recognition of the growing popularity of colonial stylizations, Plate 16 illustrates two homes, one defined as colonial, the other as Queen Anne, although it should be noted that Palliser shied away from precise stylistic designation with his observation that "some may" apply the names. The colonial house is signalled by a gambrel roof gable; whereas the Queen Anne house is marked by more highly decorative gable and window configurations. Plate 39, Design 122, is a shingle covered "Old Colonial" with balconies, bull's eye window, decorative broken pediment, rough stone chimney and complex roof line, but with a roof pulled over the parlor and dining room in salt-box fashion.

The Decline of Queen Anne?

By the late 1880's Queen Anne, having become all things to all architects--to parody the old cliché--began to disappear from professional consideration, but some pattern book authors recognized that among their middle class clients there remained Queen Anne enthusiasts:

1889

After a time came a certain something in domestic architecture which was designated as the "Queen Anne" style. We all know what it is, yet it is difficult to describe. The veritable Queen Anne architecture meant something; the "Queen Anne" architecture of a few years ago meant anything--particularly something that was pointed, erratic, and unusual. It, however, did a good work. It enabled the architects to get out of the old beaten paths. A great many beautiful houses were built, which, by the public, were said to be in this style. The name "Queen Anne" was the vehicle for the passage from an old conservatism, which had to do only with the commonplace, to something which was fresh and attractive. In this way a great many beautiful houses were built during this so-called Queen-Anne revival.⁴²⁷

1892

We have had of late years something in the line of domestic architecture which has been dignified by the name Queen Anne. Most of it is a nondescript composition, or perhaps it should be said an architectural melange such as the queen never saw, nor any one in her day ever thought of. The word 'style' as applied to designs in architecture, is a very elastic one, and covers much ground.⁴²⁸

1895

When a person is at a loss for a suitable name by which to convey an idea of the beauty and charm of his home, it is 'Queen Anne.' Of course, when there is 'love in a cottage,' that cottage can be none other than 'Queen Anne.' When the ubiquitous speculating builder wishes to lure an intended victim he baits his hook with 'beautiful Queen Anne cottage. All Modern improvements.'⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷Louis H. Gibson, Convenient Houses with Fifty Plans for the Housekeeper (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1889), pp. 104-105.

⁴²⁸Robert Charles Bates, The Elementary Principles of Architecture and Building (Boston: Press of G. H. Ellis, 1892), pp. 35-36.

⁴²⁹Hobart A. Walker, "Cottages," The Art Interchange 34 (August 1895): 50.

At the close of the decade, the extravagant eclecticism of Queen Anne design appeared to have diminished, but the mode of design continued to attract entrepreneurial pattern book architects. In 1888, Palliser, Palliser and Company published another new pattern book, American Architecture, but the company evidently judged their public unready for the classicizing fashions. American Architecture was a compilation of two earlier publications, American Cottage Homes, 1877, and Palliser's Model Homes, 1878. The National Building Plan Association published a book of houses with plans for sale from Detroit. In their Artistic Homes, the houses presented as "modern" are modified versions of Queen Anne and its colonial offspring, plus the new romanesque stylizations.⁴³⁰ Small rectangular houses with vertical emphasis but little of the earlier freeform rectangularity are covered with clapboard and shingle and given small-paned windows, while larger houses with moderately irregular perimeters are shingle house types and modern romanesque interpretations.

In 1889, the Philadelphia National Architect's Union published their catalogue of houses and plans entitled, Sensible Low-Cost Homes. Two house descriptions refer to Queen Anne, but both recall seventeenth and eighteenth-century American vernacular. Louis H. Gibson's Convenient Houses of the same year is a verbal recommendation for houses drawn more surely from classical sources. In the lengthy text, the architect seemingly promotes colonial and Italian Renaissance as antidotal sources to the popular Queen Anne, laden with decoration. He praised the new colonial designs and considered this development a reaction against the "extravagant crudeness of so-called Queen Anne architecture," while recognizing

⁴³⁰National Building Plan Association, Artistic Homes (Detroit: National Building Plan Association, 1888).

that the "name 'Queen Anne' was a vehicle for the passage from an old conservatism."⁴³¹ Nonetheless, Gibson's designs have less horizontality in their massing than might be expected from his essays. Most are typical Queen Anne formulations, retaining the compact vertical massing and picturesque silhouettes with dormers and multiple gables. The difference again lies in the relative paucity of ornamentation (fig. 101).⁴³² Visual interest is given to exterior surfaces with clapboard and shingle cladding and half-timber gables.

The established firm of Stevens and Cobb, produced a book titled Examples of American Domestic Architecture in 1889 and noted with some disdain the problems of "groping for a national style."⁴³³ Concentrating on shingle-colonial houses, the authors made no references to Queen Anne. Nor was Queen Anne introduced in Carl Pfeiffer's book of 1889, in which all the houses are sheathed with clapboard and shingle and covered by intricately composed tent roofs (fig. 102.)⁴³⁴ In Pfeiffer's book, half-timber patterns are a primary decorative feature on many; the sunflower motif occurs on others. The houses are not as extravagantly designed as Samuel Reed's free style but several are more liberated robust interpretations of the half-timber houses seen in Palliser's book of 1887. Pfeiffer dramatizes the medieval elements, drawing from British and European sources. Although British domestic architecture was articulated in architectural literature as

⁴³¹Gibson, Convenient Houses, p. 105.

⁴³²*Ibid.*, Figures 8 and 9, p. 116.

⁴³³John Calvin Stevens and Albert Winslow Cobb, Examples of American Domestic Architecture (New York: William T. Comstock, 1889).

⁴³⁴Carl Pfeiffer, American Mansions and Cottages (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1889), Design G, Plate 3.

the source for the strong medieval constituent of Queen Anne, illustrations in architectural histories and journals demonstrated the cross-cultural use of similar forms. Alexander Oakey, for example, argued that "simple, substantial, and economical" modern cottages would look much the same as sixteenth and seventeenth century English, Northern German, and French houses, and much the same as later Swiss homes, if similar building materials had been used. His conclusion appeared within a criticism of modern building technology, but for modern builders he clarified the interchangeability of the European forms.⁴³⁵ Several Pfeiffer designs are embellished with half-timber and sharply angled roof lines reminiscent of German vernacular designs, but this did not preclude large sunflower embellishment (fig. 103).⁴³⁶

More dramatic changes become evident in pattern books in 1890 and 1891. Page, Gibson and Hopkins produced new volumes promoting colonial. Frank L. Smith produced a book which was an advertisement for his development activities at Wollaston Park, where the houses were small and unadorned frame homes clad in clapboard and shingle.⁴³⁷ Frank P. Allen of Michigan claimed that his book contained the latest ideas in architecture.⁴³⁸ His houses display somewhat less verticality but his book contains a mixture of simple and complex designs to satisfy his clients varied tastes and needs, including one house with a classic rectangular

⁴³⁵Oakey, Building a Home, p. 100.

⁴³⁶Pfeiffer, American Mansions, Design B., Plate 4, detail.

⁴³⁷Frank L. Smith, Suburban Homes; or, Examples of Moderate Cost Houses for Wollaston Park (Boston: Wood, Harmon & Co., 1890).

⁴³⁸Frank P. Allen, Artistic Dwellings (Grand Rapids, Mich.: By the Author, 1891).

box shape anticipating a house type that was to become more popular at the turn of the century. A retreat from Queen Anne stylizations seemed imminent.

Two architect-authors interpreted the public's demands for housing design much differently. The National Builder Publishing Company published a compilation of designs by Chicago Architect George Garnsey.⁴³⁹ The National Builder was a monthly building and interior decoration magazine that published colored drawings of a house and the necessary set of plans and working drawings each month. Blueprints were available for the sum of \$3.00. The company's success was substantiated with letters of commendation from Whatcom, Washington, Daytona, Florida, New York, New York, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Waterloo, Ontario, even from the London, England, Plumber and Decorator. Many of the Garnsey houses rival and surpass the ornate Newsom houses from California in their profuse decoration and multiple intersecting volumes (fig. 104).⁴⁴⁰ House titles in Beautiful Homes referenced an assumed owner or location, but in the periodical, the houses occasionally carried names, "Queen Anne," "Elizabethan," and "Eastlake." The Queen Anne mode of design is unmistakable. Volumes are amassed with controlled freedom and the exteriors are vigorous displays of gabled projections, dormers, turrets and bays. Verticality is countered with moderately angled roof lines, compact massing, and bands of windows and decoration.

The Queen Anne mode of design admitted a widely diverse eclecticism implicitly limited by a compositional balance that did not allow complete dominance

⁴³⁹George Garnsey, The National Builder's Album of Beautiful Homes (Chicago: The National Builder Publishing Co., 1891).

⁴⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Plate 1, "The N. & G. Taylor Villa."

of either classic or gothic. This emancipation from stylistic constrictions also permitted an application of motifs from the East to the western structures. The feast of available architectural motifs was apparently tempting to the inventive Garnsey. Plate 29, "The Connell & Dengler Cottage," is designed with the Queen Anne irregular perimeter plan, a chamfered bay, multiple gables, and moderately pitched rooflines (fig. 105). Cladding consists of clapboard and shingle, and the upper sash of one window is filled with small square panes of glass. A massive chimney, a small king post decoration and a band of delicate pseudo half-timber decoration signal medieval building. Ornamental barge boards, broadly curved chamfer brackets, and a finial on a faceted bay roof are illustrated in Garnsey's varied interpretations, while Asian motifs appear as curved gable finials similar to those found on such Buddhist temples as Japan's Horyu-ji. Reticulation, tile patterns reproduced in wood, and a moon, or horseshoe, window also signal Eastern designs. These displays are contained within rectangles formed by applied strips of wood, corner boards, and window moldings grooved with modern classical regularity.

Recently moved from DeKalb, Illinois, George F. Barber entered the national market with The Cottage Souvenir, No. 2, A Repository of Artistic Cottage Architecture and Miscellaneous Designs from his new business location in Knoxville, Tennessee.⁴⁴¹ Barber has been described as "one of this country's most successful, late nineteenth-century domestic architects," and houses across the United States and Territories were built from his designs. Barber typified the entrepreneurial self-educated carpenter who established himself as an architect

⁴⁴¹George F. Barber, Cottage Souvenir, No. 2 (Knoxville, Tenn.: S. B. Newman & Co., 1891).

and sold plans by mail order. Advertisements for his pattern book in popular periodicals and trade journals caught the attention of the home building public and the designs evidently appealed to their functional and cultural needs. By 1900, there were some fifty employees working for Barber's architectural firm.⁴⁴²

Barber's successful pattern book illustrates a series of houses in the Queen Anne mode of design (figs. 106, 107).⁴⁴³ Page after page shows yet another articulation of the so-called style's forms and features drawn from European contemporary, classical and medieval, American colonial, and Asian sources. Shingle and bungalow house types are not in his repertoire so that verticality communicates the medieval foundations to Queen Anne and is emphasized with a frequent addition of towers and turrets. Barber wielded the late nineteenth-century architect's artistic freedom wholeheartedly. The majority of the houses are more ornate than those designed by Kirby, Shoppell, and the Pallisers, and are occasionally as flamboyant as those designed by the Newsoms and Garnsey. At the same time, he convinced his public that the designs were built according to the laws of nature, stating, harmony is achieved with color, and proportion is accomplished with the correct relation of height, breadth and length of the house and its parts. According to Barber, ornamentation was the most difficult aspect of composing a building, but properly done, it added "life, expression and dignity." Barber's view of architecture posited homes designed according to mathematically true natural principles by those who had talent as a musician had talent to

⁴⁴²Michael A. Tomlan, intro., Toward the Growth of an Artistic Taste (Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1982), passim.; reprint ed., Barber, Cottage Souvenir.

⁴⁴³*Ibid.*, Designs 15 and 59.

produce beautiful music.⁴⁴⁴ His houses and rhetoric both marketed and patronized contemporary architectural theory, petitions for artistic taste in America, and popular taste, thereby prolonging the life of Queen Anne to the end of the century, as instanced by the Morse home in Sehome, Washington.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴Barber, Cottage Souvenir, pp. 4-6.

⁴⁴⁵George F. Barber may have sold building materials for his homes. Owners of a Barber home in Jacksonville, Oregon have claimed documentation for such transactions, but Michael Tomlan has pointed out that Barber did not advertise materials. His pattern book, however, did contain advertisements from companies from whom building materials could be ordered.

CONCLUSION

Entrepreneurial pattern book authors continued to work in the Queen Anne mode of design to the end of the century, although they began to enlarge the forms making up so-called Queen Anne much in the manner of the shingle and colonial interpretations earlier published in the American Architect and Building News. As evidenced by recent community architectural surveys, however, the medieval verticality of so-called Queen Anne remained popular among home builders in the central United States and Pacific West. Pattern book authors had recognized in the British fashion the potential for developing a residential style sufficiently flexible to convey the singularity of and the physical and ethnic diversity within the American experiment and had succeeded in marketing it as a standard of popular taste, primarily for the middle class. Indeed, the authors recognized that the colonial revivals more favored by professional east coast architects were less adaptable to the needs of the population, even elitist, since an increasing number of American citizens could not claim a colonial heritage.

Queen Anne was not a restrictive style, which explains its more prevalent name, "so-called Queen Anne." Rather, it was a mode of design, or a "manner of building," that provided an opportunity to manipulate forms and spaces to meet modern functional needs, and the success of this adaptive mode has been attested to by its continuation into twentieth century domestic planning. Frank Lloyd Wright, for example, reinterpreted the open yet centralized plan found in Queen Anne.

The free play of exterior forms and decoration, though not popular with architects such as Wright, was eminently appropriate for the late nineteenth century. In appearance, at least, the latest technology and highest architectural skill was required to build such complex structures. Turrets, bays, nooks and ells provided small, private spaces in which to stand and contemplate views of townscape and countryside around the suburban communities in which the houses were built. And these forms, with popular Queen Anne decoration and paint colors, were a means to display vividly the artistic taste and social position attained through financial success rather than by birth or privilege. Often, the decorative features made a house even grander than it was; perhaps that, too, was appropriate as communicating social aspirations. For Queen Anne responded to a need to communicate prosperity at a time when opportunity was countered by economic recession. As articulated in text and illustration, Queen Anne in the pattern books physically affirmed a prevailing ideology of Americanism in which the pursuit of progress was a moral obligation and social mobility was possible for the industrious.

The popularity of Queen Anne waned as new means to communicate these fundamental American beliefs emerged. Its decline coincided with a resurgence of classical forms in architecture fueled by the 1893 Columbian Exposition, growing interest in natural materials encouraged by the Arts and Crafts Movement, higher labor costs for building and maintenance and changing interpretations of the woman's role in the home. Although the compendium of forms was retired, the mode of design allowing adaptation to site requirements and owner needs remained a vehicle for the reassessment of domestic architectural design. Intermixed with the Arts and Crafts design, houses retaining some residual Queen

Anne elements were built as late as the 1920's and 30's in the North American west and northwest.¹

¹The firm of Townley and Matheson in Vancouver, British Columbia, for example, built houses of this type in the 1920's and 30's. Homes in gothicized versions of Queen Anne were built in Vancouver through the first decade of the twentieth century. See Harold Kalman and John Roaf, Exploring Vancouver 2, rev. and enl. (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1978), pp. 71, 151 and 156.

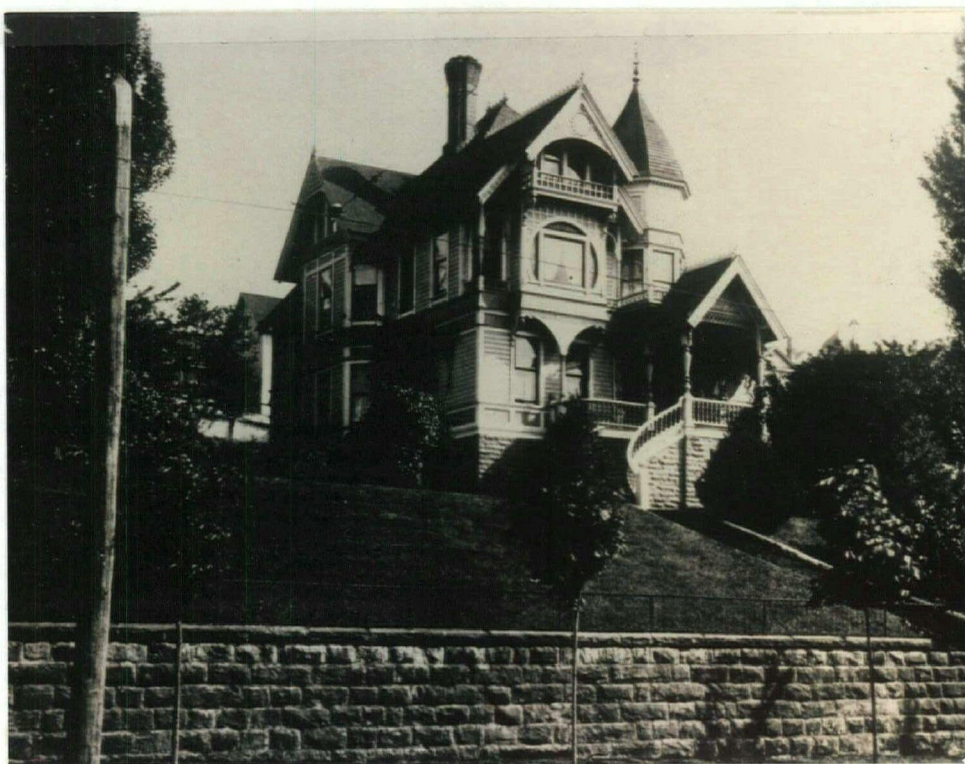
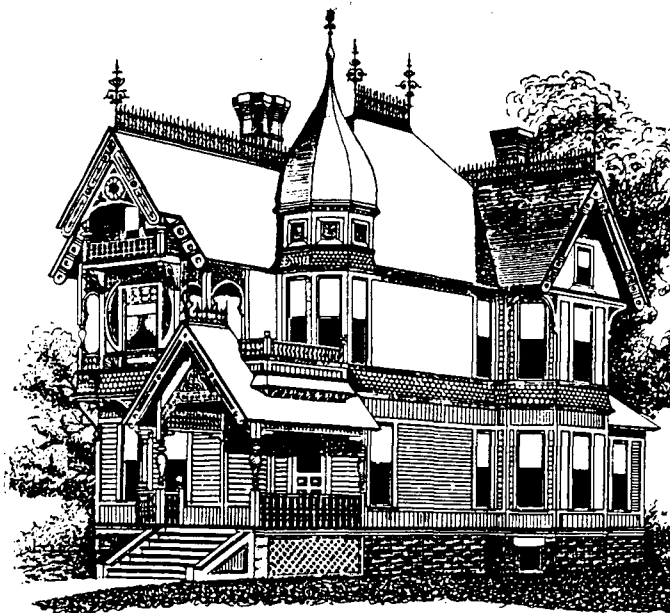


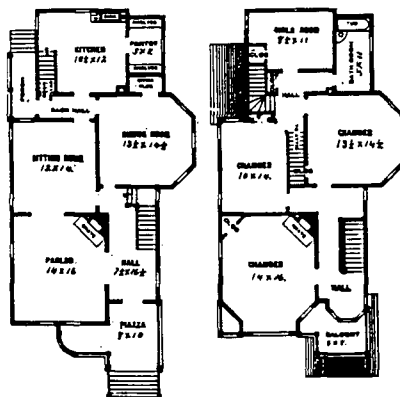
Fig. 1. Robert I. Morse Home, Bellingham, Wa., 1887.



PERSPECTIVE VIEW.

Residence of CHAS. J. BURTON, Gloversville, N. Y.

DESIGN No. 33.



Cost to build, as per description, Plan No. 1, \$3,000;
Plan No. 2, \$3,850.

INTERIOR.

Hall, parlor, sitting room and dining room are to be finished in hardwoods; balance three coats of paint, all first-class work. Plastering, three-coat work, hard finish. Plumbing consists of sink and pump in kitchen, bath tub and bowl, with connections, and gas throughout.

Fig. 2. George Barber, Design 33 (Cottage Souvenir, 1891).

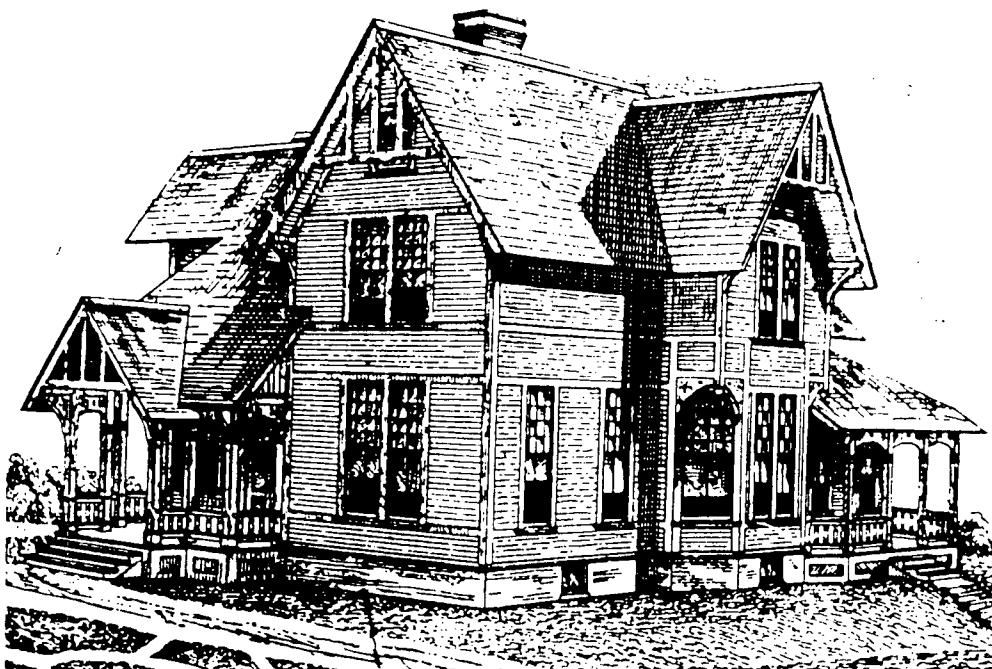


Fig. 3. Palliser Co., Plate XII, Rev. Dr. Marble House, Newtown, Conn. (Model Homes, 1878).

DESIGN No. 6.



PERSPECTIVE VIEW.

Fig. 4. Calvert Vaux, Design 6, Model Cottage (Villas & Cottages, 1864).



Fig. 5. Samuel Sloan, Design XXV, A Gothic Front (Model Architect, 1852).

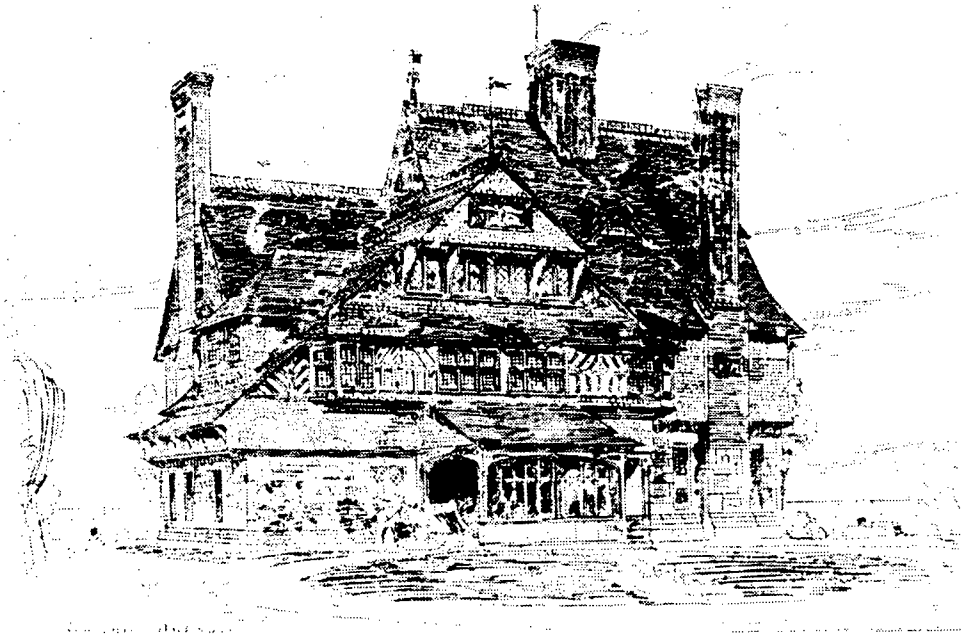


Fig. 6. H. H. Richardson, W. Watts Sherman House, Newport, R. I., 1874.

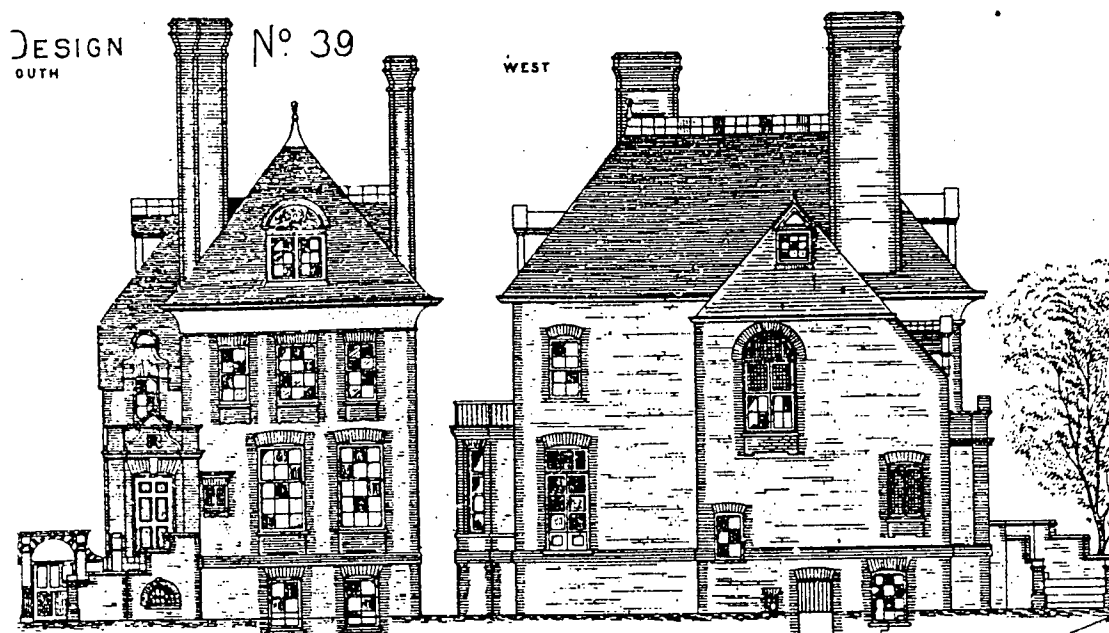


Fig. 7. J. M. Brydon, Houses at Spring Bank, Haverstock Hill. (American Builder, 1875).

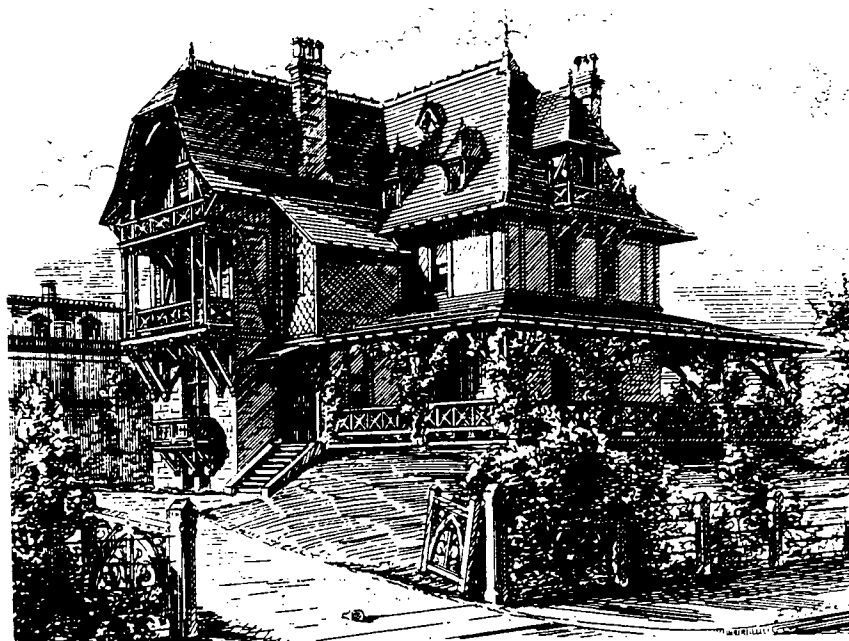


Fig. 8. Richard Morris Hunt, T. G. Appleton House, Newport, R. I. (American Architect, 1876).

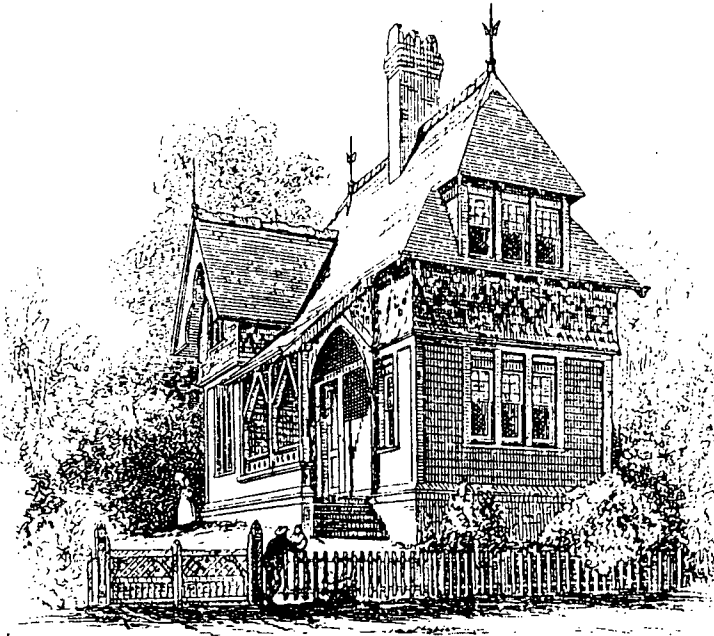


Fig. 9. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 1, Small Cottage, or Lodge (Harper's, 1876).

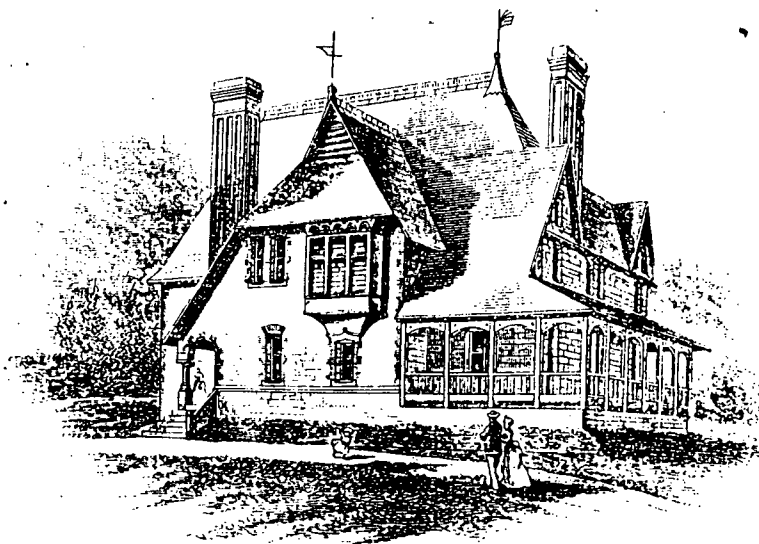


Fig. 10. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 2, Stone Cottage (Harper's, 1876).

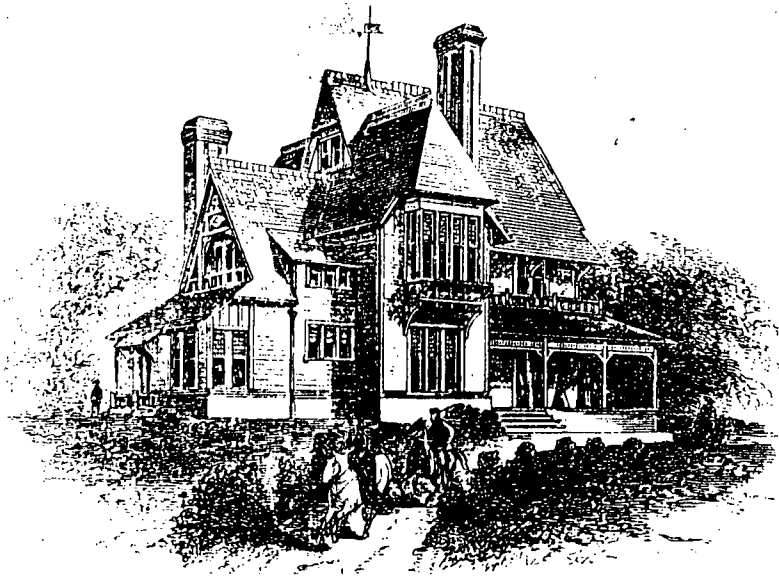


Fig. 11. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 3, Frame Cottage (Harper's, 1876).

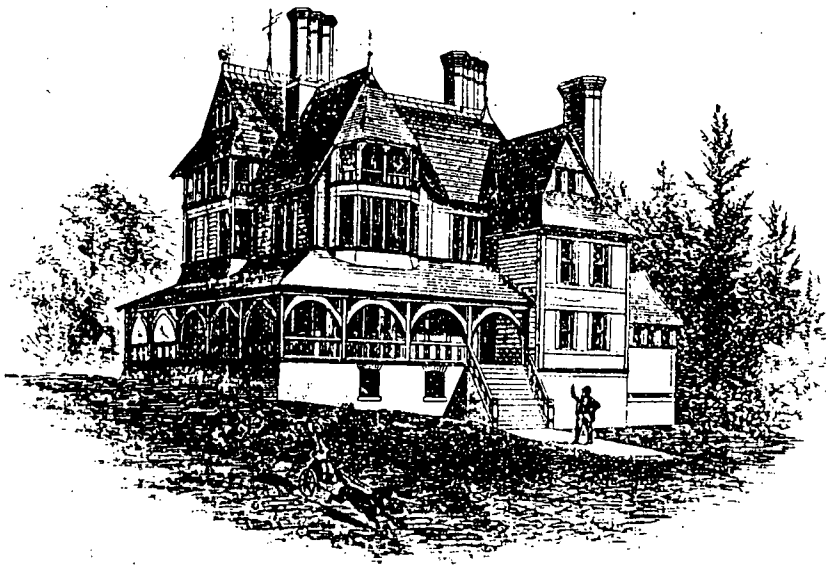


Fig. 12. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 4, Frame Cottage (Harper's, 1876).

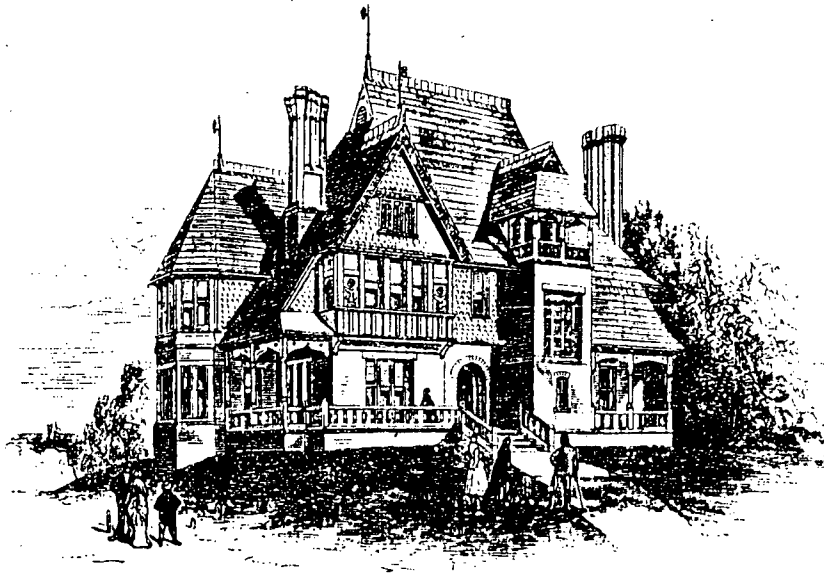


Fig. 13. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 5, Jacobite Style (Harper's, 1876).

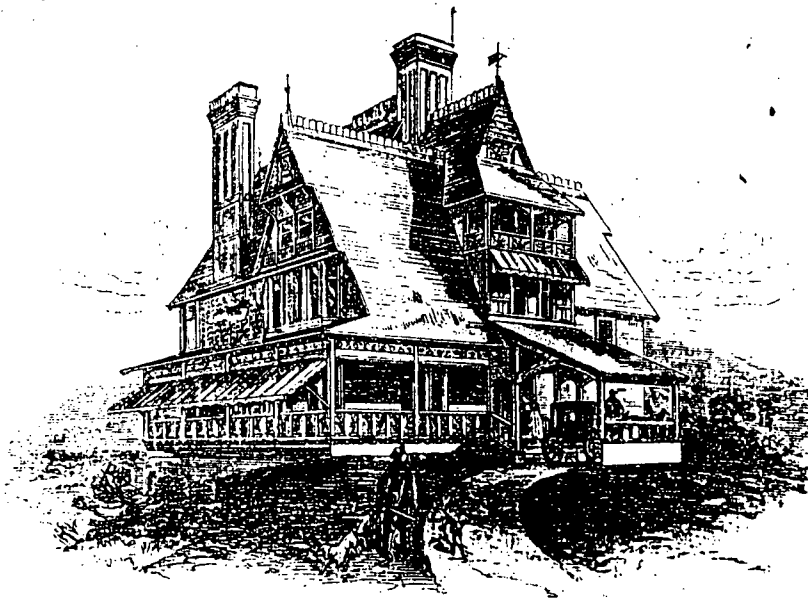


Fig. 14. Henry Hudson Holly, Design No. 6, Irregular Roof (Harper's, 1876).



Fig. 15. E. W. Godwin, House at Bedford Park (Building News, 1876).

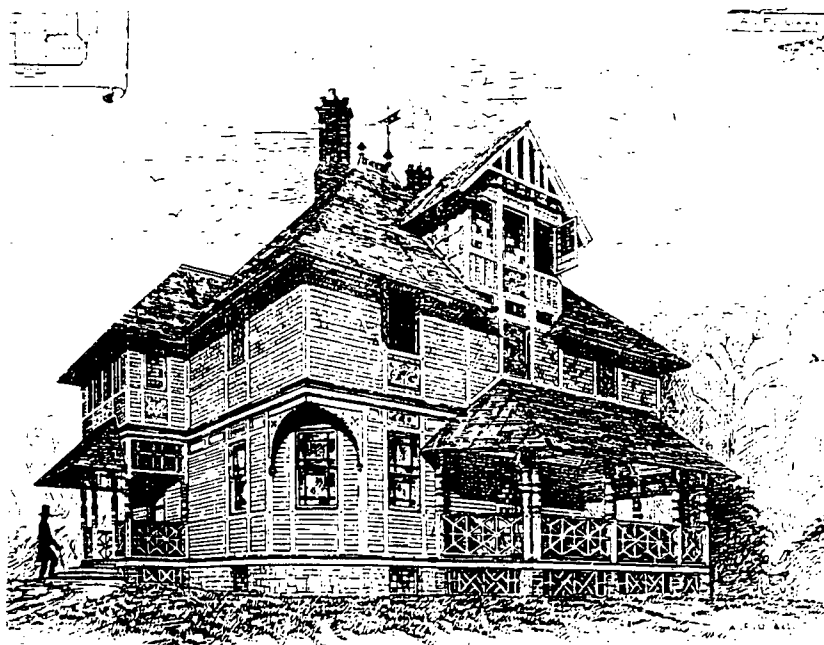


Fig. 16. Alexander F. Oakey, House at Lenox, Mass. (American Architect, 1876).

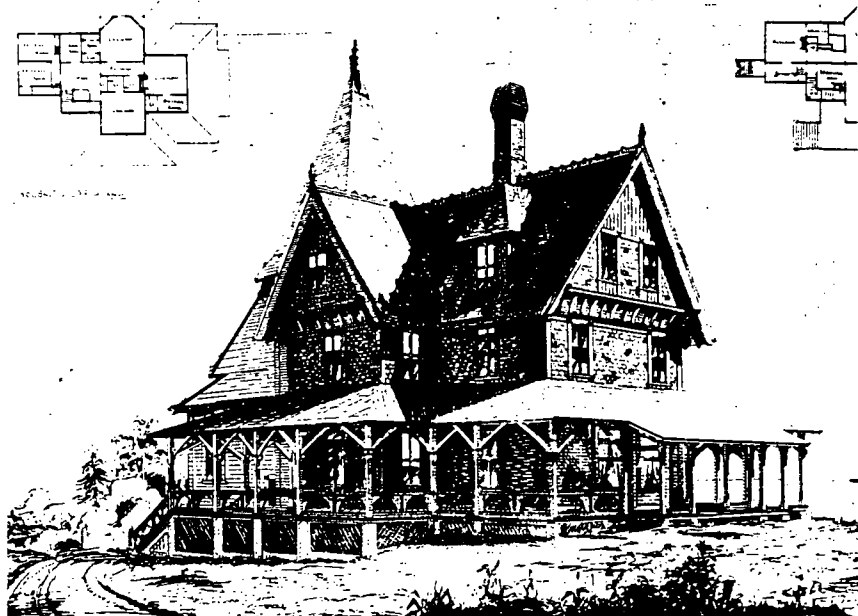


Fig. 17. Stone and Carpenter, Country House at Nyatt Point, R. I. (American Architect, 1876).

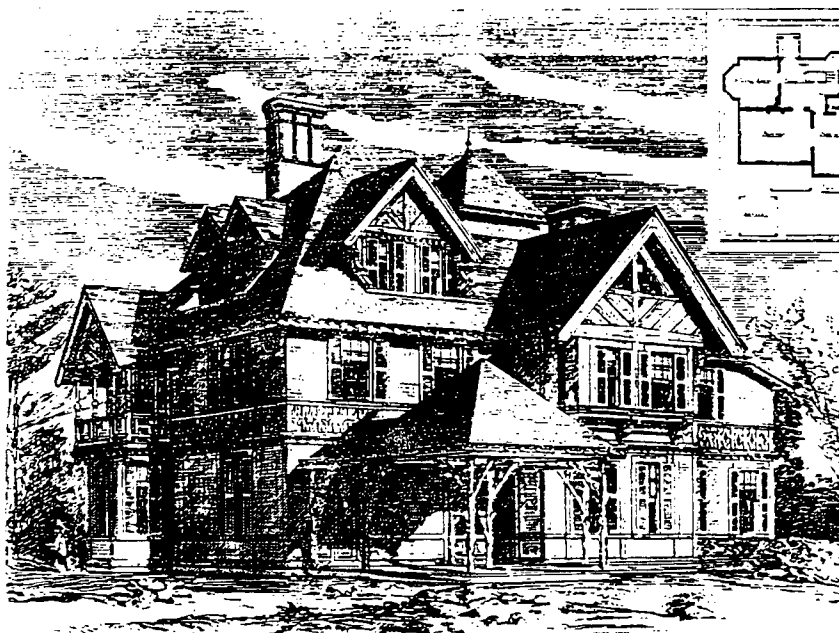


Fig. 18. E. C. Cabot and F. W. Chandler, House at Beverly Farms, Mass. (American Architect, 1876).

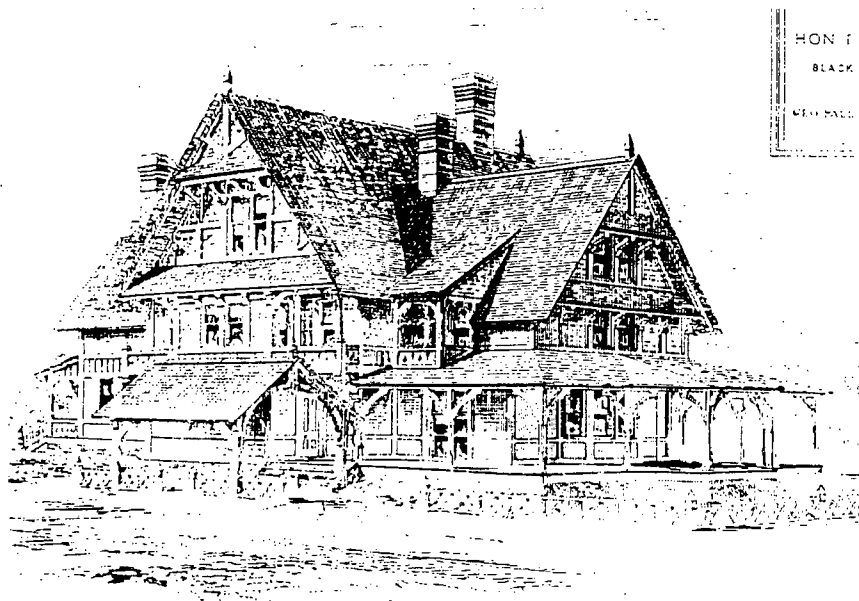


Fig. 19. George Palliser, P. T. Barnum House, Black Rock Beach, Conn. (American Architect, 1876).

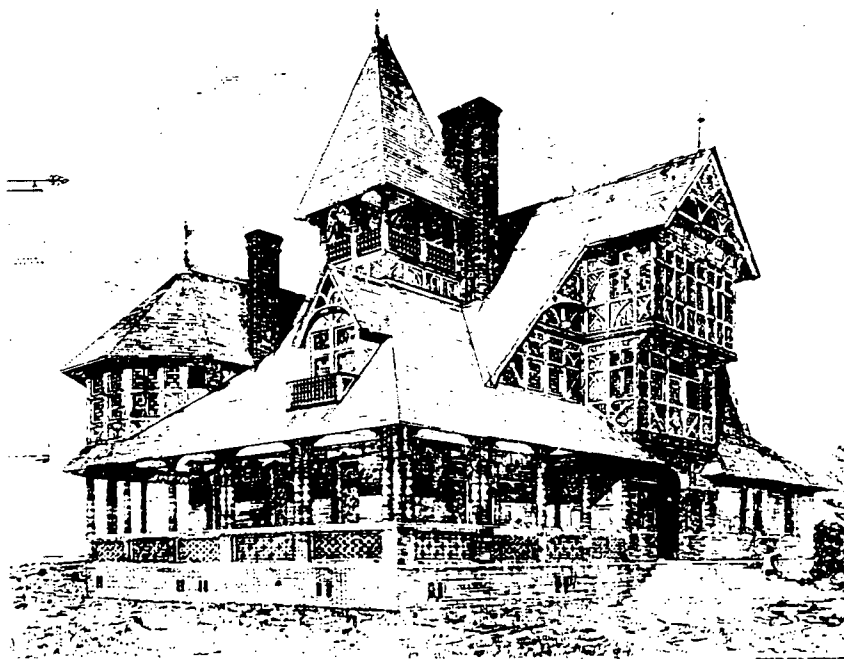


Fig. 20. Alexander F. Oakey, C. F. Dorr House at Mt. Desert, Me. (American Architect, 1877).

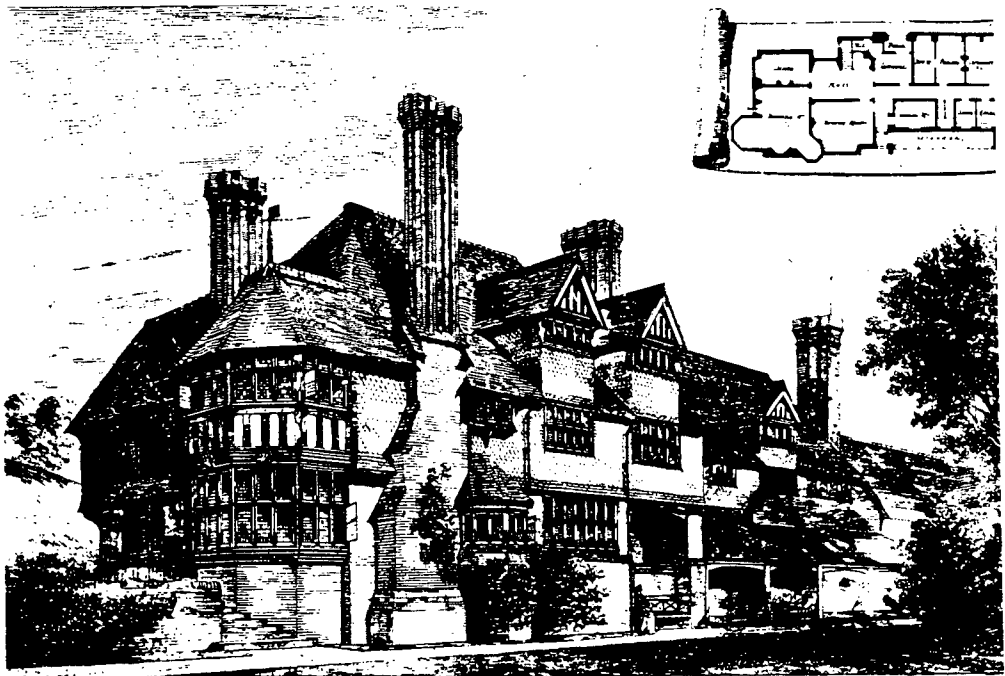


Fig. 21. Norman Shaw, Hopedene, Surrey. (Building News, 1875).

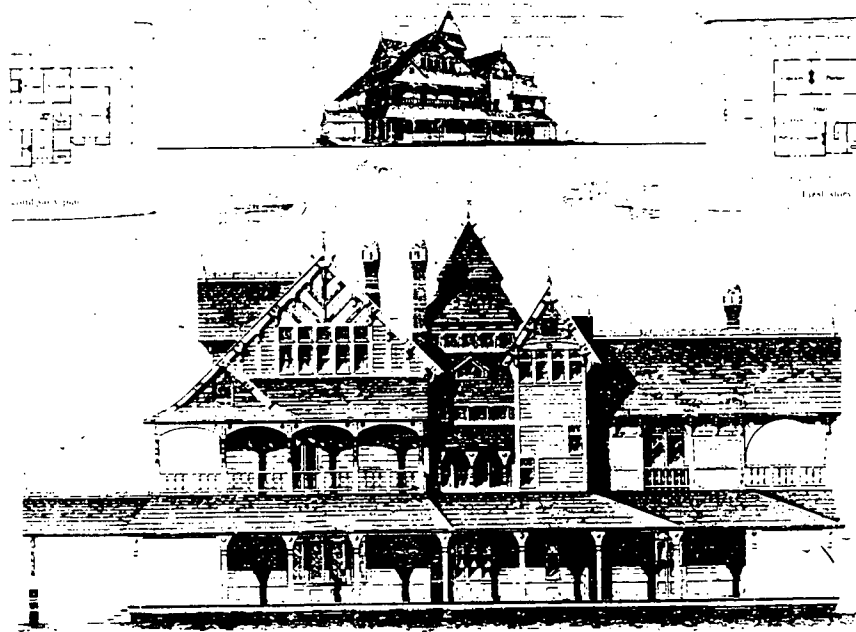


Fig. 22. Potter and Robertson, Bryce Gray House, Long Branch, N. J. (American Architect, 1877).

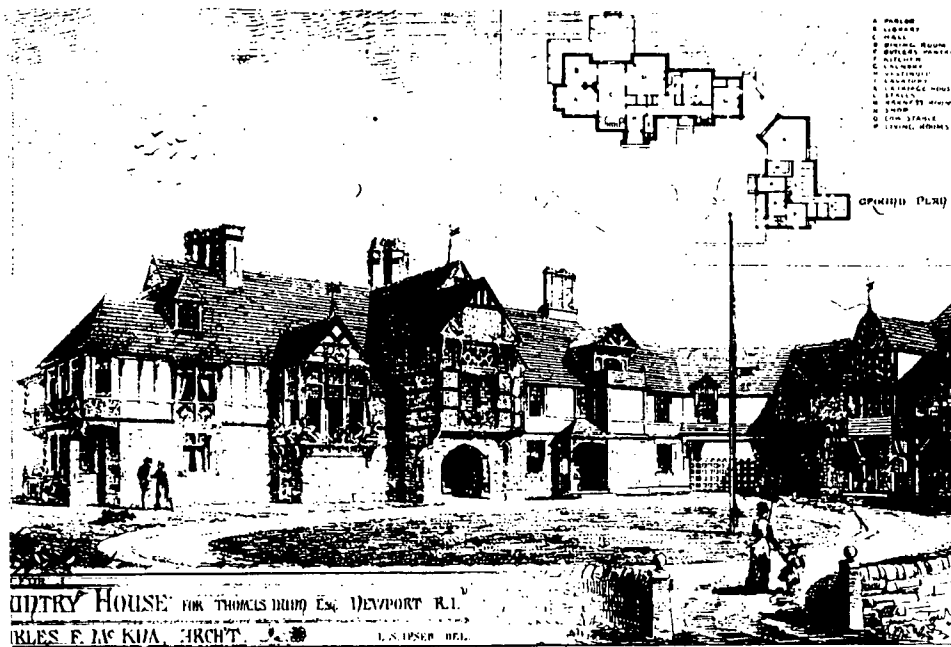


Fig. 23. Charles F. McKim, Thomas Dunn House, Newport, R. I. (American Architect, 1877).

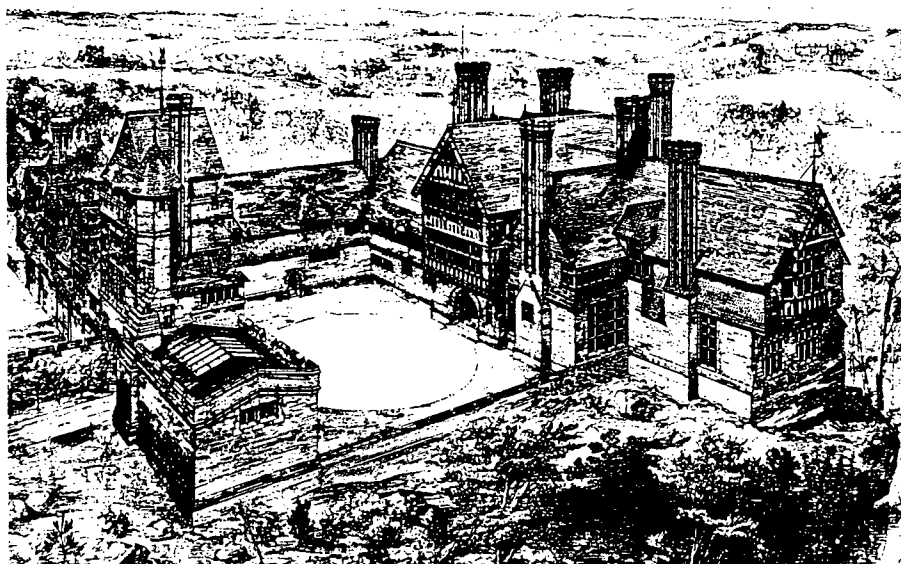


Fig. 24. Norman Shaw, Leyswood, Sussex. (Building News, 1871).

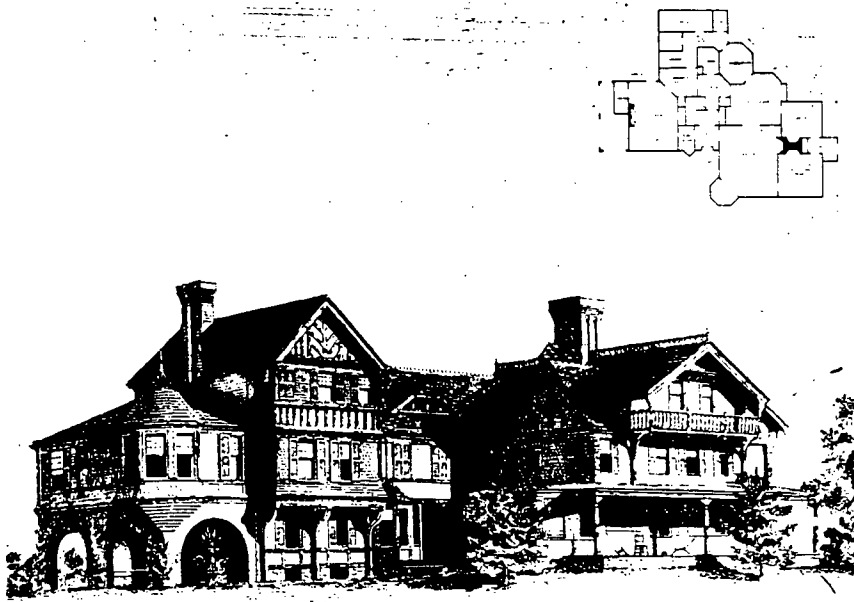


Fig. 25. Wm. Ralph Emerson, House at Milton (American Architect, 1877).



Fig. 26. Wm. Rutherford Mead, Dwight S. Herrick House, Peekskill-on-Hudson. (American Architect, 1877).

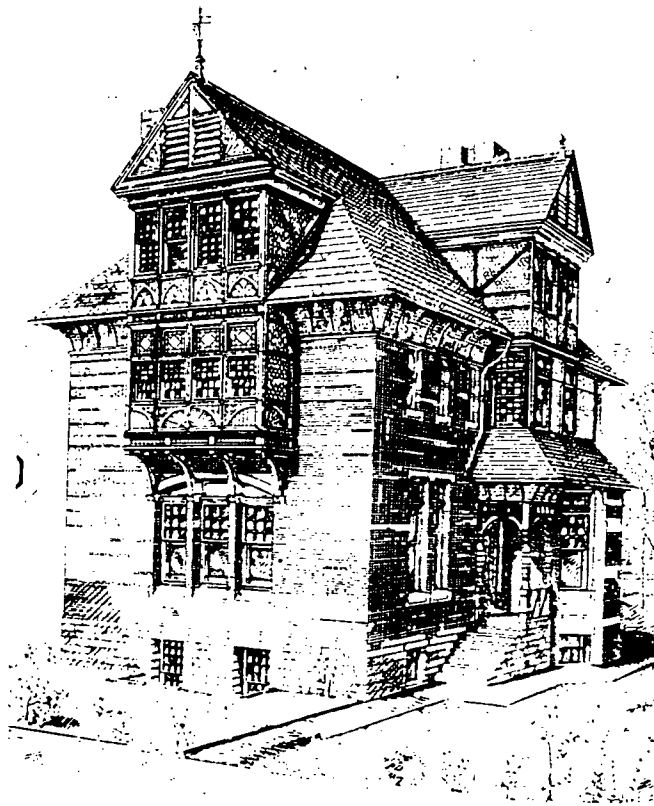


Fig. 27. Oakey and Bloor, E. C. Sprague House, Buffalo, New York.
(American Architect, 1877).

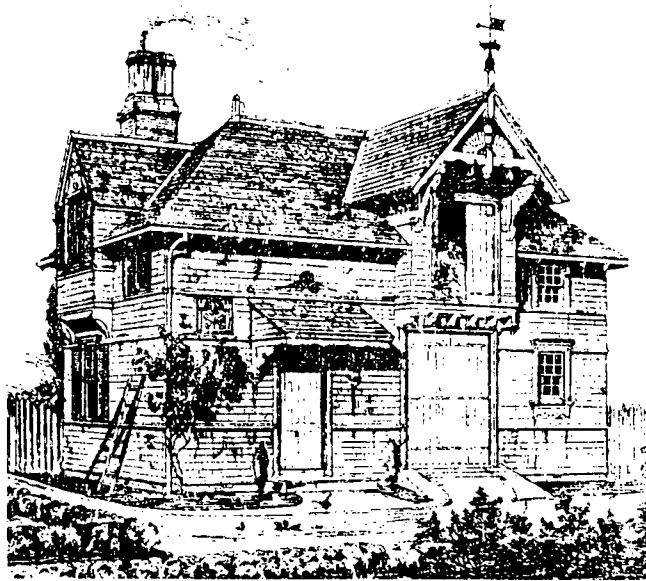


Fig. 28. Bassett Jones, Gardener's Cottage and Stable, Staten Island, N. Y. (American Architect, 1877).

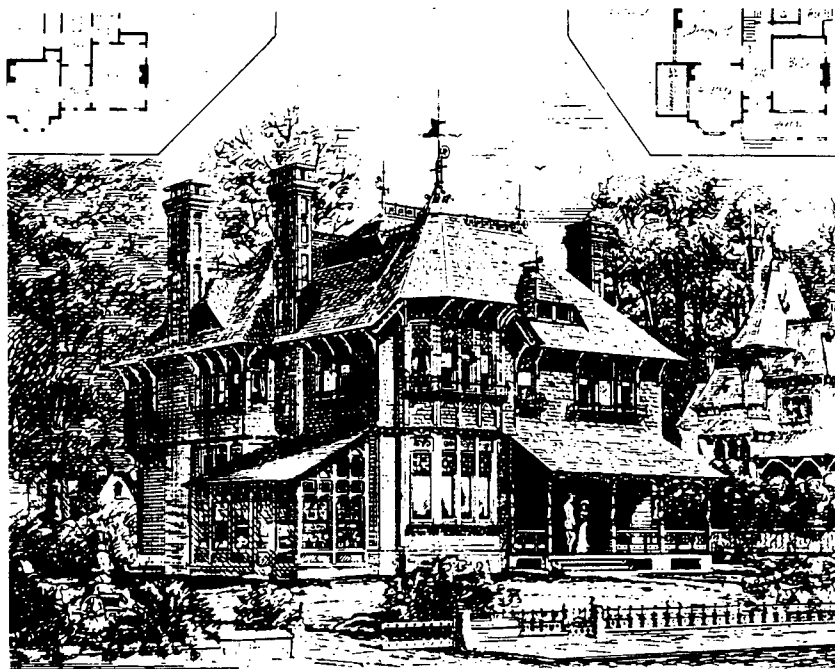


Fig. 29. Bruce Price, Cottage at Pittston, Pa. (American Architect, 1877).



Fig. 30. Robert S. Peabody, House at Medford, Mass. (American Architect, 1877).



Fig. 31. C. C. Haight, Cottage at Orange, N. J. (American Architect, 1877).

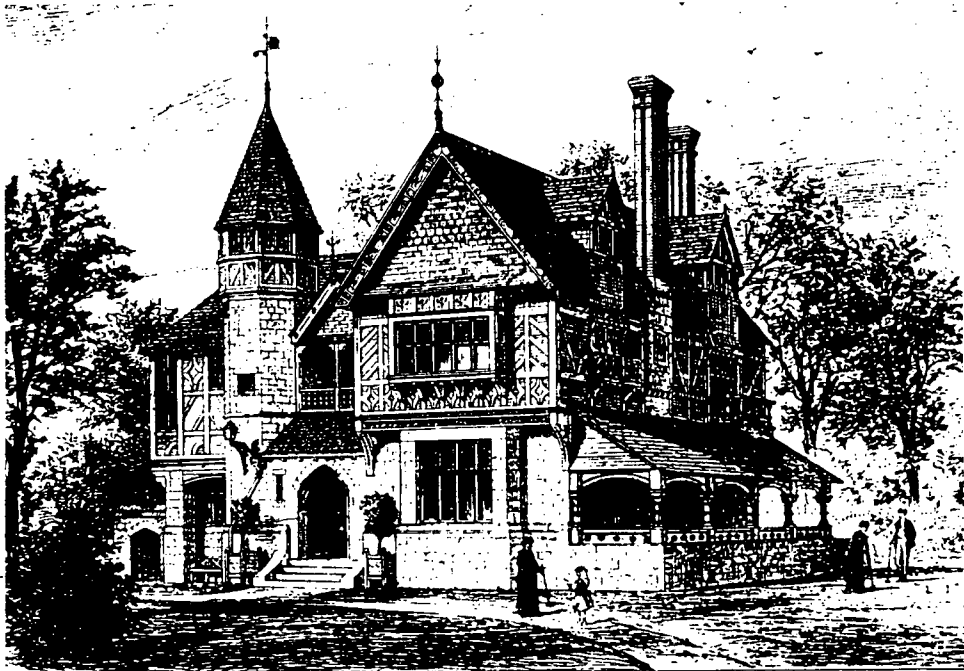


Fig. 32. Carl Pfeiffer, Osseo Lodge, W. Va. (American Architect, 1877).

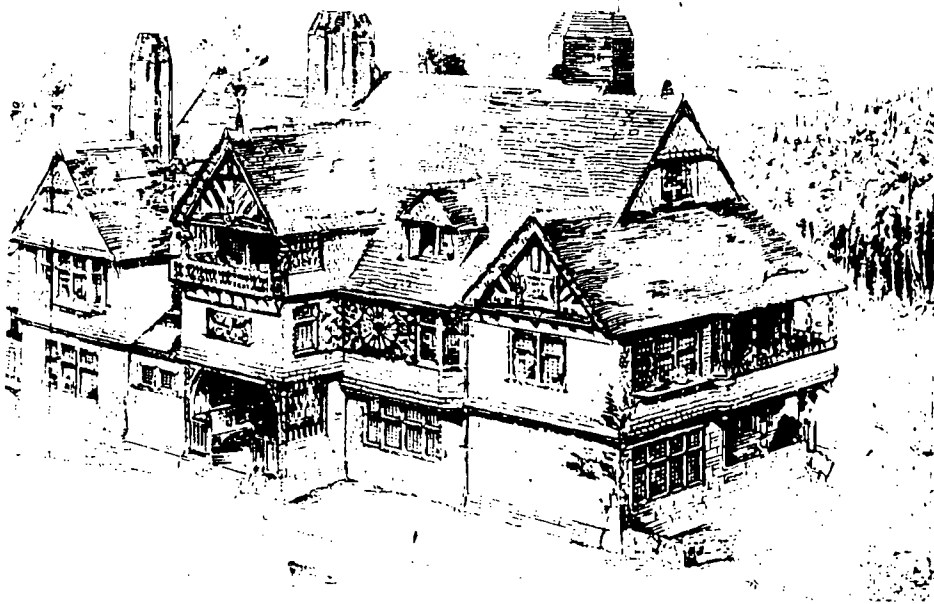


Fig. 33. Gambrill and Richardson, James Cheney House, South Manchester, Conn. (American Architect, 1878).

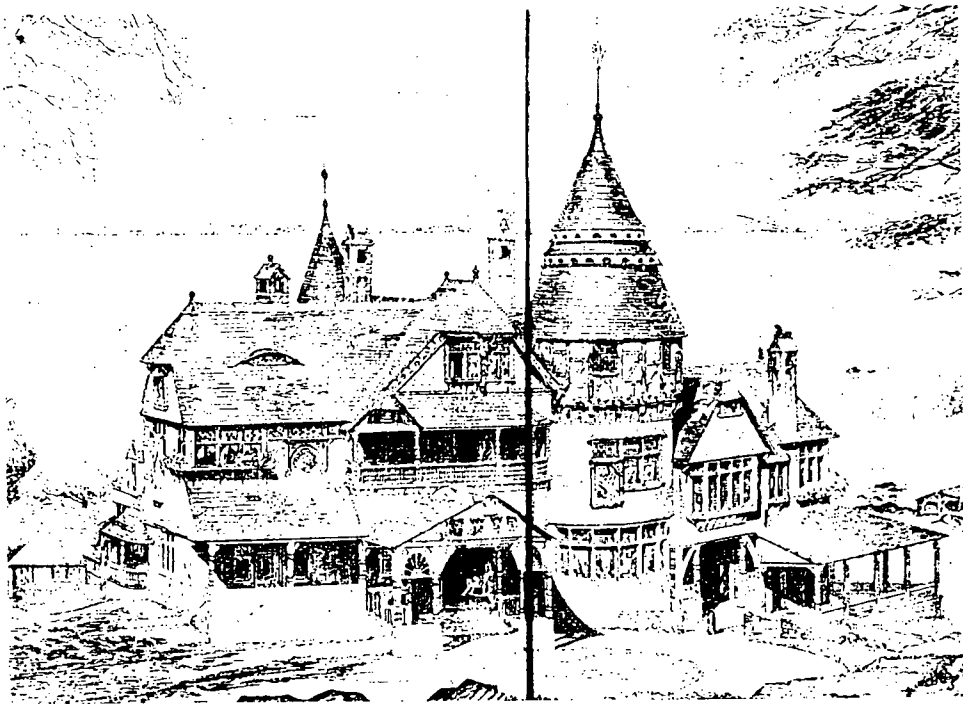


Fig. 34. Bruce Price, The Craigs, Mt. Desert, Me. (American Architect, 1879).

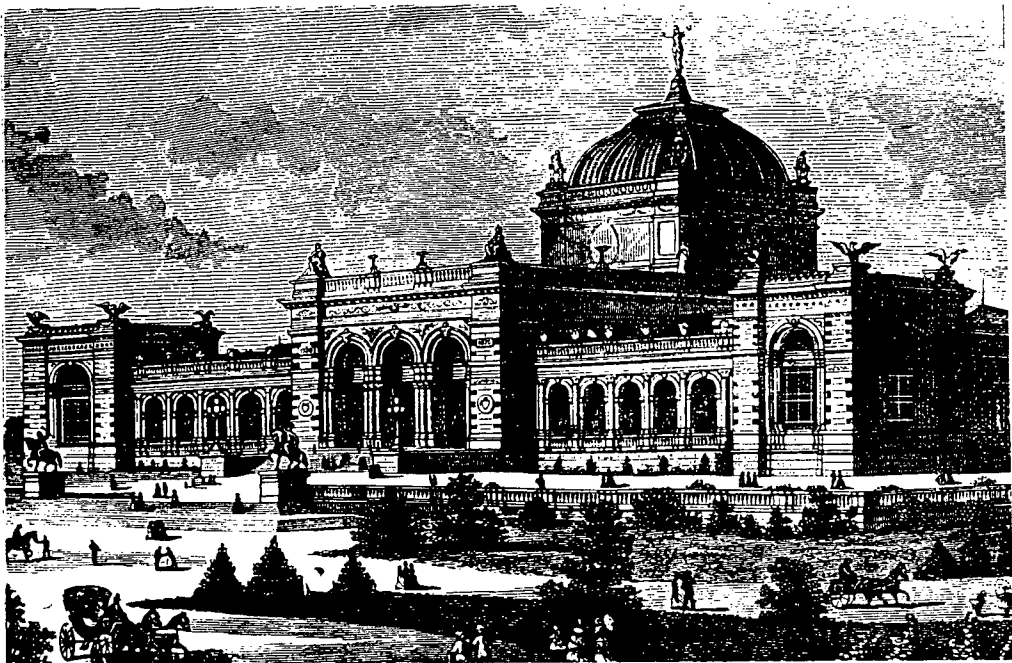


Fig. 35. H. J. Swarzmman, Memorial Hall, Centennial Exhibition (McCabe, History of the United States, 1877).

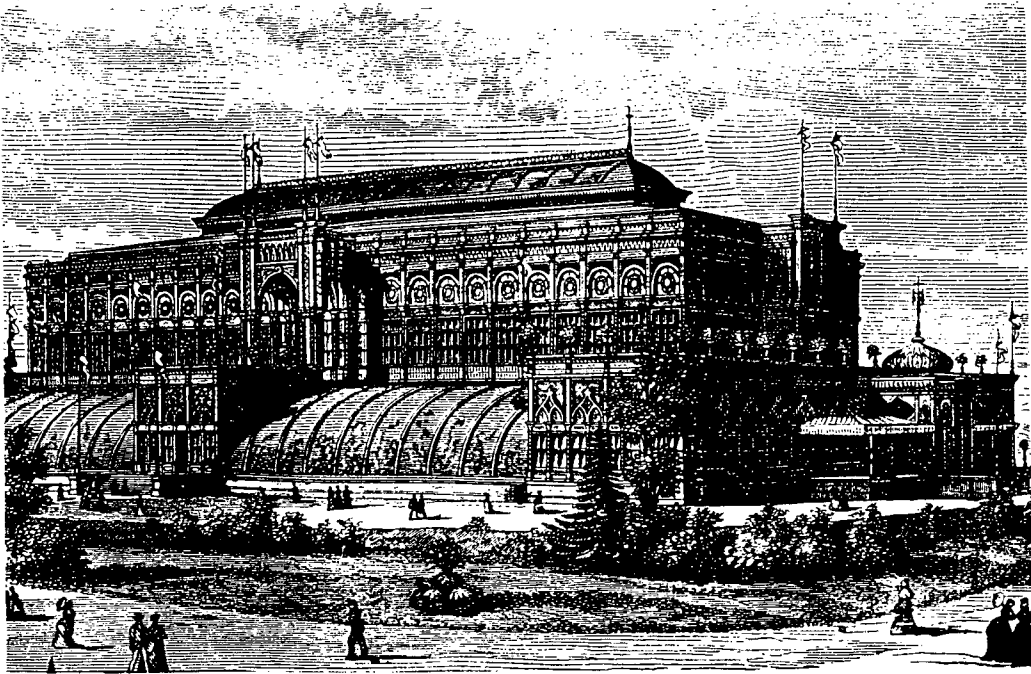


Fig. 36. H. J. Schwarzmann, Horticultural Hall, Centennial Exhibition (McCabe, History of the United States, 1877).

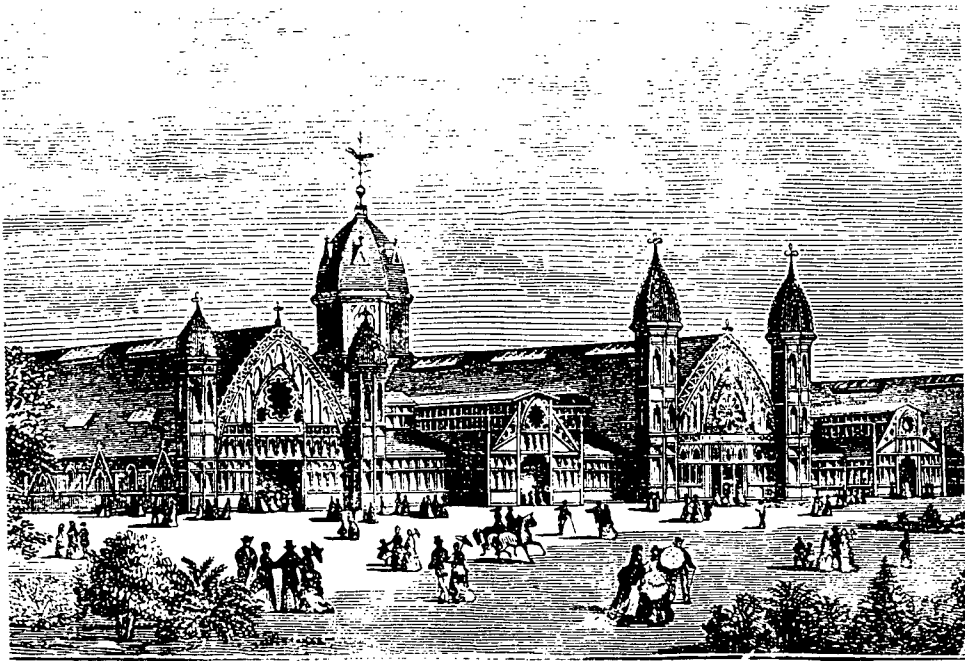


Fig. 37. James H. Windrim, Agricultural Hall, Centennial Exhibition (McCabe, History of the United States, 1877).

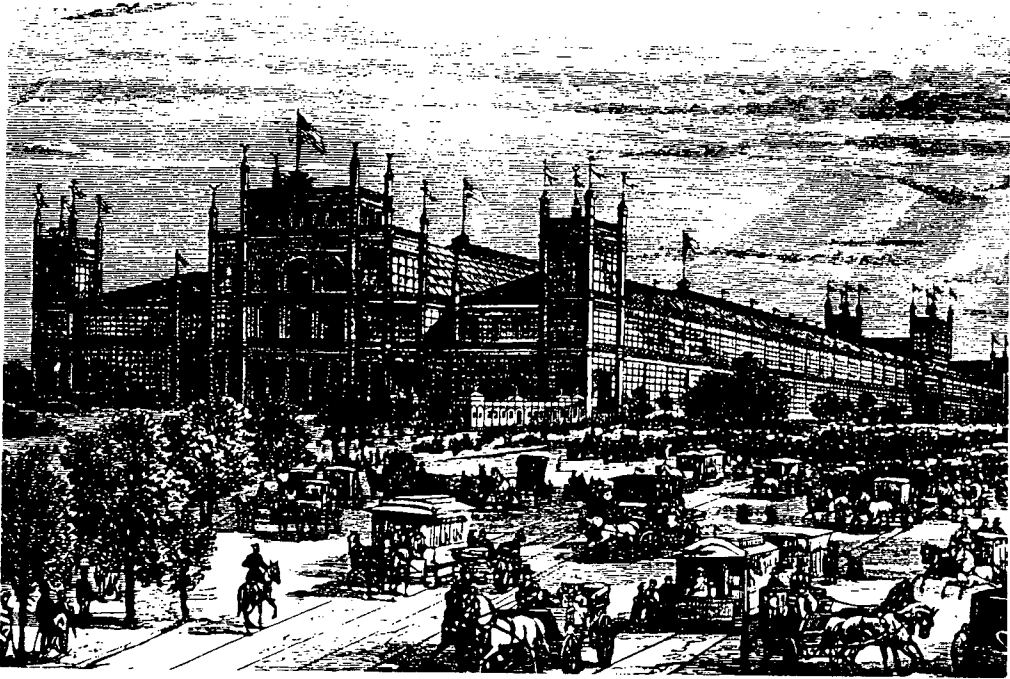


Fig. 38. Wilson and Petit, Main Building, Centennial Exhibition (McCabe, History of the United States, 1877).

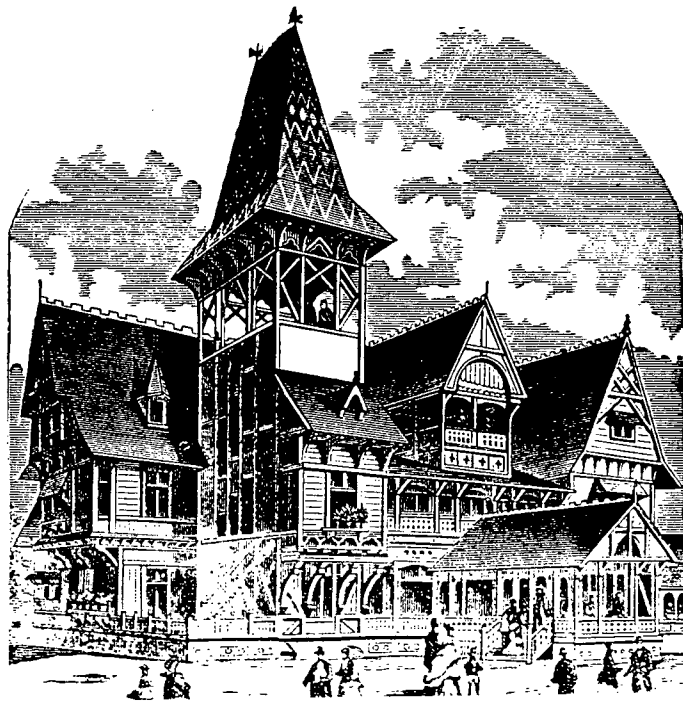


Fig. 39. Carl Pfeiffer, New Jersey Building, Centennial Exhibition (McCabe, History of the United States, 1877).



Fig. 40. British Government Buildings, Centennial Exhibition. (American Builder, 1876).



Fig. 41. William Woollett, Villa No. 1 (Villas and Cottages, 1876).

TTAGE No. 1.—

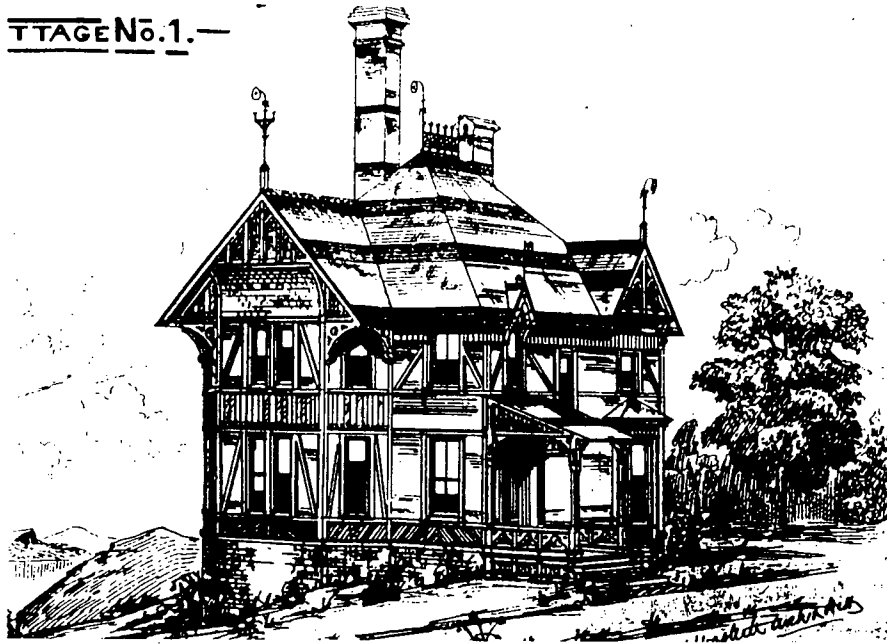


Fig. 42. William Woollett, Cottage No. 1 (Villas and Cottages, 1876)



Fig. 43. Palliser Co., Plate 28, City House (American Cottage Homes, 1877).

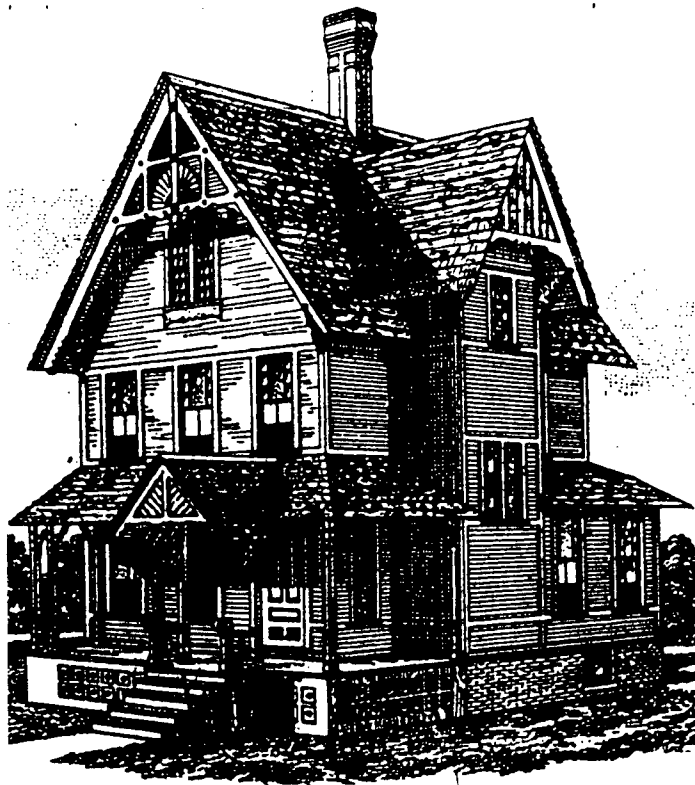


Fig. 44. Palliser Co., Plate IV, Cottage, W. Stratford, Conn. (Model Homes, 1878).

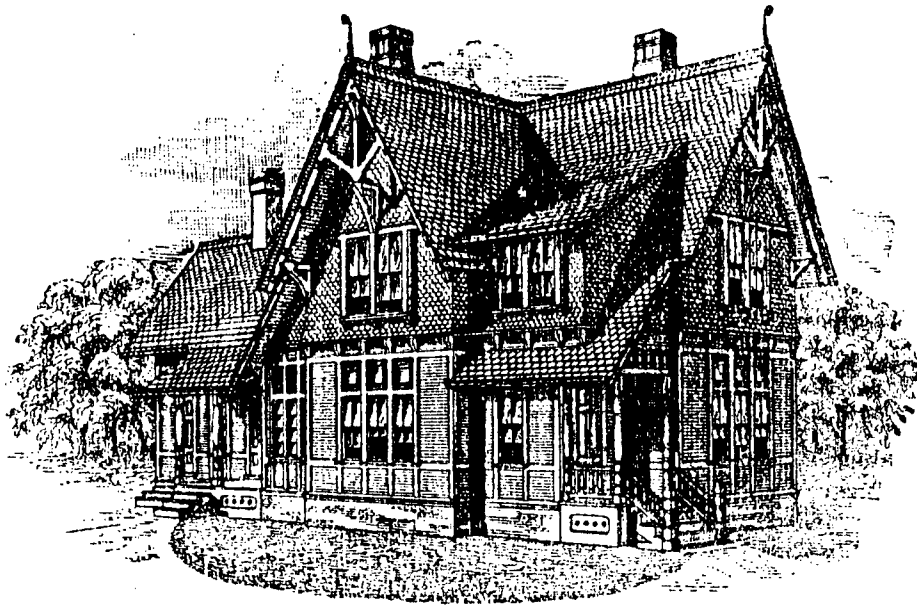


Fig. 45. Palliser Co., Plate XIV, House, Lyons, Ia. (Model Homes, 1878).

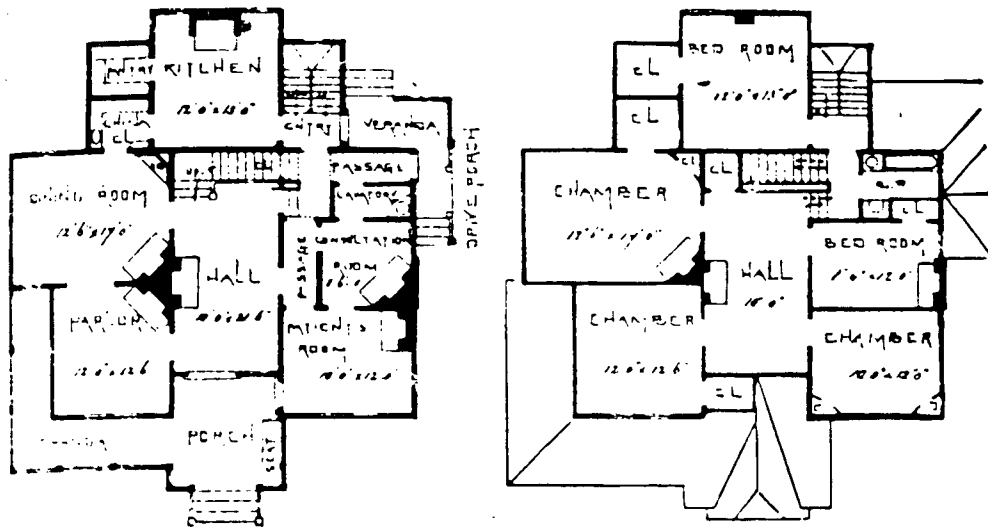


Fig. 46. Palliser Co., Plate XVI, Plan for Physician's Home. (Model Homes, 1878).

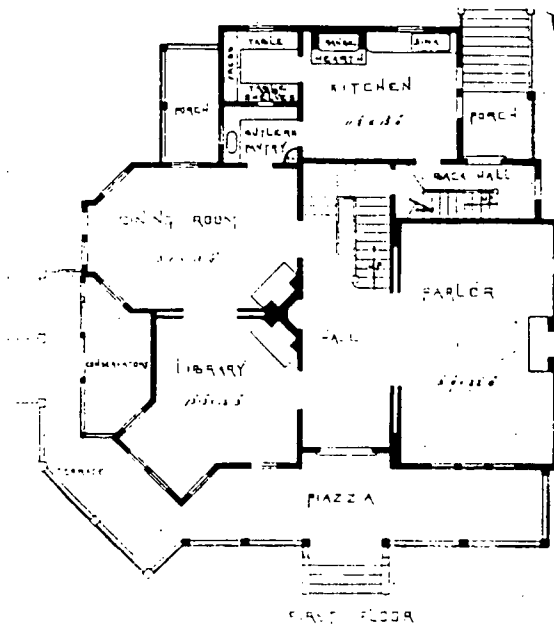


Fig. 47. Palliser Co., Plate XIX, Plan, Frank Underwood House, Tolland, Conn. (Model Homes, 1878).



Fig. 48. Henry Hudson Holly, Design 21 (Modern Dwellings, 1878).

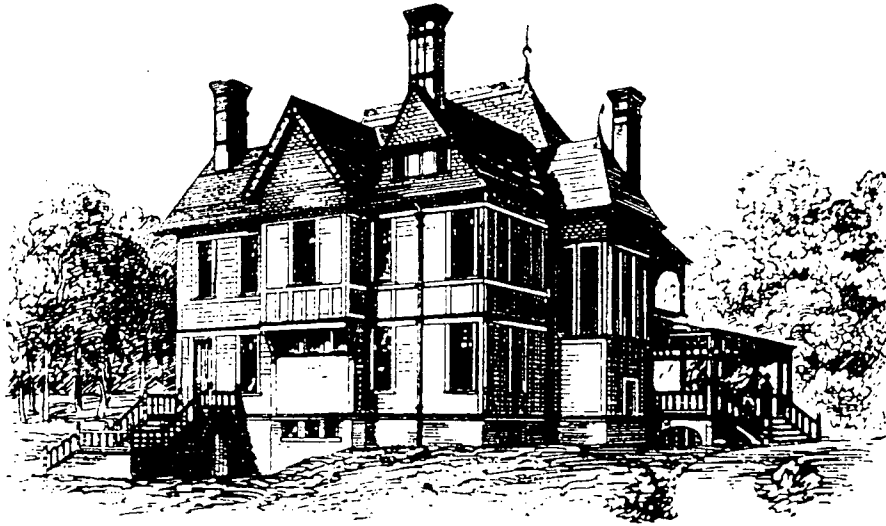


Fig. 49. Henry Hudson Holly, Design 15 (Modern Dwellings, 1878).

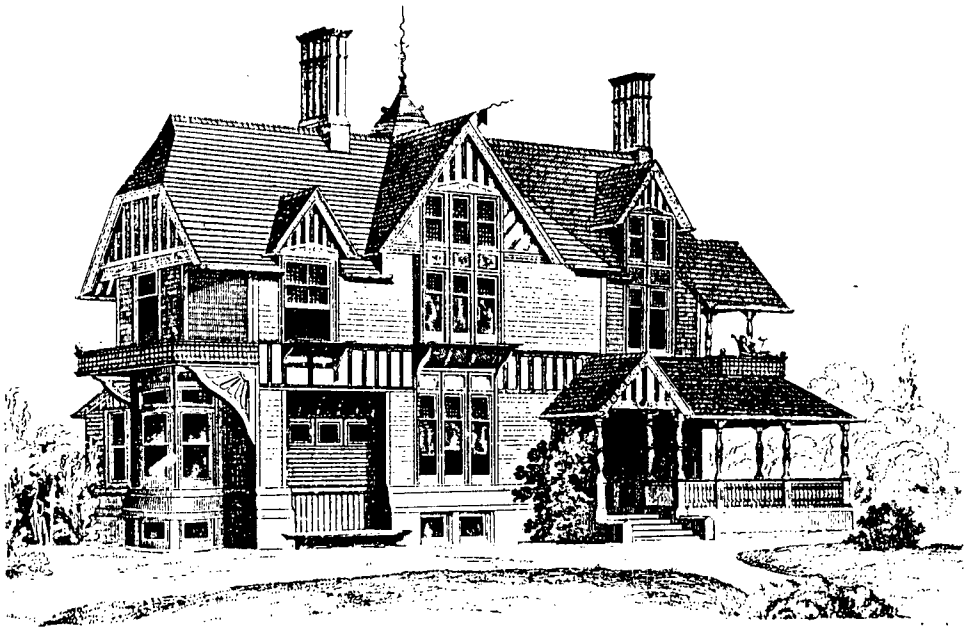


Fig. 50. Lamb and Wheeler, House at Summit, N. J., Plate 1 (Comstock, Modern Architectural Designs, 1881).

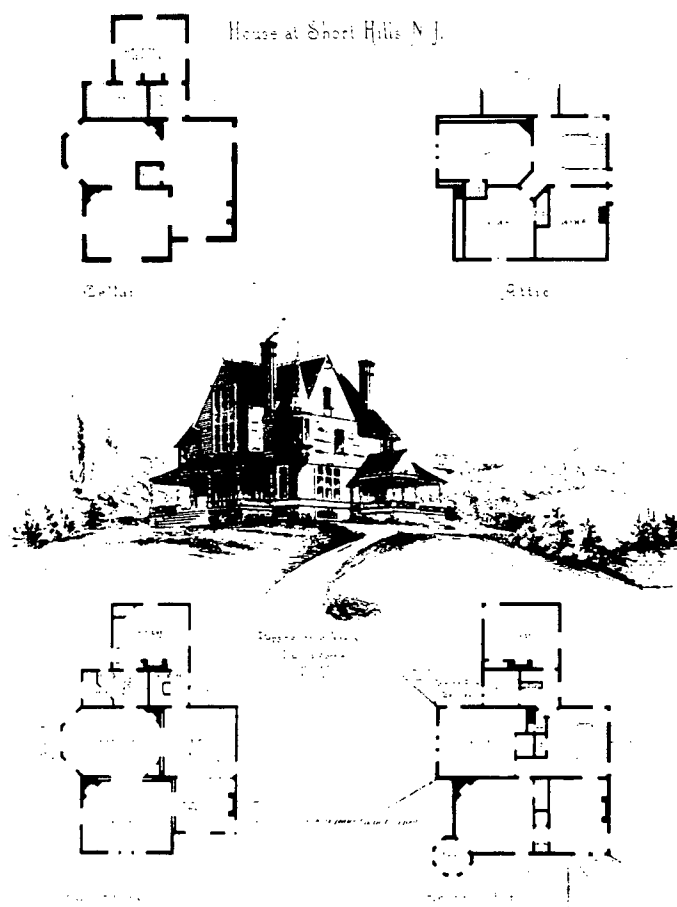


Fig. 51. Lamb and Wheeler, House at Short Hills, N. J., Plate 45 (Comstock, Modern Architectural Designs, 1881).

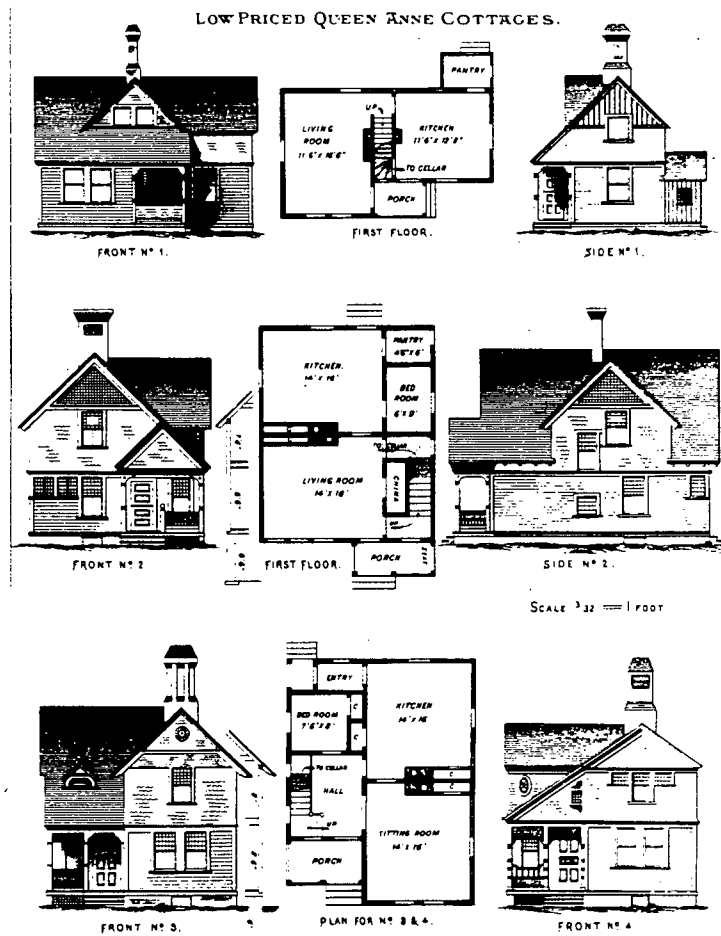


Fig. 52. Low Priced Queen Anne Cottages, Plate 17 (Comstock, Modern Architectural Designs, 1881).

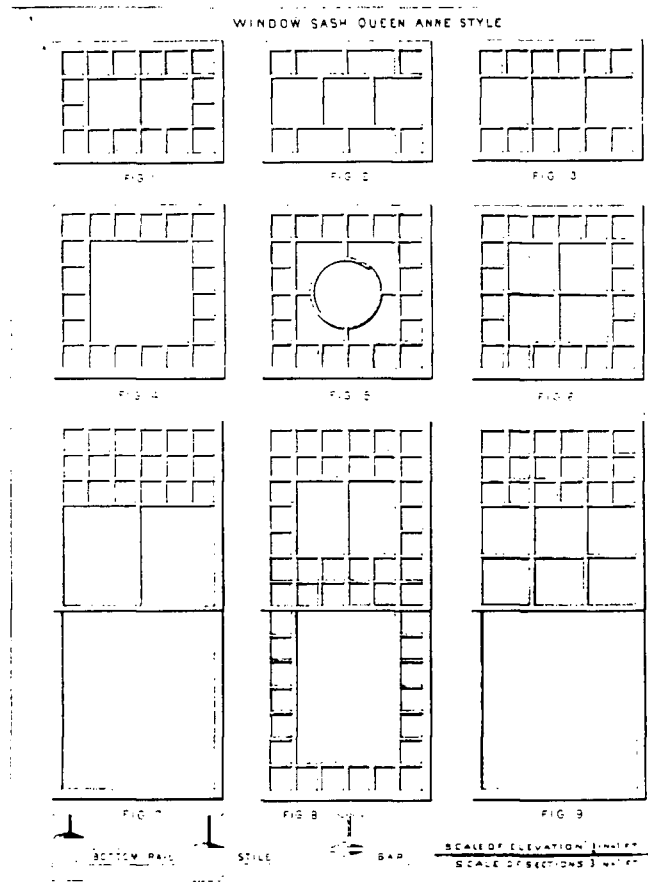


Fig. 53. Window Sash Queen Anne Style, Plate 24 (Comstock, Modern Architectural Designs, 1881).



Fig. 54. Wm. Ralph Emerson, House at Beverly Farms (American Architect, 1881).

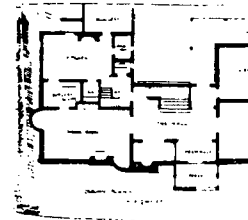


Fig. 55. W. A. Bates, Country House to Cost \$25,000 (American Architect, 1881).

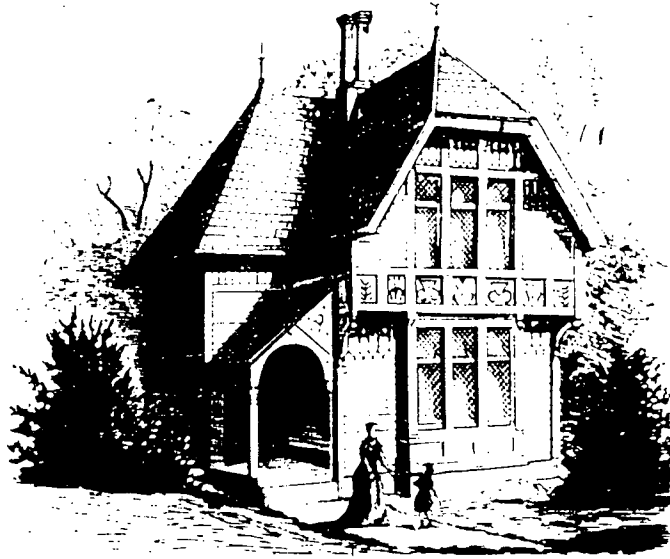


Fig. 56. Almon Varney, Figure 9, Cottage. (Our Homes, 1882.)

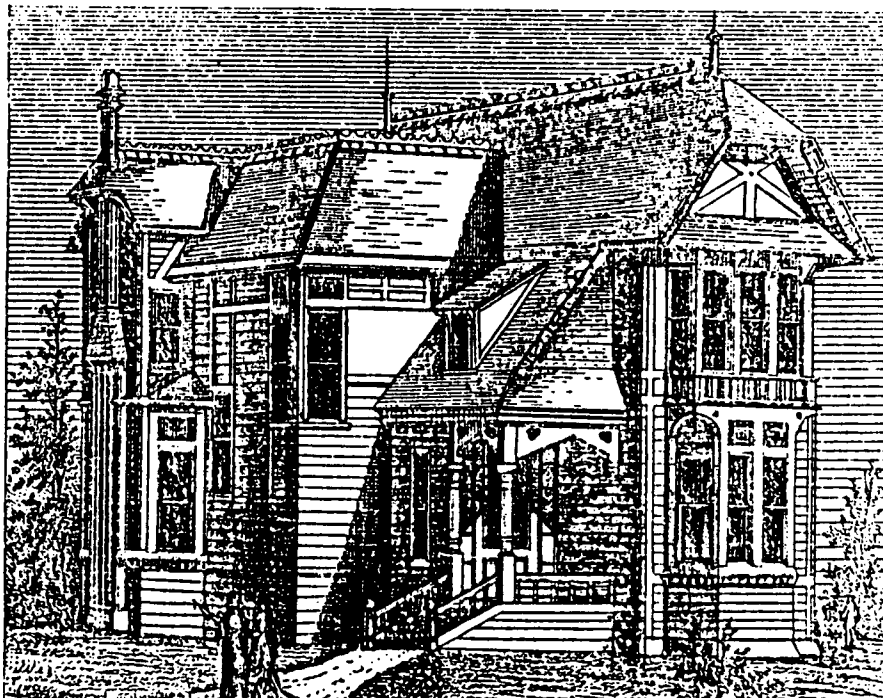


Fig. 57. John C. Pelton, \$5,000 Cottage. (Cheap Dwellings, 1882).



Fig. 58. Robert Shoppell, Design 58. (How to Build, Furnish, and Decorate, 1883).

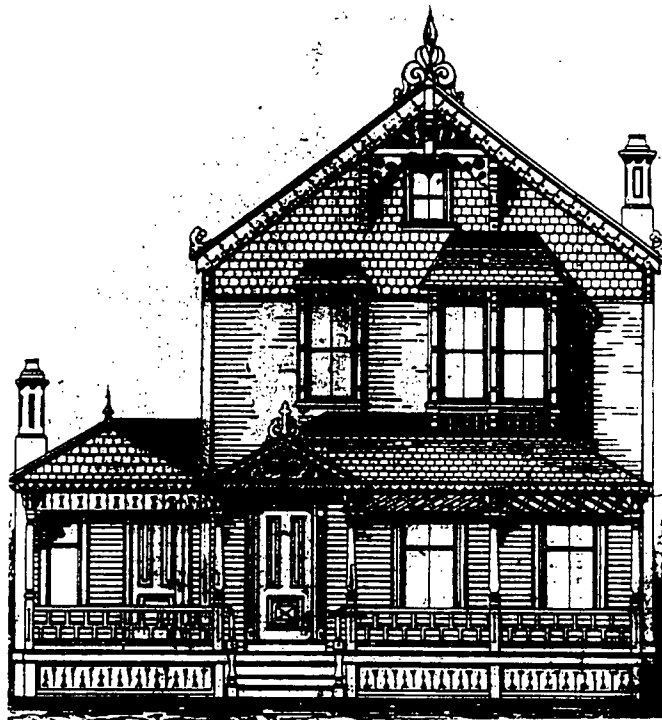


Fig. 59. Robert Shoppell, Design 59 (How to Build, Furnish, and Decorate, 1883).

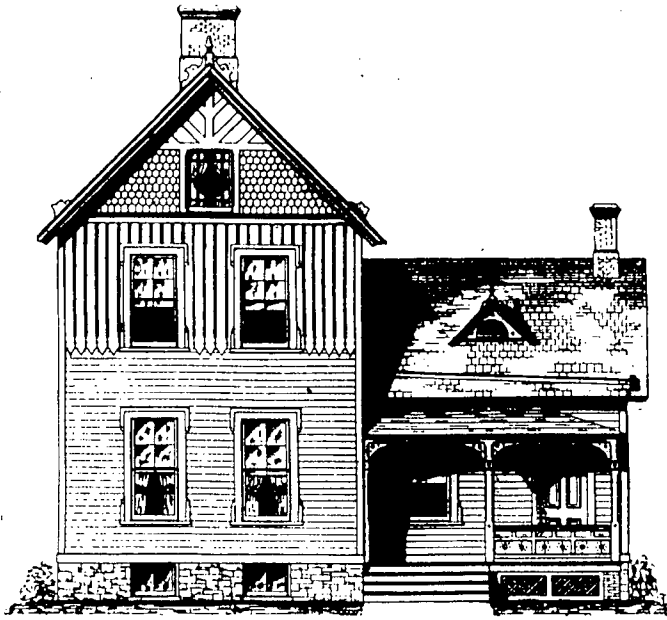


Fig. 60. Robert Shoppell, Design 125 (How to Build, Furnish, and Decorate, 1883).

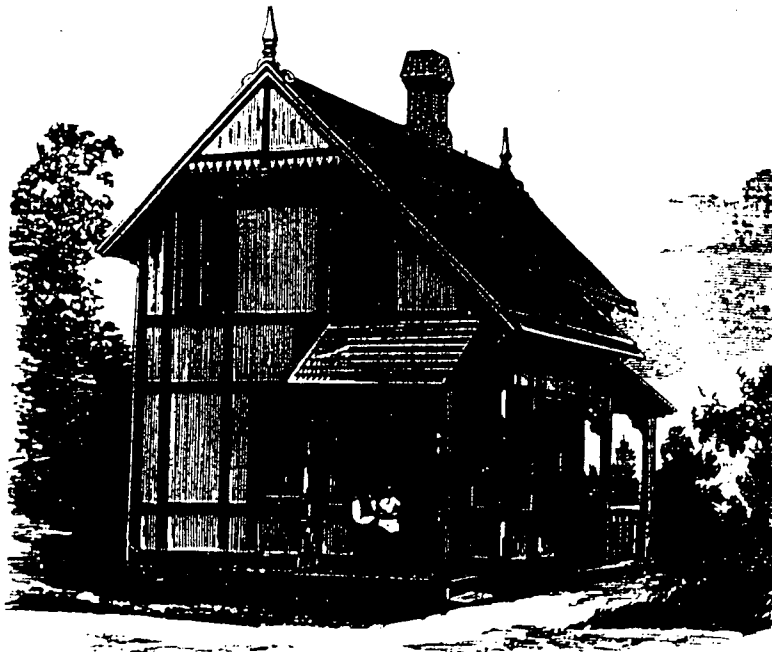


Fig. 61. Robert Shoppell, Design, 98 (How to Build, Furnish, and Decorate, 1883).



Fig. 62. Robert Shoppell, Design 142 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).



Fig. 63. Robert Shoppell, Design 155 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

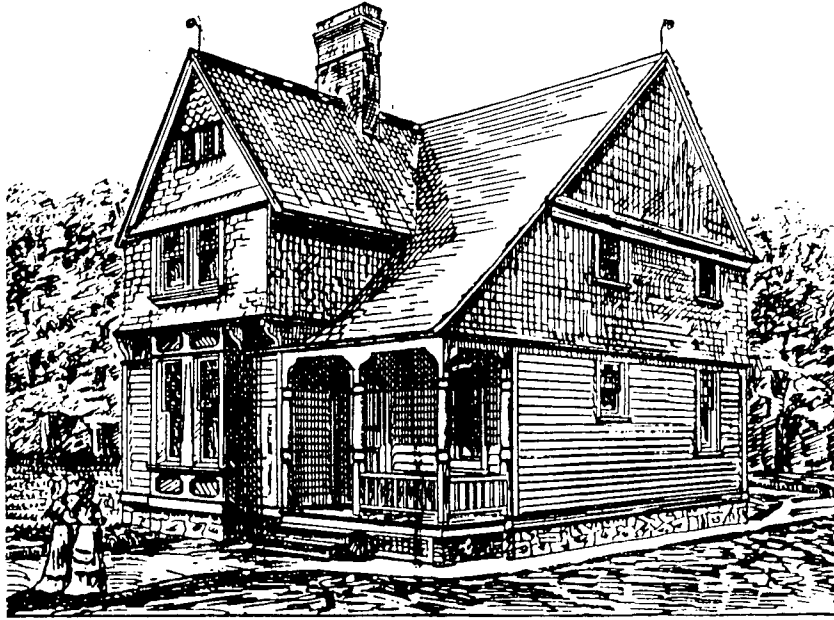


Fig. 64. Robert Shoppell, Design 132 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

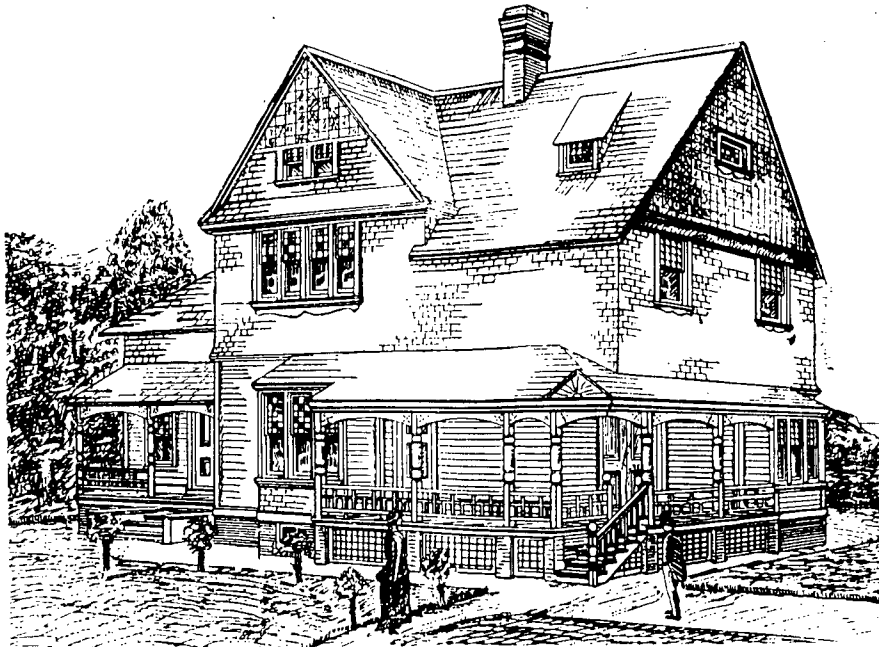


Fig. 65. Robert Shoppell, Design 148 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).



Fig. 66. Robert Shoppell, Design 131 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

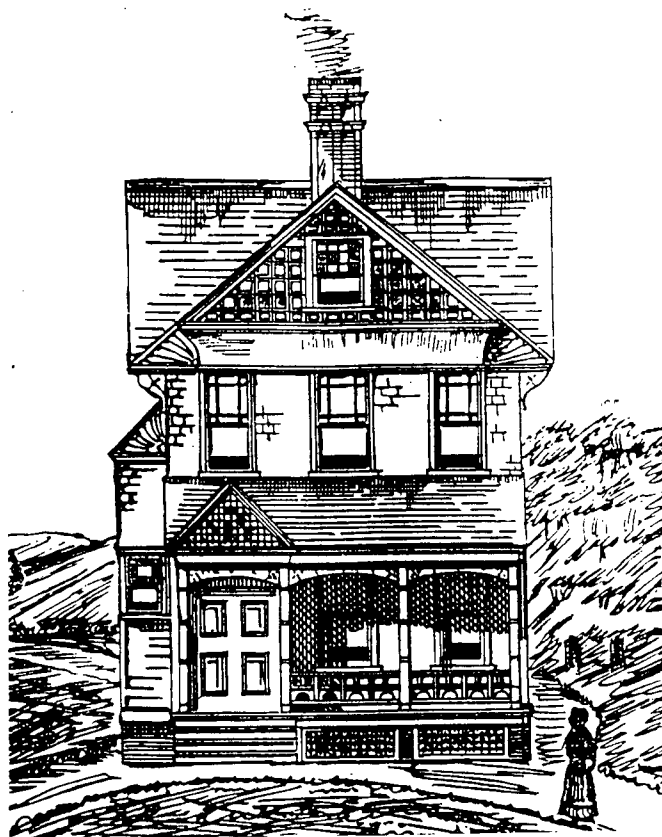


Fig. 67. Robert Shoppell, Design 135 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

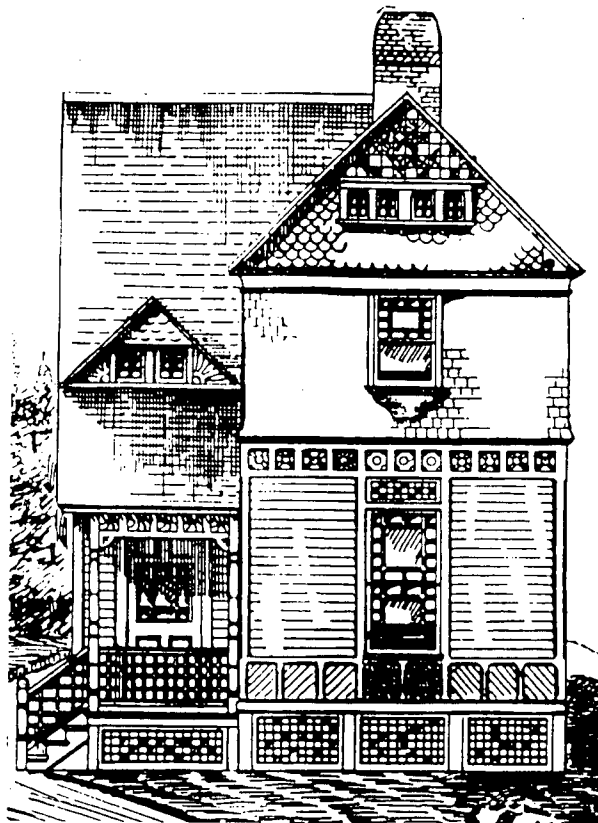


Fig. 68. Robert Shoppell, Design 136 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1984).



Fig. 69. Robert Shoppell, Design 145 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

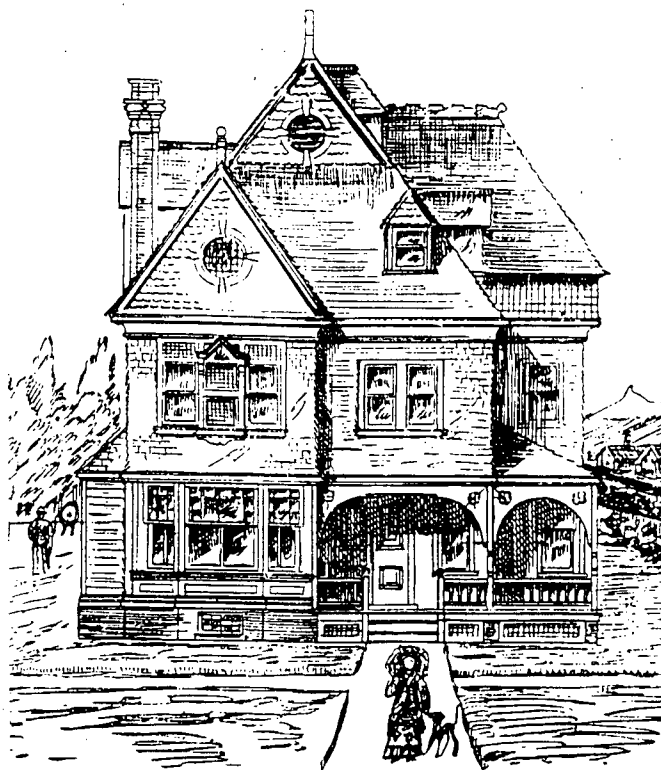


Fig. 70. Robert Shoppell, Design 152 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).



Fig. 71. Robert Shoppell, Design 160 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

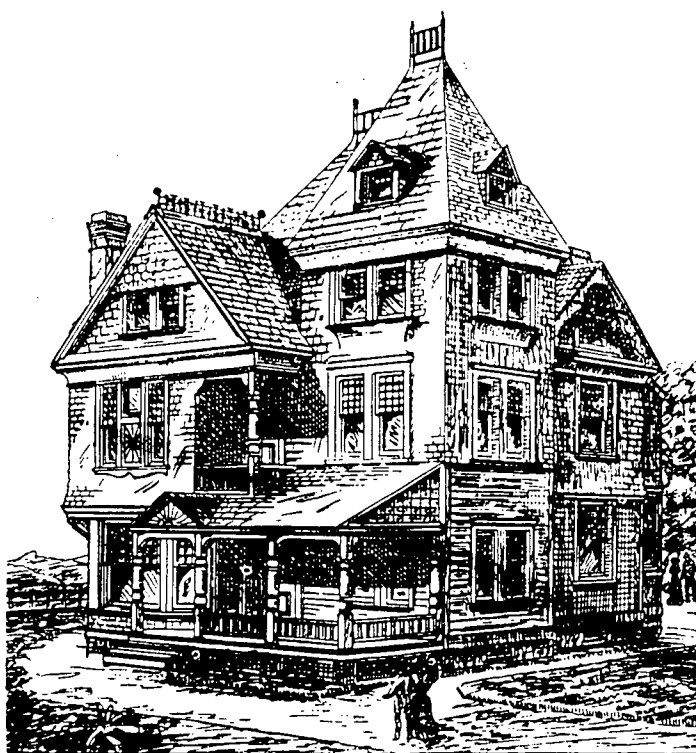


Fig. 72. Robert Shoppell, Design 163 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).

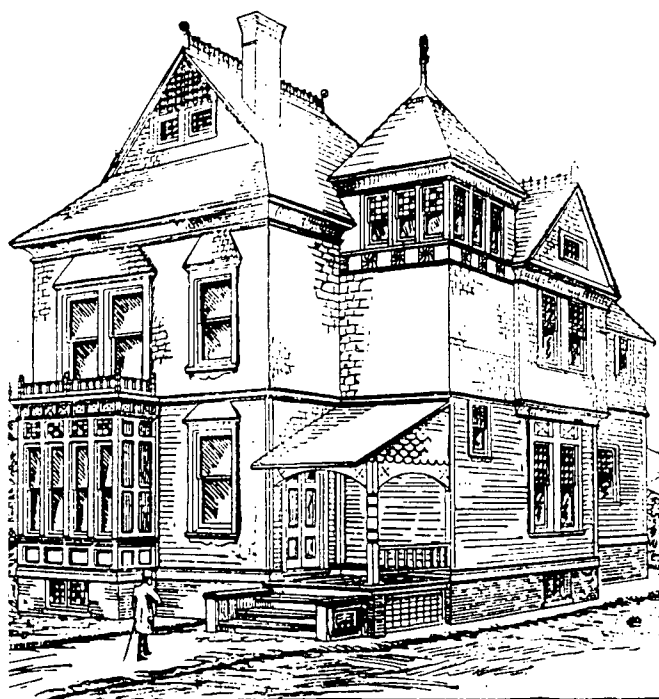


Fig. 73. Robert Shoppell, Design 153 (Modern Low Cost Houses, 1884).



Fig. 74. Samuel and Joseph Newsom, Plate 5. (Picturesque California Homes, 1884).

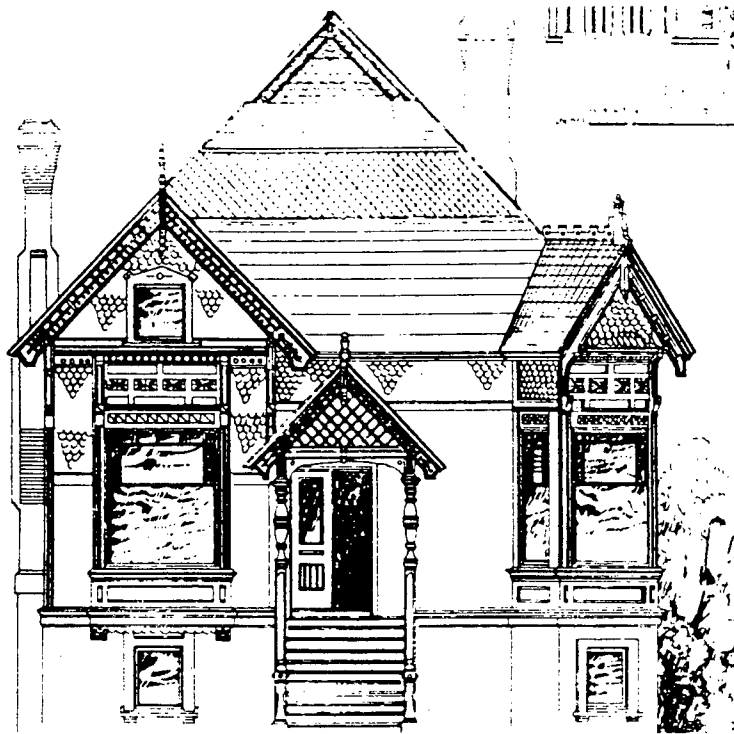


Fig. 75. Samuel and Joseph Newsom, Plate 19 (Picturesque California Homes, 1884).

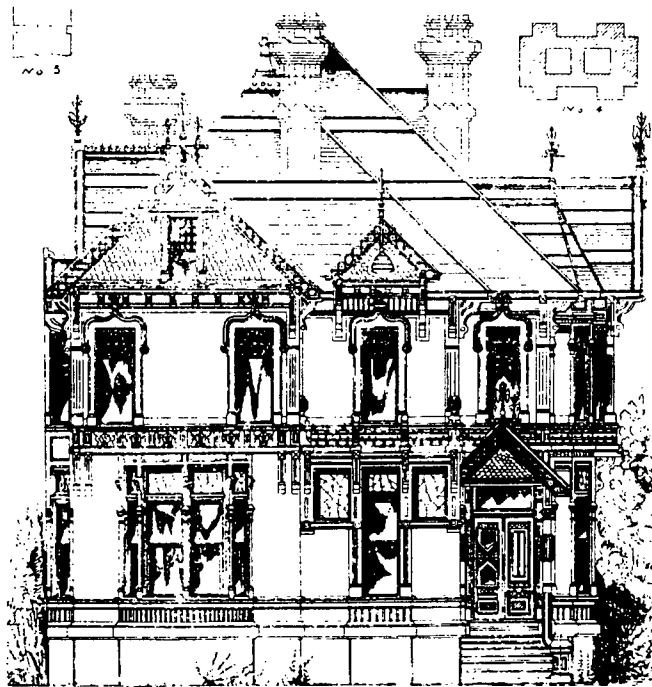


Fig. 76. Samuel and Joseph Newsom, Plate 31 (Picturesque California Homes, 1884).

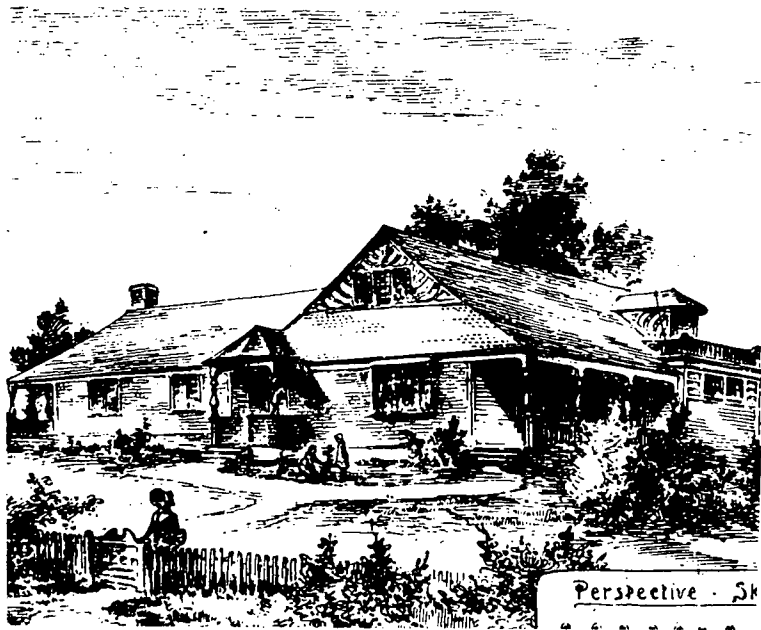


Fig. 77. Arnold Brunner, Bungalow. (Cottages, 1884).



Fig. 78. Samuel Reed, Vineland, Design XIII (Dwellings for Village and Country, 1885).

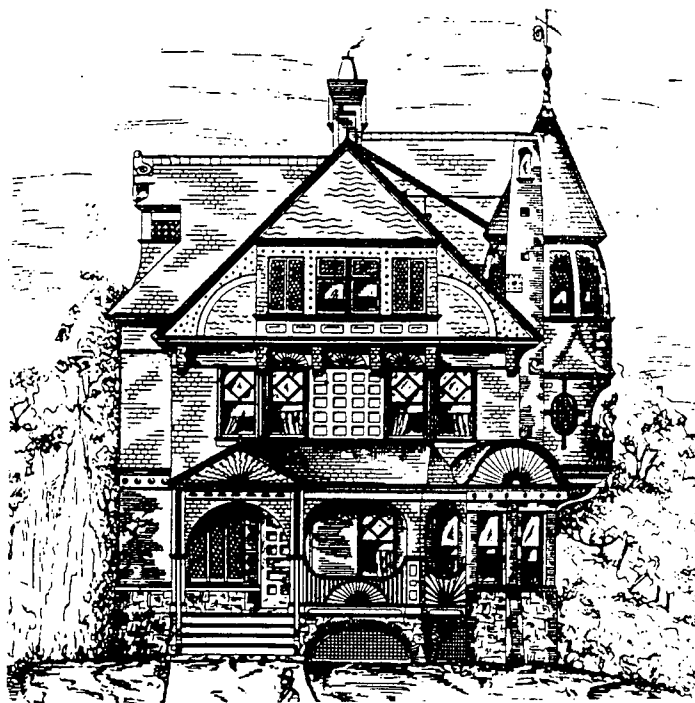


Fig. 79. Samuel Reed, Wallingford, Design XXVII (Dwellings for Village and Country, 1885).

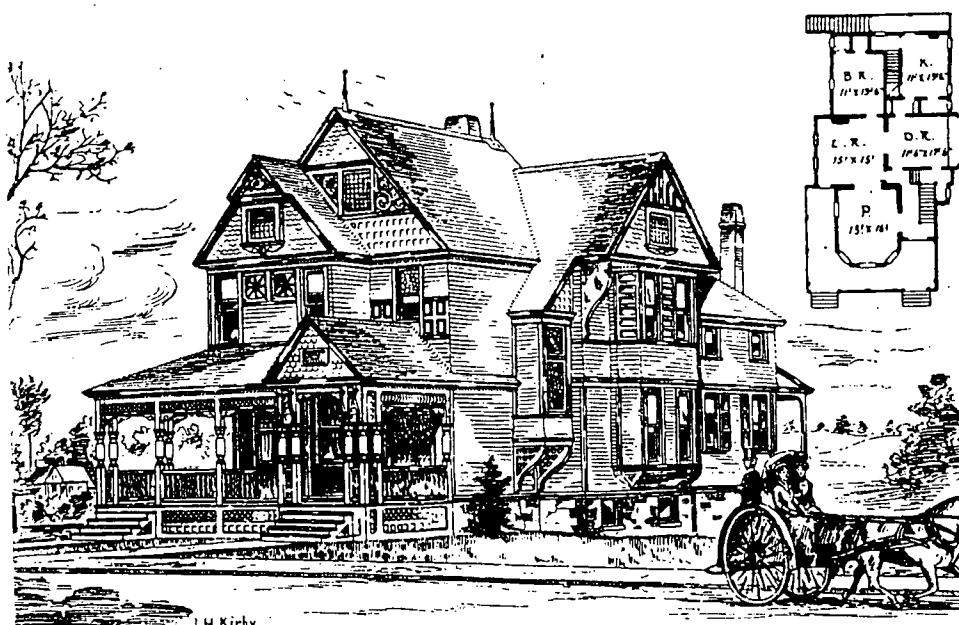


Fig. 80. J. H. Kirby, Design 18 (Modern Cottages, 1886).

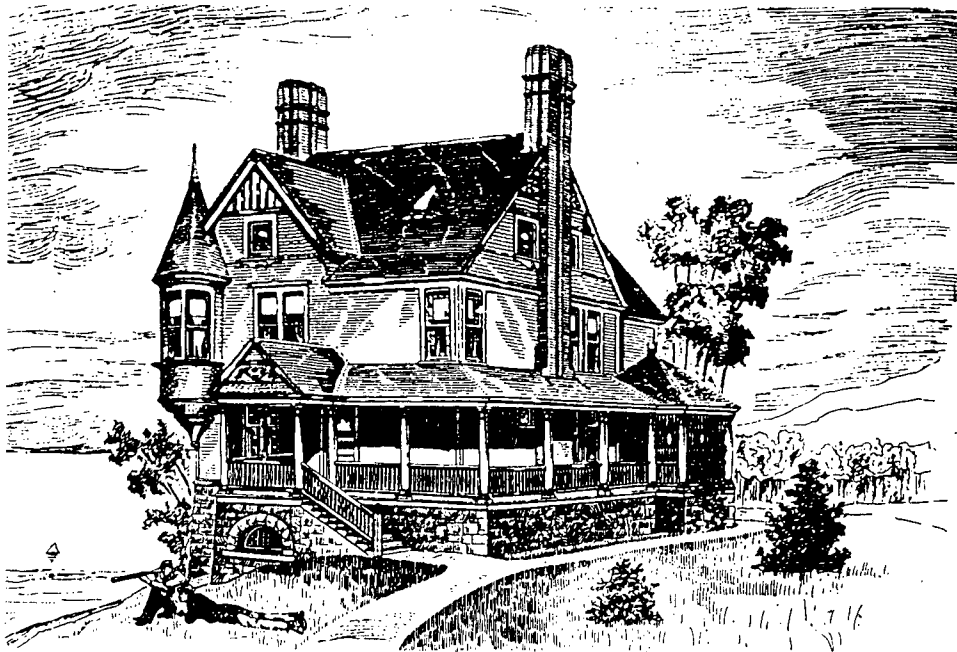


Fig. 81. J. H. Kirby, Design 21 (Modern Cottages, 1886).

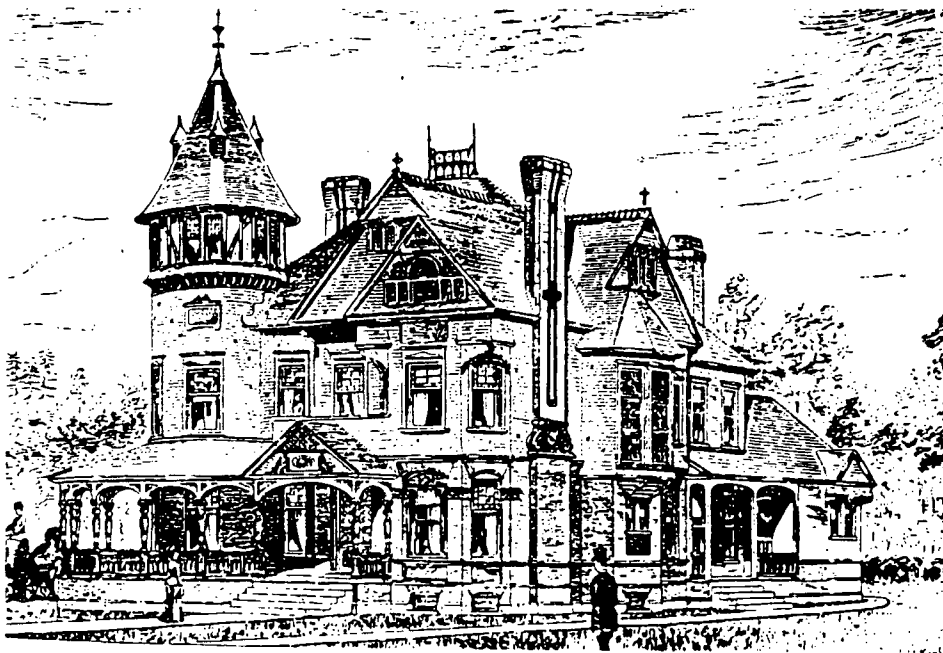


Fig. 82. J. H. Kirby, Design 25 (Modern Cottages, 1886).



Fig. 83. J. H. Kirby, Design 14 (Modern Cottages, 1886).

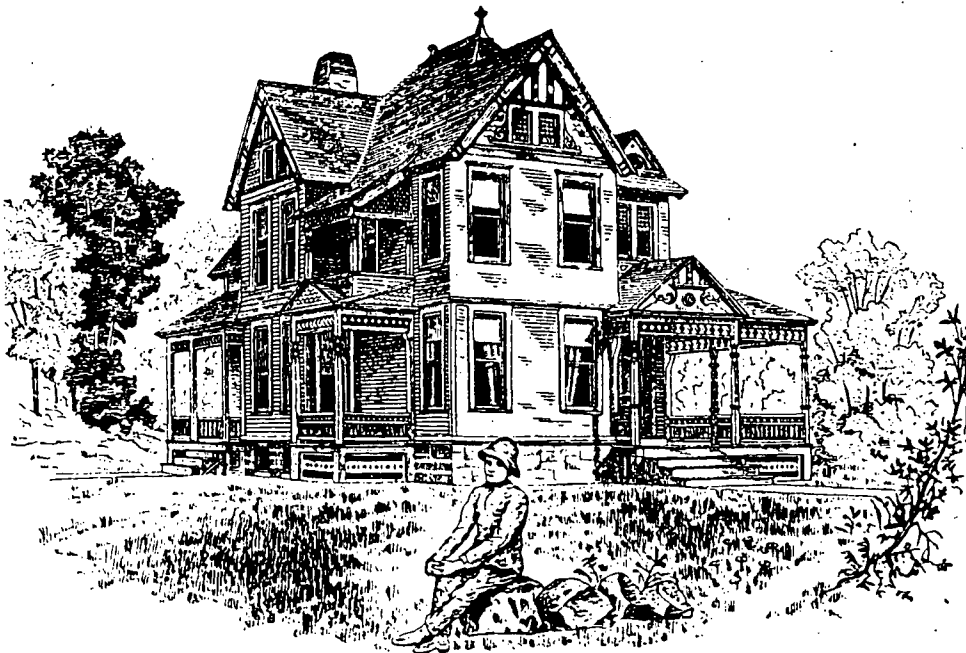


Fig. 84. J. H. Kirby, Design 15 (Modern Cottages, 1886).



Fig. 85. J. H. Kirby, Design 16 (Modern Cottages, 1886).

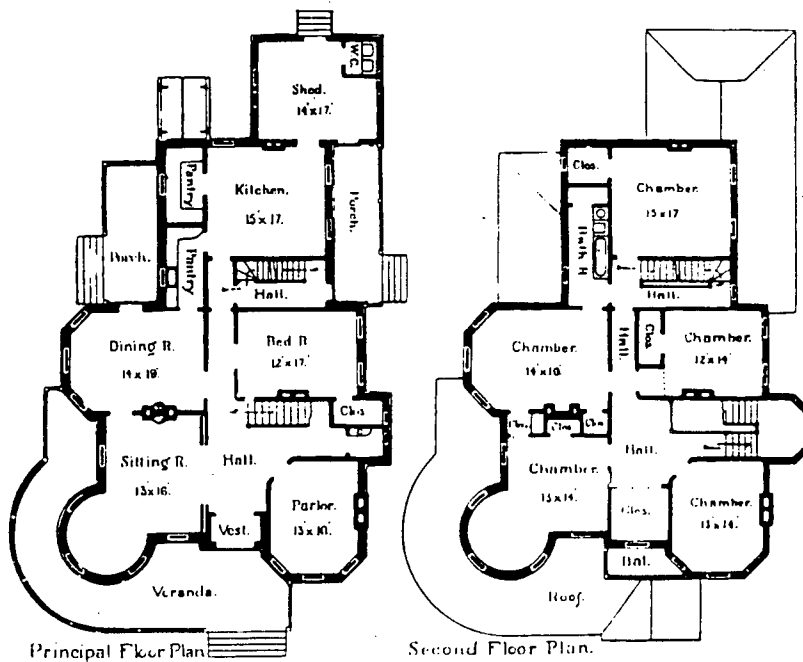


Fig. 86. J. H. Kirby, Plan, Design 25. (Modern Cottages, 1886).



Fig. 87. David Hopkins, Plate X (Cottage Portfolio, 1886).



Fig. 88. David Hopkins, Plate V (Cottage Portfolio, 1886).

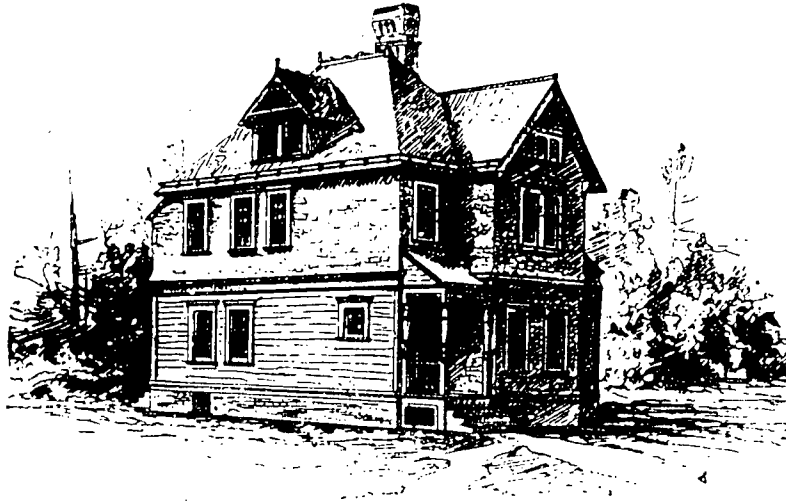


Fig. 89. David King, Plate IX (Homes for Home Builders, 1886).



Fig. 90. David King, Plate X. (Homes for Home Builders, 1886).



Fig. 91. Frank Smith, Design H (A Cosy Home, 1887).



Fig. 92. Frank Smith, Design D (A Cosy Home, 1887).

Design No. 5.
A small cottage.

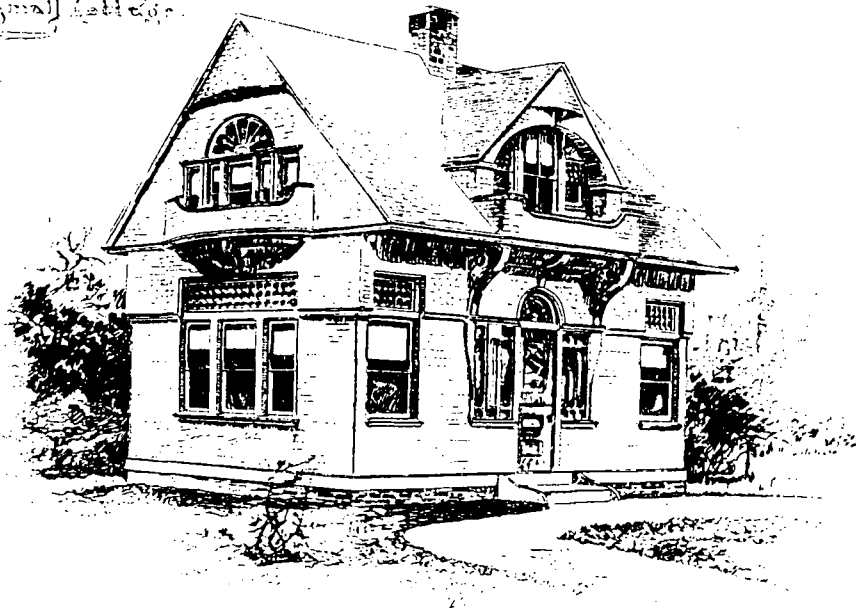


Fig. 93. Manly Cutter, Design 5 (Designs for Modern Buildings, 1887).



Fig. 94. Robert Shoppell, *History (Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, 1887)*.



Fig. 95. Robert Shoppell, Design 214 (Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes, 1887).



Fig. 96. Palliser Co., Design 1 (New Cottage Homes, 1887).

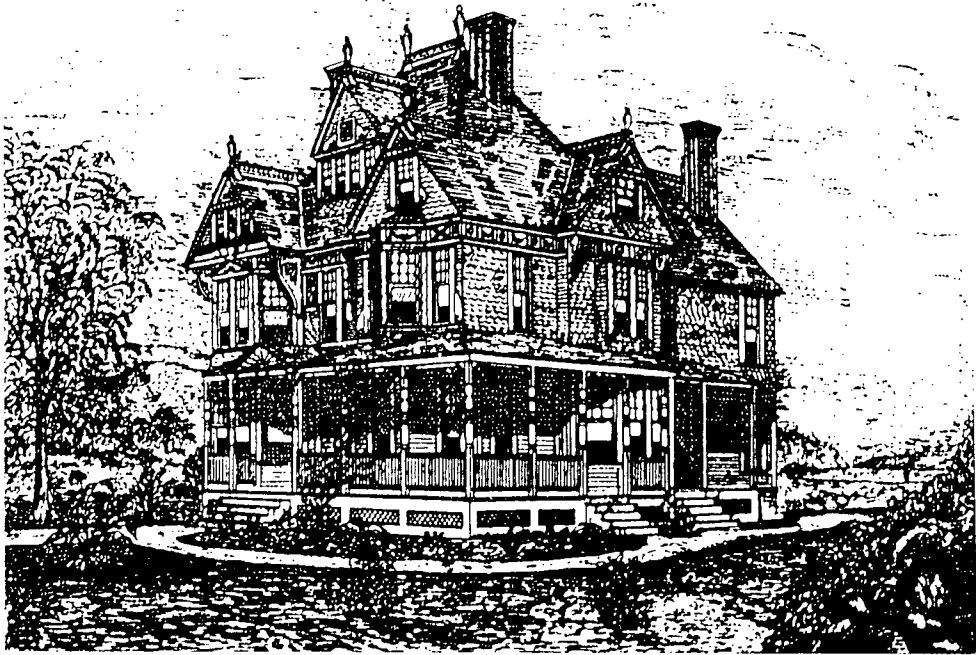


Fig. 97. Palliser Co., Plate 6, Design 16 (New Cottage Homes, 1887).

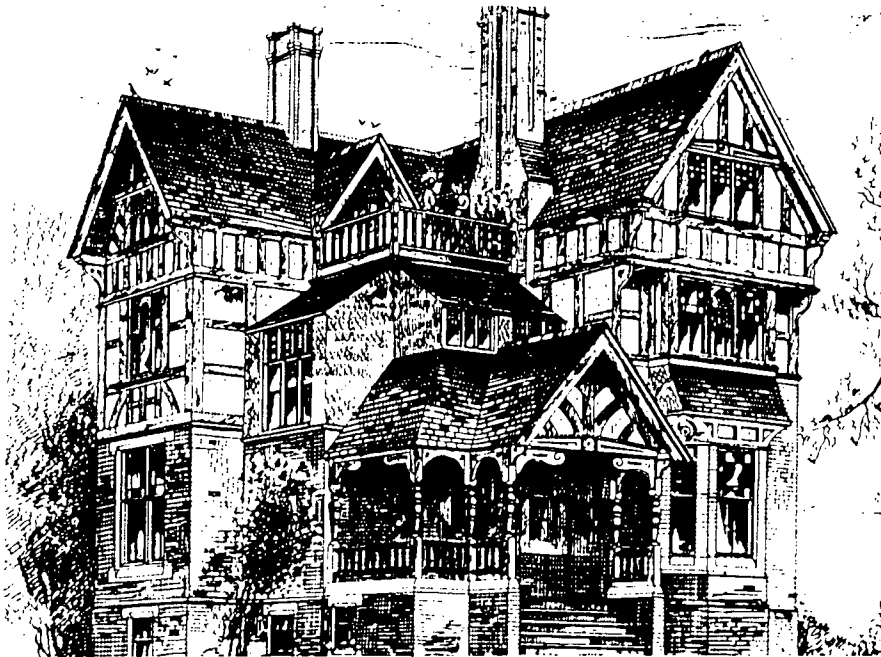


Fig. 98. Palliser Co., Plate 24, Design 75 (New Cottage Homes, 1887).

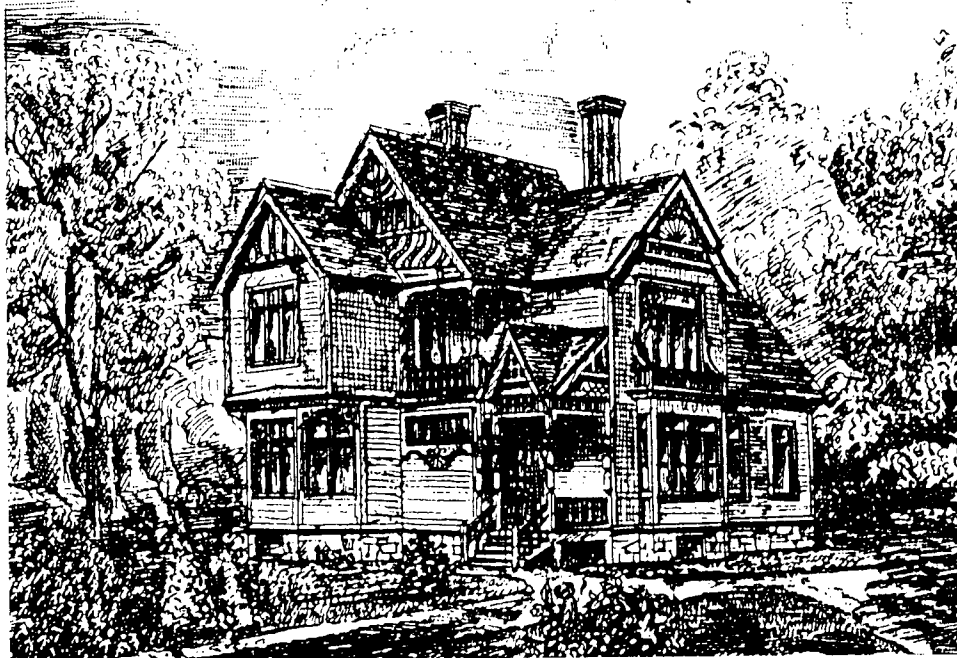


Fig. 99. Palliser Co., Plate 41, Design 127 (New Cottage Homes, 1887).

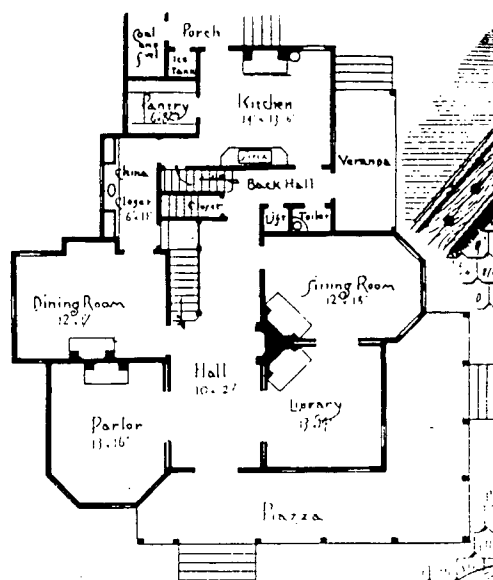
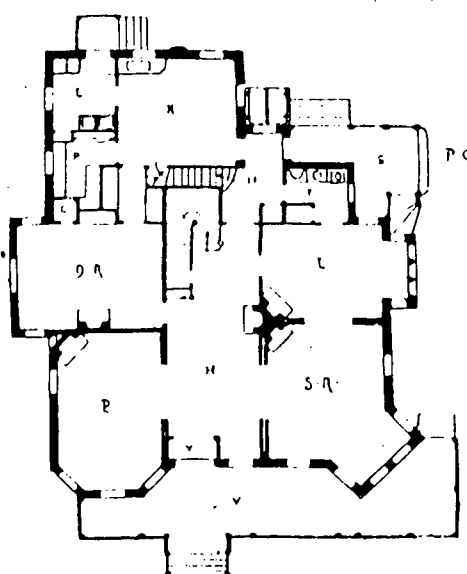


Fig. 100. Palliser Co., Plans, Design 1 and 16 (New Cottage Homes, 1887).



Fig. 101. Louis Gibson, Figures 8 and 9 (Convenient Houses, 1889).



Fig. 102. Carl Pfeiffer, Design G, Plate 3 (American Mansions and Cottages, 1889).

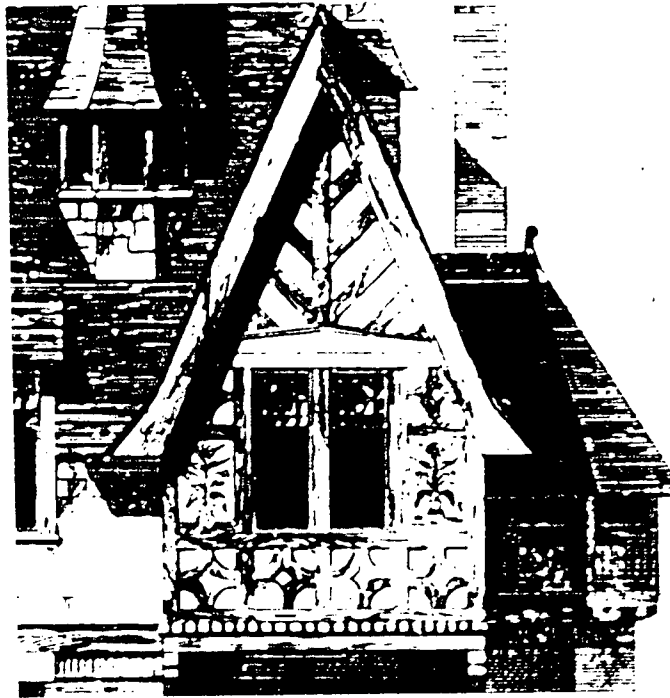


Fig. 103. Carl Pfeiffer, Design B, Plate 4, detail (American Mansions and Cottages, 1889).



Fig. 104. George Garnsey, Plate 1 (Beautiful Homes, 1889).

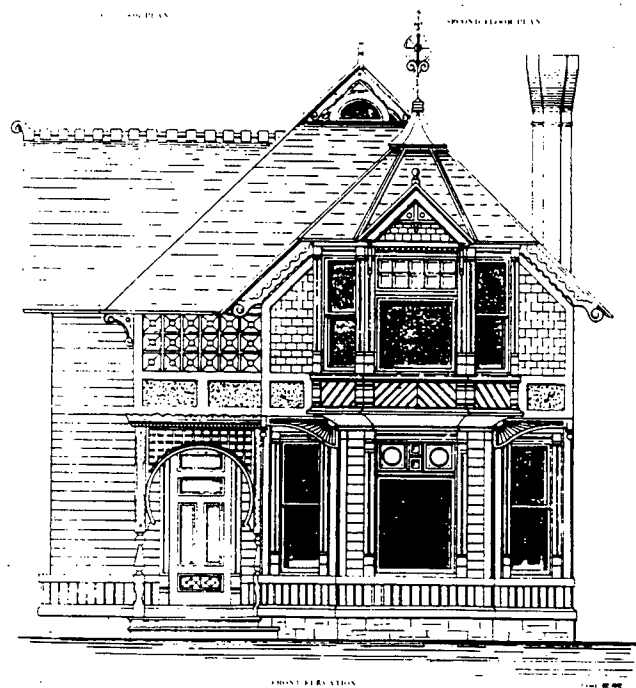


Fig. 105. George Garnsey, Plate 29 (Beautiful Homes, 1889).

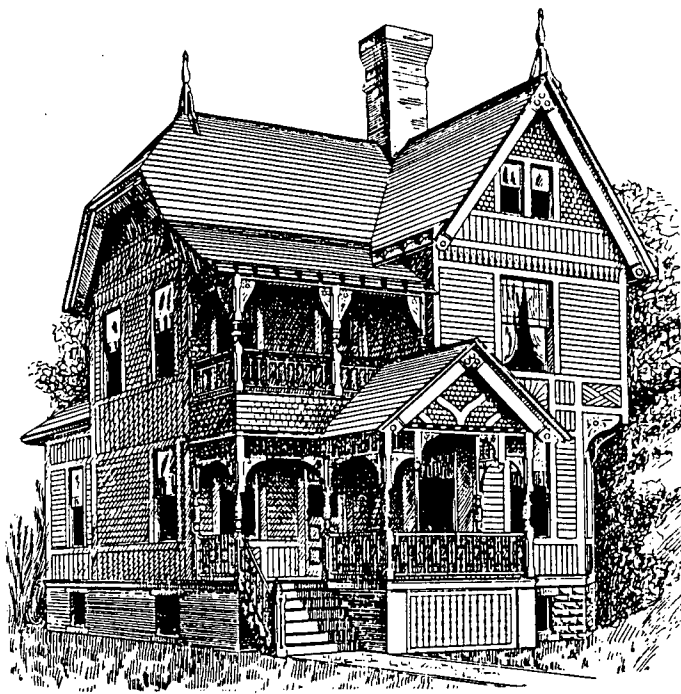


Fig. 106. George Barber, Design 15 (Cottage Souvenir, 1891).

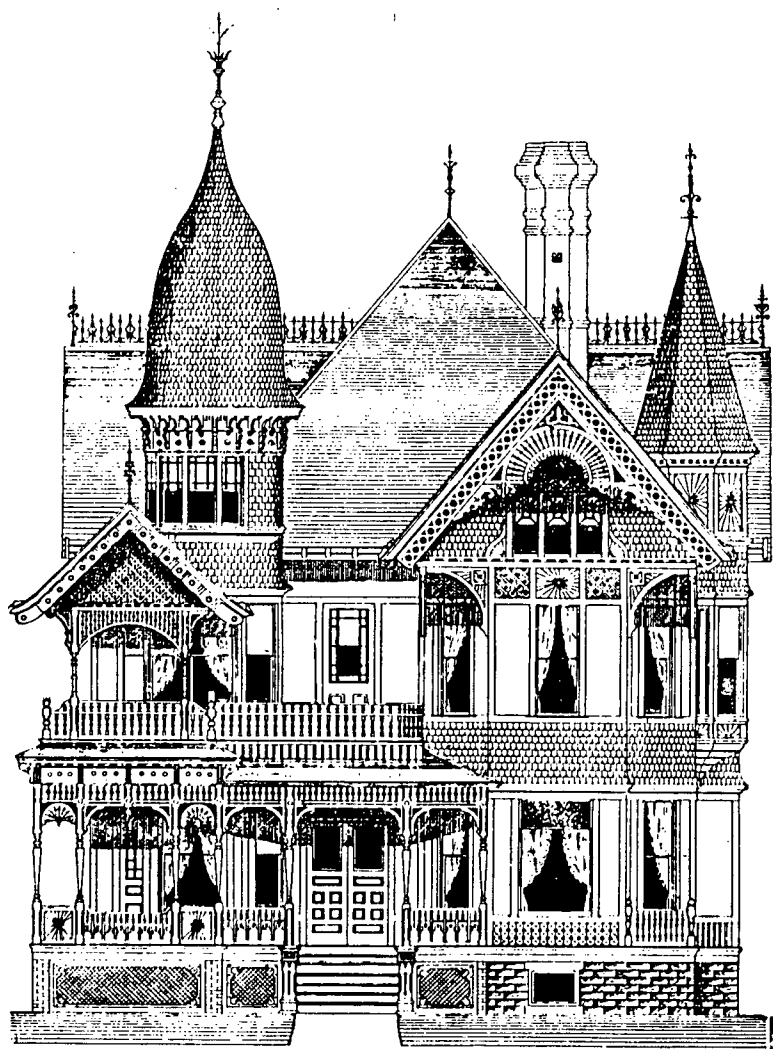


Fig. 107. George Barber, Design 59 (Cottage Souvenir, 1891).

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