

The Mathematics of
the Ideal Village

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The shelves of any representative architectural library in the United States or Great Britain might suggest that between 1900 and 1930 the major critical interest of the architectural profession throughout the English speaking world lay in the elucidation of the principles of architectural composition. Certainly a surprising number of books upon this subject were published during these years, and if few have appeared since the last date, it is equally evident that very few were published before the first.

*A Discussion of Composition, Architectural Composition, The Principles of Architectural Composition*¹—the titles are familiar and the publications, all showing allegiance to closely related critical patterns, now have a flavor of the period. The aim of such books as these was avowedly pedagogic and (using the word in no derogatory sense) their authors evidently entertained an academic ideal. Sharing a common critical vocabulary, and apparently enjoying a common visual experience, these writers felt no compulsion to lead an attack on either the present or the immediate past; and while they had no inherent connection with the modern movement in architecture, they were not always insulated from contemporary development—nor were they necessarily without enthusiasm for it. Making no overt display of bias and by no means simply committed to retrospective attitudes, they were preoccupied with the survival of certain standards of urbanity and order, certain received ideas which for them were identifiable with tradition; but above all, as the titles of their books continuously reaffirm, they were anxious to extract from historical and current precedents a formal common denominator—the quality which they recognized as *correct composition*.

These books are usually to be found in close proximity to, and often on the same shelves as the manifestos of the specifically modern movement which were published during the same years; and, apart from the obvious differences in temperature between the two styles of publication, there are other differences which invite notice. Thus the most cursory reading of any of the pronouncements of the great innovators of the 1920s suggests that for such figures as Le Corbusier, Mies Van der Rohe, and Gropius, the existence of any such *principles of composition* as the academicians presumed was not only dubious but irrelevant. These men were convinced that an authentic architecture could only be a rationalization of objective facts. One might believe that for them 'composition' implied a regard for mere appearance, had suggestions of subjectivity, of formalism—and however highly formed their buildings may have been, they were certainly unanimous in asserting their innocence of formal intention. "We refuse," writes Mies, "to recognise problems of form; but only problems of building";² and, even though this

statement may be no more than a matter of polemics, the assertion of such opinions is enough to indicate a state of mind which could only regard the idea of composition as a discreditable one.

It is for reasons such as these that around this apparently innocent word inhibitions have gathered thick, so that except in its esoteric sense, as a reference to a composition within the post-Cubist tradition, a tendency might be noticed to use it only with considerable reserve. Sometimes indeed it is positively anathematized; and then—for instance when Frank Lloyd Wright pronounces, "Composition is dead that creation may live"³—there seem to be evoked echoes of similar scruples already experienced by architects and critics of the nineteenth century.

"I am always afraid to use this word composition," Ruskin announces; and when, as the major apologist of the mid-Victorian epoch he *was* obliged to use it, he guarded himself against possible misinterpretation by means of elaborate footnotes:

The word composition has been so much abused, and is in itself so inexpressive, that when I wrote the first part of this work I intended to use in the final section of it the word 'invention' and to reserve the term composition for that false composition which can be taught on principles.⁴

That a single word can be productive of such alternatives of damnation or involved reserve no doubt says much for the meanings with which it has been endowed; and possibly the evidence of such elaborate semantic diffidence does bring us face to face with a recurring critical dilemma, important not only to the mid-nineteenth century, but also to the present day.

At the present day the composition books are partly, but not completely, discredited; and the pronouncements of the innovators of the 1920s are partly, but not completely, accepted. Thus one group of critical standards survives with diminished prestige, while another has not achieved comprehensive definition. Modern architecture has professedly abjured composition; but the composition books recognize no situation in which their theory could become an irrelevance. The composition books are judiciously disinterested, catholic, temperate, and pragmatic; the classic manifestoes of modern architecture are partisan, exclusive, inflammatory, and doctrinaire. In any final analysis of its theory, modern architecture seems to rest upon a conviction that authentic architectural form can only be engendered by recognizing the disciplines which function and structure impose. But the authors of the composition books find that this thesis cannot engage their convictions. For them it is by no means an article of faith, rather it is an interesting supposition; and while they are indisposed to quarrel with it, they are definite-

ly unwilling that it should form the focus of their critique. A truly significant building for these theorists is not an organization derived from functional and structural disciplines—although these may have contributed to it. But a truly significant building is preeminently a structure, organized according to *the principles of architectural composition* and infused with a symbolic content which is usually described as *character*.

According to this doctrine the presence of both good composition and appropriate character is essential in a successful building, and the presence of the one is not automatically productive of the other.

Proper character does not necessarily accompany the securing of good composition. . . . A factory may display all the correct graces of classical architecture but may look like a public library. On the other hand a church may be recognised as a church on account of the associated elements—the spire and stained glass windows—but be entirely lacking in the principles of good design. Proper character and principles of composition are not synonymous; they appear together only by a conscious effort of the designer. They must both be present in a successful piece of architecture.⁵

Character is seldom, if ever, defined, but it is generally implied that it may be at once the impression of artistic individuality and the expression, either symbolic or functional, of the purpose for which the building was constructed. Often, however, it is admitted that the presence of character has not always been a necessary attribute of architecture; and when this admission is recognized, and when it is observed that the present day has imposed critical taboos on characterization also, a further dimension to the problem is suggested. And since both words are now somewhat suspect to the strictly orthodox, their suspicions do prompt some investigation of a possible relationship and the ideas which this relationship involves.

It is clear that in the strictest meaning of the word any organization is a composition, whether 'correct' or not; it is also evident that any building will display character, whether intentionally or otherwise; but if such general definitions of both terms are to be accepted then further inquiry will be blocked, reactions such as Ruskin's or Wright's to specific meanings of the word composition will become inexplicable, and the expression of character will be assumed to represent an interest of all architects at all times.

But as might be expected, the introduction of both words into the critical vocabulary of architecture seems to have been an achievement of the eighteenth century. Certainly after 1770 both become fairly frequent, whereas before 1700

one is apt to look for either of them in vain. Thus neither Alberti, Palladio, nor the elder Blondel, to select three crucially important theorists, seem to have envisaged the working out of an architectural theme to have been a matter of informing *composition* with *character*. For them the process of design was a Vitruvian one involving 'invention,' 'compartition,' 'distribution,' 'ordinance'; while what the later eighteenth century understood as the 'arts of composition,' earlier critics usually described—with somewhat different meaning—as 'the arts of design.'

Possibly the word composition makes its first decisive English appearance with Robert Morris's *Lectures on Architecture* in 1734. "Architecture is an art useful and extensive, it is founded upon beauty, and proportion or harmony are the great essentials of its composition," writes Morris; and with this idea of a 'composed' architecture it is interesting to notice that much of what was later referred to as character is already implied, for architecture "is divided into three classes, the Grave, the Jovial, and the Charming" and "these are designed to be fitted and appropriated to the several scenes which art or nature has provided in different situations." While

A Champaign open Country requires a noble and plain Building. . . . A Situation near the Sea requires the same, or rather a Rusticity and Lowness. . . . The Cheerful Vale requires more Decoration and Dress, and if the View be long or some adjacent River runs near by it, the Ionic Order is the most proper.⁶

But in spite of Morris's example, neither composition nor character seems to have enjoyed an immediate success and it was not until the later eighteenth century with such figures as Robert Adam that the use of the first became more general. With Adam composition is associated with 'movement,' and from the preface to his *Works in Architecture* it may be seen how 'movement' was connected with the appearance of a diversified form. In his well known definition,

Movement is meant to express the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with the other diversity in form, in the different parts of a building; so as to add greatly to the effect of the composition.

'Movement' also serves to produce "an agreeable and diversified contour that groups and contrasts like a *picture* and creates a variety of light and shade which gives great spirit, beauty, and effect to the composition."⁷ Thirteen years later in his celebrated advice to the architect Sir Joshua Reynolds gave a more august confirmation to these pictorial points of view. The architect

should take advantage *sometimes* to that which the Painter should always have his

eyes open,—the use of accidents to follow where they lead, and to improve them, rather than always to look to a regular plan. . . . As buildings depart from regularity they now and then acquire something of scenery. . . .⁸

By this shifting of emphasis from the work of architecture in itself to the effect of the work upon the spectator, the late eighteenth century was able to accommodate a conspicuously dominant academic theory and a powerfully subversive undercurrent. But, however significant was the complex of new ideas which now demanded expression as 'composition,' even as late as 1806-9 Sir John Soane's *Royal Academy Lectures* still observed the standard academic pattern. In his lectures Soane very briefly alluded to the "principles of architectural composition" (the first English appearance of the term?); but for him the arbiters of architectural form still remained the orders, and the problem of architectural design a problem of ordinance.

As a kind of semi-official and perhaps retarded index to the history of ideas the articles on architecture in the earlier editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* may be allowed to illustrate the changing thought of this time. Thus in the first edition (1773) an unexceptionable statement of the academic position is provided. Architecture, one reads, is an art for use and ornament, and of its ornaments the column is the chief. No mention is made of 'composition,' but it is stated that architecture, being governed by proportion, "requires to be guided by rule and compass," i.e., it is a geometrical rather than a pictorial art, so that after a distribution of the elements necessary for convenience the process of architectural design becomes in theory an ordering of columns.

In the next five editions the same ideas are repeated and it is not until 1832, with the seventh edition, that there is a distinct break. Now, quite suddenly, the article is prefaced by an analysis of "*the different architectural styles*," while its principal section consists of a discussion of what was previously taken for granted—"the elements of beauty in architecture." The specific problems of an architecture of columns have now ceased to be of absorbing interest; and significantly in their place "*the principles of composition*" have at last emerged as a predominant discipline—although at this date, unlike the early twentieth century, it was believed that no *single* set of principles was to be found. The methods of composition, it was pronounced, must differ

in the widely differing species of architecture whose tendencies in the one are to the horizontal or depressed, and in the other to the vertical or upright lines and forms. This being the case it will be necessary to treat of them separately for rules which apply to the one are totally inapplicable to the other. . . .

This final expurgation of academicism from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (almost one might feel as a by-product of the Reform Act) did not pass unnoticed. The *Architectural Magazine*, for instance, was enthusiastic in its approval, and the *Encyclopedia* could scarcely have any longer postponed its change in tone; for by then the 'legitimate' architectural tradition which it had for so long upheld was obviously in a state of complete disintegration.

It seems to have been in the prefaces to those many early nineteenth century publications devoted to small houses and villas that the ideas were popularized to which the *Encyclopedia Britannica* at last gave sanction. Throughout the books of such architects as William Atkinson, Robert Lugar, Edmund Aikin, C. A. Busby, J. B. Papworth, Francis Goodwin, and P. F. Robinson, the words 'composition,' 'character,' 'effect,' 'interest,' and 'expression' are liberally scattered; and the further these architects succeed in emancipating themselves from the Anglo-Palladian tradition, the more prone are they to the use of this new vocabulary.⁹

Lugar, for instance, speaks of "composing architectural designs for dwellings," and makes it clear that the architect "should frequently compose with a painter's eye." Busby, although he concedes that it is to the Greeks "to whom we are indebted for the three most beautiful of the orders of architecture," finds "as appears from the great similarity of their buildings," that they were "not deeply versed in composition." Aikin discovers "contrast and variety essential to architectural beauty"—they are qualities which impart "character and interest to any composition"; but he cautions that "in carrying into execution the designs of modern villas" the architect should be careful "to avoid the contrast of equal parts; to reject the square and the cube, and thus escaping monotony, the composition will acquire character and expression." Robinson from the first conceives the building itself as a picture, and for him, following Sir Uvedale Price, it is not possible that "a union of character can prevail until the principles of painting are applied to what in any way concerns the embellishment of our houses."

From this evidence it is possible to assume that the word 'composition' really entered the English architectural vocabulary as a result of the formal innovations of the Picturesque, and that it was conceived as being peculiarly applicable to the new, free, asymmetrical organizations which could not be comprehended within the aesthetic categories of the academic tradition. The comparable evolution of a similar but not identical evolution in continental Europe, which it is not proposed to trace here, was presumably more intimately involved with the whole rationale of Romantic Classicism, and seemingly the emergence of the idea of character was integral to both these developments.

The introduction into the critical vocabulary of the concept of character is generally presumed to be derived from Shaftesbury; but with the exception of Robert Morris, already noticed, English architects again seem to have been somewhat slow in applying it to their purposes. Emil Kaufmann¹⁰ has indicated how the word early became naturalized in French architectural circles; but in England, like the complementary term composition, it seems scarcely to have made any decisive appearance until the 1790s, when curiously it has already the air of being very well established. Thus Repton in his *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* distinguishes the different *characters* of houses and grounds and presents the idea of character as a congruity of mood very much as Morris had understood it sixty years previously.¹¹

And this interpretation of character was consistently echoed, as, for instance, by John Buonarotti Papworth when in his *Ornamental Gardening* he advises that if the site for a proposed house be a plain

embellished with tall aspiring trees, particularly a mixture of the pine, beech and fir, with the oak and elm, and the distant scenery composed of long ranges of lofty hills and the spires of towns and cities, the features of the architecture should be Grecian. . . . Upon similar principles if the ground be part of a hill and the forms of the trees more round, or the structure broken and romantic, the Gothic of massive or delicate forms may be used; the former where the effect is rocky, bold and prominent, and the latter where its parts are polished and refined.¹²

But this conception of character had further implications. A building should not only be animated by the mood of a landscape, but should also disclose purpose; so that in his *Rural Residences* Papworth introduces a complementary proposition that

the practice of designing the residence of a clergyman with reference to the characteristics of the church to which it belongs where the style of architecture is favourable to such selections, is desirable not only as relates to tasteful advantage; but as it becomes another and visible link between the church itself and the pastor who is devoted to its duties; and also leads the spectator very naturally from contemplating the dwelling to regard the pious character of its inhabitant.¹³

In addition to such connotations the word might be used quite indifferently as referring to a class, species, or style—buildings might show “a fancy or varied character,” or might be erected in “the Gothic character”; or they might suggest a certain social expressiveness, displaying “a character becoming to an English gentleman, plain and unaffected”; but on the whole, however various might be the interpretations of character, its presence was envisaged as determined by some

evident particularity. It is thus in his *Encyclopedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture* that Loudon defines the term for the average naive reader of his day:

Character in architecture, as in physiognomy, is produced by the prevalence of certain distinctive features, by which a countenance or a building is at once distinguished from others of the same kind. Hence, numbers of buildings like numbers of human beings, may exist without exhibiting any marked character. On the other hand there may be buildings, which from their general proportions being exalted, and from all their parts being justly distributed, exhibit what is akin to nobleness of character. . . . In general whatever is productive of character in a building must be conspicuous and distinctive; and it should rather consist of one than many features.¹⁴

On the strength of such casual references it is not easy to appreciate the disruptive force with which the idea of character, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was imbued. But the demand for expressed character as a prerequisite of good architecture was perhaps the principal agent in dissolving the hierarchy of value to which the academic system had been committed. The academic tradition had been preoccupied with the ideal and with its physical embodiment as a visual norm; it had promulgated laws and had been indisposed to concern itself with exceptions to these; “the whole beauty and grandeur of art consists in being able to get above all singular forms, local customs, particularities and details of every kind,”¹⁵ says Sir Joshua Reynolds; but it was now precisely these ‘singular forms,’ ‘local customs,’ exceptions, those accidents of which Reynolds had himself inconsistently approved, which had become full of interest and ‘character’; and perhaps in no way is the Romantic revolution so completely represented as by this discovery. “The perfectly characteristic alone deserves to be called beautiful,” Goethe had written. “Without character there is no beauty,”¹⁶ and character became one of the most familiar, most repeated motifs of the new era.

Thus, and again in his academy lectures, Sir John Soane invokes the characteristic almost, one might feel, as a counter to Reynolds’s earlier insistence on the ideal.

Notwithstanding all that has been urged to the contrary, be assured my young Friends [he tells his students] that Architecture in the hands of men of Genius may be made to assume whatever character is required of it. To attain this object, to produce this Variety it is essential that every building should be conformable to the uses it is intended for, and that it should express clearly its Destination and its Character, marked in the most decided and indisputable manner. The Cathedral and the Church, the Palace of the Sovereign and the dignified Prelate; the Hotel of the Nobleman; the Hall of Justice; the Mansion of the Chief Magistrate;

the House of the rich individual; the gay Theatre, and the gloomy Prison; nay even the Warehouse and the Shop, require a different style of Architecture in their external appearance. . . .¹⁷

And if Soane had scarcely meant that differences of character necessitated literal differences of style—as already noticed—this conception of character as a subjective expression of purpose was shortly to lead to just this idea.

The effects of this recognition of 'characteristic' beauty could obviously be illustrated by the comparison of almost any buildings of the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and such houses as Woolley Park (Plate 28) and Endsleigh (Plate 29) might be allowed to indicate the transformation. Thus although it would now be absurd to state that Woolley Park lacks character, it is obvious that an exhibition of character was not its architect's aim. It is an impersonal building and a critic of the early nineteenth century would not have considered it to be a 'characteristic' work—nor yet an example of 'architectural composition.' In Woolley Park the architect may be said to have been concerned not with the 'characteristic' but rather with the 'typical.' It aspires to be an ideal and a general structure, and its architect, concerned with typicality, operates within a given and known quality. The building is determined by certain irreducible formal restrictions. Such character as it does display is conventionalized and limited to the Doric mode implicit in its columnar motif, and this same motif enforces regulations which infuse the entire facade. Essentially Woolley Park is an ordinance of columns, a geometrical exercise in the consequences of bringing together columns and walls.

Endsleigh, however, is independent of any such ordinance, and its architect, emancipated from the necessities of system, inspired by a pictorial ideal, has constructed a species of architectural scenery. But it is not only in this irregular distribution, in this composition, that the house deviates from the inherited academic canon. It is more particularly by its evocative, its 'characteristic' appeal. Contemporary observers of Endsleigh undoubtedly found its quasi-Elizabethan undress, its naturalistic charm to be full of character; but almost certainly they were led to discover this same value in its roof, its chimneys, and its porch. "The porch, the veranda, or the piazza are highly characteristic features," wrote Andrew Jackson Downing of similar buildings at a somewhat later date in the United States. And again, "The prominent features conveying expression of purpose in dwelling houses are the chimneys, the windows, and the porch . . . and for this reason whenever it is desired to raise the character of a cottage or a villa above mediocrity, attention should first be bestowed on these portions of the building."¹⁸

Downing's dictum might be accepted as having been fundamentally of English origin, and his "prominent features" are in fact the same character-contributing "distinctive features" by which, to refer back to Loudon, "a countenance or a building is at once distinguished from others of the same kind." They are at once the expressions of purpose and the inspirations of certain less defined chains of associations; and this Janus-like quality which they reveal, and which seems to have been understood to be their charm, is central to the idea of character.

The cult of character was simultaneously a cult of the remote and the local, of the very specific and the highly personal. Fundamentally it was a revolt against the ideality of the academic tradition. The multiplicity of appearances which the academic tradition had felt obliged to abstract to a single type was now found in itself to be significant; and the 'characteristic' form of Endsleigh derives from an attempt to accept this multiplicity and to give individual expression to both the distinct attributes and the indefinite overtones assumed to be inherent to each and every part of the building. Both functions *and* associations, since the first are particular and the second private, were acceptable evidence of this multiplicity. The expression of the first was the product of pragmatic argument, the expression of the second the product of sentiment. Character was empirical and psychological and the tone of the age accepted it as at once the mark of common sense, the sign of sincerity, and the accent of the natural man. It was, one might be disposed to say, a democratic value; and, since certainly the idea of a constant characteristic attribute, an attribute which transcended style, offered a kind of egalitarian common denominator for the appreciation of all styles, vernacular themes previously considered irrelevant or low could now, as at Endsleigh, achieve an architectural legitimacy, while simultaneously historical and geographical panoramas could be opened which had previously been considered bizarre. Thus, as the source of that extended receptiveness which distinguishes the nineteenth century, the demand for character seems also to stand as the guarantee of its formal anarchy, for by its simple recognition, liberalized in his sympathies and enfranchised of time, the architect was now heir to all the ages, and for him not only the whole of nature, but the whole of history had become present—and available.

The magnitude of this revolution has perhaps been obscured by the willingness of neo-Georgian criticism to see the Picturesque merely as a harmlessly aberrant activity of the eighteenth century connoisseur, or alternatively as the first evidence of that decline in taste which brought all to confusion. Obviously there was no change so abrupt as might here be implied, but by 1800 the impetus of the

new attitudes had gained in velocity, and by 1830 their success was complete.

Almost immediately, however, the new principles enjoyed the penalties of success, and as ideas generally received, they were laid open to the scepticism of the minority. The entertainment of doubt bred a conviction of error, and by the 1840s a sharp reaction was defined. Already by 1842, that most respected architectural authority, *The Ecclesiologist*, reviewing a new work on church architecture, complains that throughout the book the author lays too much stress on what he denominates 'effect,' and 'the picturesque,' 'pleasing effect,' 'proportion,' and 'varied outline.'¹⁹ For the serious Gothic Revivalist these words were coming to imply "a painful sense of unreality,"²⁰ and the architect or critic who could use them could scarcely be completely aware of what a later critic called "the deep objective truth in pointed architecture."²¹

But this revulsion was not confined to the Gothic Revivalists; in 1844 C. R. Cockerell, who certainly found no "deep objective truth in pointed architecture," was equally damnatory of the eclectic picturesque, which he found to be

"the most emasculating vice, the most uncertain treacherous *ignis-fatuus*; a principle of pseudo-life, ever without fruit or result. If the artist or life-battler would effect aught consistent or real he must work out *one* rule of action, and adhere to that and make it fruitful."²²

On these points, if on nothing else, *The Ecclesiologist* might well have been in complete agreement with Cockerell, since like the Gothic Revivalists he required single-mindedness and demanded something *real*. "A *real* Swiss cottage in Switzerland is as characteristic as picturesque; for this simple reason because it *is* real,"²³ *The Ecclesiologist* declares in 1846; and again in 1851 the same review finds that in the Crystal Palace, "the construction is almost entirely real, all beauty in the fabric depending on the development of that construction."²⁴ Architecture, according to that most literate of Gothic Revivalists, Street, is not to be judged in "a mere artistic light," but only "in proportion . . . as a work is entirely and undeniably real so essentially is it good in the first place."²⁵ "Rough stone walls are thoroughly good and real" he says elsewhere, and from his *Brick and Marble Architecture* it may be learned that the whole value of the middle ages lies in its "intense desire for reality and practical character."²⁶

Instances of this demand for 'reality' could be multiplied; but in its consistent recurrence throughout the more self-conscious criticism of the day there may be seen the same pattern of thought which Ruskin's carefully guarded use of the term *composition* implies. The architects of the mid-century had reacted against their own inherited disposition to think in terms of the Picturesque; and an archi-

ture so evolved they now believed to be logically indefensible. "There is nothing in the world so indefinable and so entirely depending on taste or caprice as what is called 'the picturesque'" is a fair sample of the attitude of *The Ecclesiologist*.²⁷ The Picturesque was now found to be emphasizing the pleasure of the eye, rather than the rational existence of the object. It had aimed to produce 'effect,' and, if by means of certain visual stimuli, it had induced an atmosphere in which certain states of mind were possible, its success was assured. But the mid-century architects had come to require that their visual stimuli should be capable of more rational, or at least more *mental* explanation. Picturesque phenomena could now only be offensive if not the seeming product of necessity, only meretricious if pursued for their own sake. "The true picturesque," wrote a contemporary, "derives only from the sternest utility";²⁸ and in this new climate of feeling, composition became a word which the semantically scrupulous were happy to neglect.

But character, on the other hand, had now acquired a new dimension of meaning.

I recollect no instance of a want of sacred character, or of any marked and painful ugliness, in the simplest or most awkwardly built village church, where stone and wood were roughly and nakedly used,

says Ruskin in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*,²⁹ and this one remark is enough to indicate the nature of the change.

From the height of the mid-century the engaging gingerbread of such structures as Endsleigh had become not so much 'characteristic' as artificial; and a house of this kind seemed now to be not so much a house as the spurious biography of one, scarcely so much a building as a building transposed according to the necessities of theater.

A very unaffected parsonage is building by Mr. Butterfield at Coalpit Heath, near Bristol. We think he has succeeded in giving the peculiar character required for such a building.

It is again *The Ecclesiologist*,³⁰ and St. Saviour's Vicarage, Coalpit Heath (Plate 30) might well stand as an almost perfect exemplification of the new interpretation.

Obviously it had come to be felt that, as so far expressed, character had been an affair of the surface only, that the Picturesque had played with 'the characteristic' as an idea rather than it had respected character as 'a fact.' Picturesque eclecticism was now seen to have detached the externals of every style from the particular

conditions of which they were the physical embodiment, and then arbitrarily to have infused these externals with a universal and an apparently self-generated spirit, by appeal to which, though all styles had been provided with a means of resurrection, they had also been condemned to an afterlife as backdrops to an unchanging psychological constant. And if this constant, character, unconditioned by systems of ideas, casually enjoying a haphazard relationship with history, using its styles merely as a variable decor, had now come to appear an unjustifiable impersonation, so the history which it presumed seemed an endless charade, an irrelevant display, where constantly changing scenery and costumes, agreeably agitating the spectators, might provide the actors with pleasing opportunity for the display of their unchanging selves but could otherwise have no relationship to the performance.

The architects of the mid-century, and not only the Gothic Revivalists, revolting against these further implications of the Picturesque, seemed to have sensed that character can hardly initiate itself, and that personality is not extraneous to a specific culture but partly its result. Thus, while they still saw character as a pre-eminently 'natural' quality, they no longer accepted it to be the mark of some 'natural' man, untramed by society and freely operating in a cultural vacuum. Instead they came to envisage it as the product of specific circumstances, as the vindicating evidence of a genuine interaction between a given individual, given material conditions, and a given cultural milieu. Character became now a quality to be extracted. It was implicit in the limiting data of the problem, from them it was to be educed and through them revealed; so that as the former idea of 'the characteristic' receded, there emerged a new and 'real' conception of character as a form of exposure or revelation.

So much is obvious; but this mid-century conception consistently eludes adequate summary. Contemporaries experienced it, expressed it, but were scarcely able to reduce it to words. Perhaps it was most completely illuminated by *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*; but possibly it was most succinctly defined by Horatio Greenough:

When I define Beauty as the promise of Function; Action as the presence of Function; Character as the record of Function; I arbitrarily divide that which is essentially one. I consider the phases through which organised intention passes to completeness as if they were distinct entities. Beauty being the promise of function, must be mainly present before the phase of action; but so long as there is yet a promise of function there is beauty, proportioned to its relationship with action or character. There is somewhat of character at the close of the first epoch of the organic life, as there is somewhat of beauty at the commencement of the last, but

they are less apparent and present rather to the reason than to sensuous tests.

If the normal development of organised life be from beauty to action, from action to character, the progress is a progress upward as well as forward; and action will be higher than beauty even than the summer is higher than the spring; and character will be higher than action, even as the autumn is the resume and the result of spring and summer. If this be true, the attempt to prolong the phase of beauty into the epoch of action can only be made through non-performance; and false beauty or embellishment will be the result.³¹

In these two paragraphs Greenough condenses much, though not all, that was implicit in the less stringently analytical criticism of his day; and from them it may be sensed how character which, in the first case, had been appreciated as a subjective and empirical value, was now transposed as an objective and transcendental one; and how—at the most abstracted level—it could further be understood as the eminently moral resolution of the dialectic between being and becoming, of a conflict between 'beauty' and 'action.'

The idea was elevated, the practice contorted; and, in fact, the intensified evaluation of character now simply brought on that brutalizing of the Picturesque which might be considered the central crisis of the charade. For, since it was now "non-performance" to "attempt to prolong the phase of beauty into the epoch of action," and since the 'promising' condition "beauty" was now organically predestined to suffer transformation through the workings of the "higher" quality character, it was essential that it should bear the scars of the ordeal. Thus, although it has rarely been associated with such buildings as St. Saviour's Vicarage, the American sculptor's reasoning provides almost perfect explanation of this house and of all those other buildings of the mid-century in which the distinction between the characteristic and the visually pleasing has been forced out *en clair*, buildings where character has ceased to be a lyrical adjunct to a pictorial composition and has now been erected as an inexorable absolute which need not beguile but which might outrage. And, if at St. Saviour's Vicarage, Endsleigh, and all other *cottages ornés* have been made 'real,' this same reappraisal of character as an almost mystical "record of Function" could obviously be illustrated just as adequately by the American equivalents of these English buildings.

The parallel would not of course be exact, since by English standards the Picturesque is a retarded movement in the United States, while in America, except in certain Anglophile circles, the Gothic Revival is largely without Tractarian nuances. But, in addition, since structural techniques are dissimilar there is a further distance which must be observed; but, after allowing for some chronological variation and further distinctions of content and medium, such a house as Kingscote

in Newport, R.I. (Plate 31), still could reasonably be allowed to represent Endsleigh, while Richard Morris Hunt's Griswold House, also in Newport (Plate 32), might provide a complement to St. Saviour's Vicarage. And if the charms of the first are less enticing than those of its English equivalent, the 'realism' of the second is scarcely any less ambivalent.

For in seeking to make of character a specific value the architects of the mid-century had been led to a very complicated knotting together of commitments. The demand for characteristic expression had been a corollary of the Romantic consciousness of nature and history, of freedom and individuality. But a less ecstatic approach to nature and a more sophisticated historical culture, with a recognition that freedom predicated necessity, and individuality society, had resulted in a much more closed and highly charged situation. "If he is in earnest his work will not be deficient in character," *The Ecclesiologist*³² says of the architect. But, if it was now impossible to be in earnest about the Picturesque—because it was wholly empirical, because it required taste rather than faith from its adherents—what contemporary alternative was there? Apparently there was none. Picturesque ideals had penetrated the last strongholds of the academic tradition. The fundamental question was therefore one of limiting the Picturesque, of authenticating it by an increased cultivation of its twin bases in 'nature' and 'history,' that is, of making the Picturesque objective by implicating it with function and techniques, of making it legitimate by restricting its expression to one style. And thus, paradoxically, from the demand for 'reality' there resulted a simultaneous commitment to a structural ideal and to an archeological one.

It is possibly from the force of this antithesis that much architecture of the mid-nineteenth century acquires its distinctive hardness and ferocity. Character as intrinsic to technique and performance was not to be detached from the cognate idea of character as intrinsic to style. The two ideas were interactive; and thus, while the one, by requiring the exhibition of qualities inherent in the substance of building, generated a tradition which has been continuous, it did so, at least partly, by means of an emotional substructure provided by the other.

The High Victorian interpretation of character has had a long and distinguished progeny; but the degree of tension implicit in its formulation of ethical rationalism, its intellectual austerity, its compulsive but not convincing logic, made it too strenuous a system to be long sustained and by the seventies a new situation had arisen.

As explanation of the spectacle of the so-called Queen Anne Revival and as a

commentary on the failure of the Gothic, an anonymous critic was quoted at length in *Building News* for January 16, 1874:

In certain aspects the Gothic Revival may be aptly compared with the pre-Raphaelite movement in painting. Both were profoundly in earnest, and in both the rejection of certain qualities of artistic attractiveness ultimately led to a protest from within their own body. The dominant motive in the Gothic Revival was constructive. It sought eagerly to reveal the rudimentary impulses in building, and devoted its energies into carrying into view the structural facts which are actually important. The pre-Raphaelite movement showed an equal worship of naturalism. Everything was to be true and natural and nothing was to be composed. Indeed it may be said that the revolution in both arts involved a neglect of composition, and as a consequence, both revolutions failed in giving to their less imaginative efforts those lighter graces which composition alone can supply. It is a desire for the lighter graces of composition that lies at the root of the new love for the style of Queen Anne. . . .³³

Contemporary criticism of the Gothic Revival was rarely upon this level; but, in general, observers made the same point which is summarized by a correspondent of the *American Architect and Building News* who signs himself 'Georgian': people did Queen Anne because they liked it, and "after all this is not a very bad reason."³⁴

Thirty—even ten—years earlier, it would have seemed one of the worst of all possible reasons, but in the more relaxed atmosphere of the seventies the doctrinaire commitments of the mid-century were no longer to be tolerated; "the lighter graces of composition" could once more be exercised without sense of shame; and, while a patronage of Gothic Revival principles persisted, they were no longer generally received as sanctioned by dogma. They were regarded rather as principles which, according to the architect's tact, might, but need not necessarily, be adhered to. Thus in much the same way that academic theory had continued, as a type of survival doctrine enjoying a sentimental rather than an active endorsement, so Gothic Revival ideas persisted into this neo-Picturesque phase.

Not unexpectedly, after the rigorous demands of the mid-century, in both theory and practice there was now a conspicuous slackening of creative nerve, and over a period of years there was something of a hiatus in the production of significant criticism. It might be said that these ensuing years are marked by a sense of drift, by a general agreement to doubt the mid-century theoretical structure, but by no particular willingness to demolish it; and it might also be observed that neither the mundane scepticism nor the aesthetic languor which came progressively to dominate the period were exactly propitious for the inspiration of any new critical synthesis. It is symptomatic of the new spirit that even the historian of the

Gothic Revival should find himself exposed to the cogency of its empirical judgments, since Eastlake, as the final test of a good building, proposes the question which some years earlier might have seemed the supreme impertinence—"Is it offensive to the eye?"³⁵ Presumably this question was frequently asked, and as, by the exercise of a simple pragmatism, the Gothic Revival came to be judged and found wanting, so architects were enabled to celebrate their new feelings for textural effects, for increased light, for sparkling detail, for formal equalities admitting no other regulation than that of individual taste.

This sudden disengagement from a High Victorian 'reality' now conceived as being profoundly unrealistic is merely one indication of that general movement towards an art of pure form which typifies the later nineteenth century. The opposed demands of style and structure had been proved too great, their antithesis had been discovered an irrelevance, and the new satisfaction with the visual image as adequate in itself had promoted a distinctly less exacting ideal which acted to dissolve both archeological and structural demands. Obviously historical reminiscence did not cease, but convictions as to its ultimate significance became progressively modified; and no longer preoccupied with 'truth' as required by the Gothic Revivalists, but rather with 'effect' as understood by the Picturesque, architects were again led to recognize frankly compositional disciplines.

But if it could now be asserted that attractive visual appearance was enough, it was still equally mandatory that appropriate character should be displayed—and the contradiction was apparently not a source of embarrassment. Character was by now imbued with an irresistible emotional potency, and although its High Victorian dignity appears as insidiously devalued, the demand for characteristic expression continued unabated. From the seventies onward it is evident that the ascription of character to a building is an act of unchallengeable praise, and Eastlake for instance writes of a certain church that

the Picturesque grouping of the aisle windows, the rich inlay and carving of the reredos . . . even the iron work of the screen, are all full of character, and that type of character which if verbally expressed could only be a synonym for artistic grace.³⁶

Clearly character is no longer the new and poetical architectural attribute which it had been for the Picturesque, nor is it the objective architectural condition arrived at by an unyielding and energetic analysis which it was for the midcentury. It is now a luscious psychological accessory of composition whose necessary presence it is assumed that no critic will deny.

In such terms one might distinguish the manors of Norman Shaw—of a composi-

tional brilliance before unknown—from the mid-century achievements of a Butterfield or a Teulon. In mid-century terms the achievement of Norman Shaw is irresponsible, sentimental, and shameless. In Shavian terms the works of the mid-century are defiant of composition and express their defiance in the form of deliberate clumsiness, excessive vigor, and superfluous brutality; for unlike the Gothic Revival, Norman Shaw's is an essentially 'compositional' architecture, and in such a house as Grimsdyke at Harrow Weald (1872; Plate 33) he reasserted the compositional ideals of the Picturesque with an unsparing virtuosity.

Compared with any house of the mid-century, Grimsdyke is immediately satisfying to the eye. Where a house of ten years earlier, Bestwood Lodge for instance (Plate 34), shocks, Grimsdyke soothes; and where Bestwood Lodge is strident, Grimsdyke is ingratiating. At Grimsdyke, unrelated to any systematic scheme of thought, by now quite divested of ideally Romantic overtones, displaying a more complicated and synthetic, a more brilliant and cloying orchestration, at once sentimental and surreptitious, character is exhibited with an assurance and a weightiness which were before unknown. Where once it had been edifying, it is now seductive; and where once it had been 'real,' it is now unabashed.

It may be felt that the idea of character, almost like the Romantic conception of individualism, had passed its creative zenith in the fifties and sixties, and that, as the century wore on, the demand was no longer such as could initiate further significant developments. In fact, as the ideological excitement of the Gothic Revival receded into the past, as High Victorian activity came to be found increasingly intemperate, and as the *laissez-faire* empiricism of the seventies (so well represented by the earlier Norman Shaw) came to appear excessive, so the expression of character came to be increasingly codified and restricted.

A matter of sixteen years separates Norman Shaw's Grimsdyke from his 170 Queen's Gate (Plate 35); their American equivalents, Richardson's Watts Sherman House (1874; Plate 36) and McKim's H. A. C. Taylor House (Plate 37), are separated by only eleven; but during these years, as the 'propriety' of these later houses shows, the extreme characterization which the Gothic Revival had demanded had become unacceptable. A new urbanity had emerged and character was already restricted to that 'correct' character, which it is permissible, which it is indeed necessary that a gentleman should display; while if there was no gentleman who would yet assail directly the mid-century critical canon there were many who now felt obliged to propose some alternative.

Surprisingly John Root in Chicago was one of these, demanding that truth, sincerity, reticence, modesty, etc., the distinguishing marks of the gentleman, should

also be recognized as the marks of excellence in building³⁷—a thesis which, with the very slightest modifications, has persisted down to our own day and which was perhaps most aptly summarized by John Belcher's *Essentials in Architecture* (1907). The architectural qualities which Belcher recognizes as 'essential,'—Strength, Vitality, Restraint, Refinement, Repose, Grace, Breadth, Scale, are very much an index to the feelings of the time, while their mere enumeration is sufficient to suggest how tempered by taste the violent individualism of the mid-nineteenth century had become by the early years of the twentieth. Character, it may be suggested, had at last been translated as the outward sign of judicious behavior; and, just as the gentleman will signalize a specific activity by a change of clothing, so it seems to have been hoped the building would defer to the conventional wardrobe by which its purpose might most appropriately be expressed.

And, as both 170 Queen's Gate and the H. A. C. Taylor House illustrate, this transformation of the 'natural' man of the first years of the century into the responsible gentleman of the last was not without its effects on the organization of the building. Both houses of course are extreme and precocious examples of a general tendency, and the final critical attitude which they predicated hardly emerged with any degree of clarity for some years—scarcely indeed until the publication of Guadet's *Éléments et théorie de l'architecture* inspired a series of American and British attempts to provide its English equivalent. It is thus that from approximately the year 1900 onward there followed that succession of treatises, the composition books, which prompted this investigation. They were a means by which it was hoped that certain nineteenth century problems might finally be put to rest.

"Composition," Frank Lloyd Wright tells us, "is dead"; and although this seems doubtful, if it is indeed the case, it would surely be injudicious to probe into the precise circumstances of so recent a demise. It might rather be suggested that at some time in the 1920s the central tenet of the composition books, that architecture has at all times and in all places been determined by the interaction of composition and character, came to seem as improbable as it did in the mid-nineteenth century; and that at the same time the claim of early twentieth century architectural theory to reveal the underlying and permanent attributes of architectural experience came to present itself as no more than the rationale of an eclectic situation.

Composition is the keynote of architectural design. Whilst primarily the plan of a building dominates its external expression, yet devoid of a sense of "Composi-

tion" the external effect may be dull and uninteresting despite a good plan; and with a proper appreciation of contrasts and values the same work may be masterly. Detail is secondary, and may be bad or entirely omitted, on a building the mass of which is effective and even spectacular.³⁸

Difficult though it sometimes is to disagree with pronouncements of this order, it might be guessed that it was against what seemed to be their unduly self-assured tone that architects like Wright revolted. For where the mid-nineteenth century reaction against the Picturesque had attempted to achieve some kind of synthesis between the laws of structure, the nature of materials, and the intimate and objective qualities of style, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reaction was led almost exclusively to emphasize phenomena of vision; and, by using history as a kind of dictionary, to deduce from it certain formal schemes apparently quite extrinsic to any particular style or culture. In fact, by detaching the irrational element style from the recently abstracted principles of composition, the dominant theory of the early twentieth century to some extent recapitulated at a more refined and sophisticated level the situation of c. 1830; while as a corollary, the later protest against this eclectic theory very curiously paralleled the earlier protest of the mid-nineteenth century.

But composition can scarcely have suffered so drastic a fate as character, which now can only appear as the leitmotif of an era gone beyond recall. An architecture which aspires to abstraction, which professes a demand for anonymity, which seeks "what is typical, the norm, not the accidental but the definite ad hoc form"³⁹ can scarcely require the display of character; while the preference for impersonal, neutral, standardized solutions is equally incompatible with the idea of characteristic expression.

According to N. C. Curtis (one of the most distinguished of the eclectic theorists): "the architecture of antiquity was not strongly characterised. The Greeks were not under any necessity for distinguishing between the different types of building by accentuating their character."⁴⁰ According to Guadet: "*La recherche du caractère est d'ailleurs une conception relativement moderne. L'antiquité a bien des édifices nettement caractérisés, mais elle ne paraît cependant avoir fait du caractère un mérite capitale.*"⁴¹ But if it must be doubted whether modern architecture any more than that of antiquity entertains a problem of character, it should be recognized that in the problems which character initiated, problems which for the nineteenth century were insoluble ones, there are to be found origins of some of the more significant attitudes by which the present day is distinguished.

Perhaps at no time other than the late eighteenth century has architectural thought been confronted with so explosive an idea; and certainly no other architectural explosion can have created so portentous a vacuum. Limitless experiment was justified by the emergency, the wildest nonconformity flourished exotically among the debris. New experiences were stimulated by the chaos, new energies released by the confusion; both by arbitrary choice and pressure of circumstances, new conceptions of form were generated. By the demand for character, order was atomized. It was reduced to *characteristic* particles; and not until this requirement was dissipated could any effective synthesis of these be envisaged. As a projection of these circumstances the critical embargo upon the term becomes comprehensible. It is an idea which, by emphasizing the particular, the personal, and the curious, will always vitiate system; and it is, perhaps, the fundamental demand which typifies the architecture of the nineteenth century.

Notes

1 The following is a probably incomplete list of these books: J. V. Van Pelt, *Discussion of Composition*, New York, 1902; J. B. Robinson, *Architectural Composition*, New York, 1908; N. C. Curtis, *Architectural Composition*, New York, 1923; D. Varon, *Architectural Composition*, New York, 1923; H. Robertson, *Principles of Architectural Composition*, London, 1924; and related to these, but not using the word composition in their titles, there might also be cited: J. F. Harbeson, *Study of Architectural Design*, New York, 1922; and E. Pickering, *Architectural Design*, New York, 1933. But other publications of similar content will no doubt suggest themselves.

2 Philip Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe*, New York, 1947, p. 184.

3 Frank Lloyd Wright, *Modern Architecture*, Princeton, N. J., 1931. This statement forms a repeating pattern all over the end papers of the book. I have been unable to locate it in the text.

4 John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, London, 1850, Vol. II, Ch. VI, paragraph 42: "I am always afraid to use this word 'Composi-

tion'; it is so utterly misused in the general parlance respecting art. Nothing is more common than to hear divisions of art into 'form, composition and colour,' or 'light and shade and composition,' or it matters not what else and composition, the speakers in each case attaching a perfectly different meaning to the word, generally an indistinct one, and always a wrong one. Composition is, in plain English, 'putting together' . . ."

5 Pickering, p. 278.

6 Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture*, London, 1734, pp. 67-68.

7 Robert Adam, *Works in Architecture . . .*, London, 1778, Preface.

8 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Literary Works*, London, 1835, Vol. II, p. 76. From Discourse III delivered in 1786.

9 William Atkinson, *Views of Picturesque Cottages*, London, 1805; Robert Lugar, *Architectural Sketches for Rural Dwellings*, London, 1805; C. A. Busby, *A series of designs for villas and country houses*, London, 1808; Edmund Aikin, *Designs for Villas and Other Rural Dwellings*, London, 1810; J. B. Papworth, *Rural Residences*, London, 1818;

P. F. Robinson, *Rural Architecture*, London, 1833; P. F. Robinson, *Designs for Ornamental Villas*, London, 1836. A number of these books are without pagination and their texts are for the most part so liberally scattered with the new terminology that no specific references have been given for the quotations which follow.

10 Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 130-31.

11 J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphrey Repton, Esq.*, London, 1840, pp. 130-131.

12 J. B. Papworth, *Ornamental Gardening*, London, 1818.

13 J. B. Papworth, *Rural Residences*, London, 1818, p. 45.

14 J. C. Loudon, "The Principles of Criticism in Architecture," *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, London, 1833, p. 1120.

15 Reynolds, Vol. I, p. 333. From Discourse III delivered in 1770.

16 The sentiment is expressed in Goethe's *Von Deutsche Baukunst*, 1770-73.

17 Sir John Soane, *Lectures on Architecture*, Arthur T. Bolton, ed., London, 1929, p. 178. From Lecture XI, apparently read for the first time in 1815.

18 A. J. Downing, *Cottage Residences*, New York, 1873, pp. 12-13.

19 "Mr Petit's Remarks on Church Architecture," *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. I, 1842, p. 87.

20 G. E. Street, "On the Revival of the Ancient Style of Domestic Architecture," *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. XIV, 1853, p. 70.

21 "Mr Petit's Ecclesiological Position," *The*

Ecclesiologist, Vol. VI, 1846, p. 129.

22 C. R. Cockerell, "Royal Academy Lectures," *Athenaeum*, London, 1843.

23 *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. VI.

24 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, 1851, p. 241.

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV.

26 G. E. Street, *Brick and Marble Architecture in the Middle Ages*, London, 1855, p. 109.

27 *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. I, 1842, p. 94.

28 Unknown source.

29 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London, 1849, p. 45.

30 *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. VI.

31 Henry T. Tuckerman, *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough*, New York, 1853, p. 133. From an essay by Greenough, "Relative and Independent Beauty."

32 *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. VI.

33 *Building News*, Vol. XXVI, January 16, 1874. It is interesting to notice that precisely this criticism of the architects of the mid-century was later to be made in France. See J. Guadet, *Eléments et Théorie de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1902, Vol. I, p. 108: "Henri Labrousse enseignait: L' Architecture est l'art de bâtir. C'était une définition de combat, une protestation contre le dédain trop réel de la construction chez certaines écoles d' alors. Mais cette définition, pour être plus incisive, était incomplète et péchait à son tour par l' oubli de la composition artistique."

34 *American Architect and Building News*, Vol. II, October 20, 1877.

35 C. L. Eastlake, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 1872, p. 333.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

82 Character and Composition

- 37 Harriet Monroe, *John Ruskin*, New York, 1896, p. 77 and passim. From a paper read before the Chicago Architectural Sketch Club and published in *The Inland Architect*.
- 38 H. Robertson, *Principles of Architectural Composition*, London, 1924, Preface.
- 39 Peter Blake, *Murco/ Breker*, New York, 1949, p. 129.
- 40 Curtis, pp. 34.
- 41 Gaudin, Vol. I, p. 133.

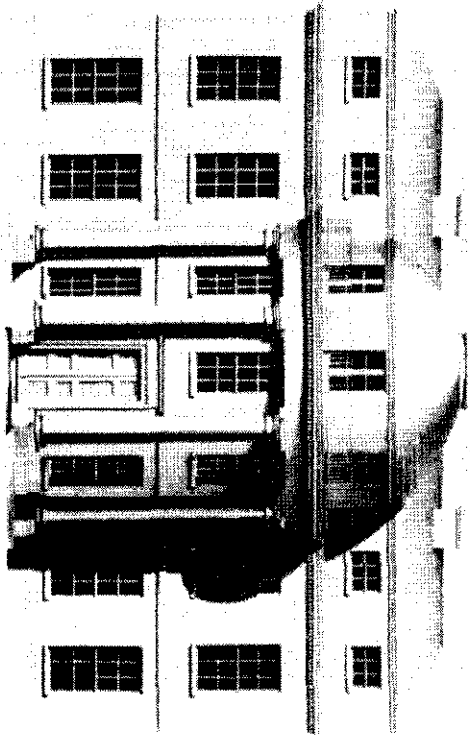


Plate 28 Woolley Park, Berkshire, Jeffrey Wyatt, 1799.

83 Character and Composition

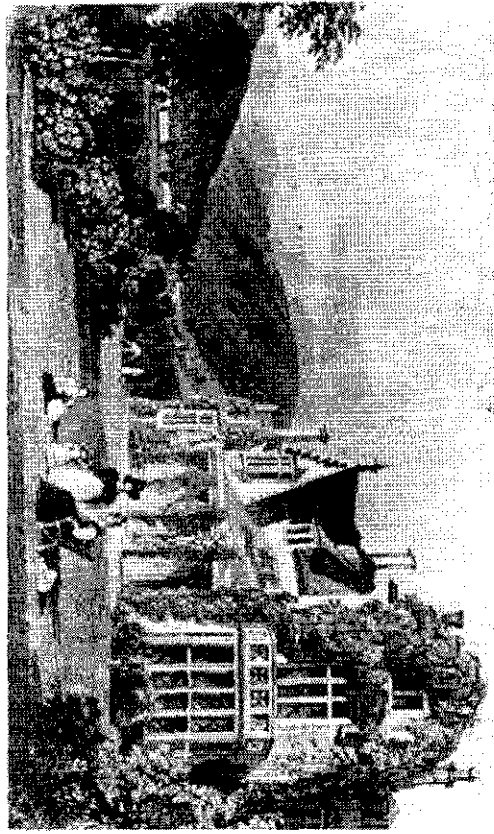


Plate 29 Endleigh, Devonshire, Jeffrey Wyatt, 1810.

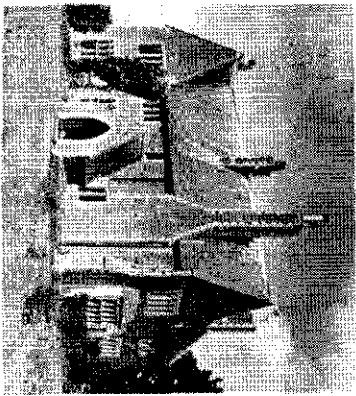


Plate 30 St. Saviour's Vicarage, Coalpit Heath, William Butterfield, 1845.

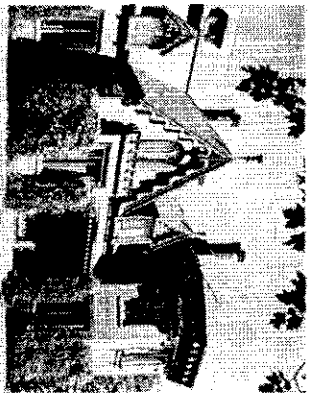


Plate 31 Kingscote, Newport, R.I. Richard Upjohn, 1841.

Plate 32 J. N. A. Griswold House, Newport, R.I. Richard Morris Hunt, 1852-3.

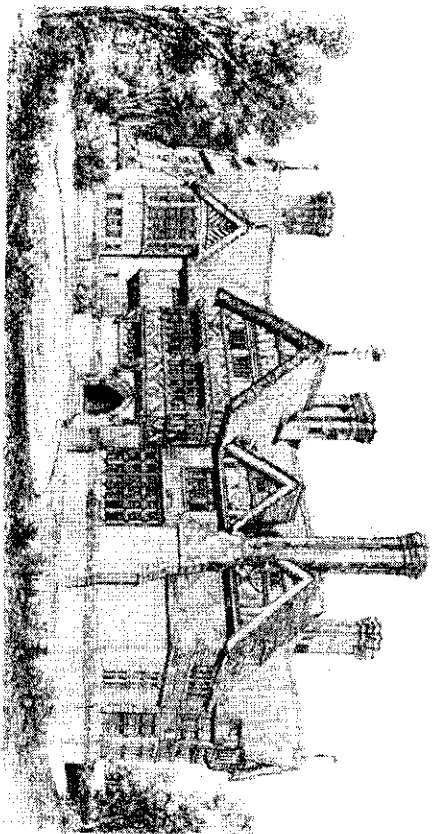
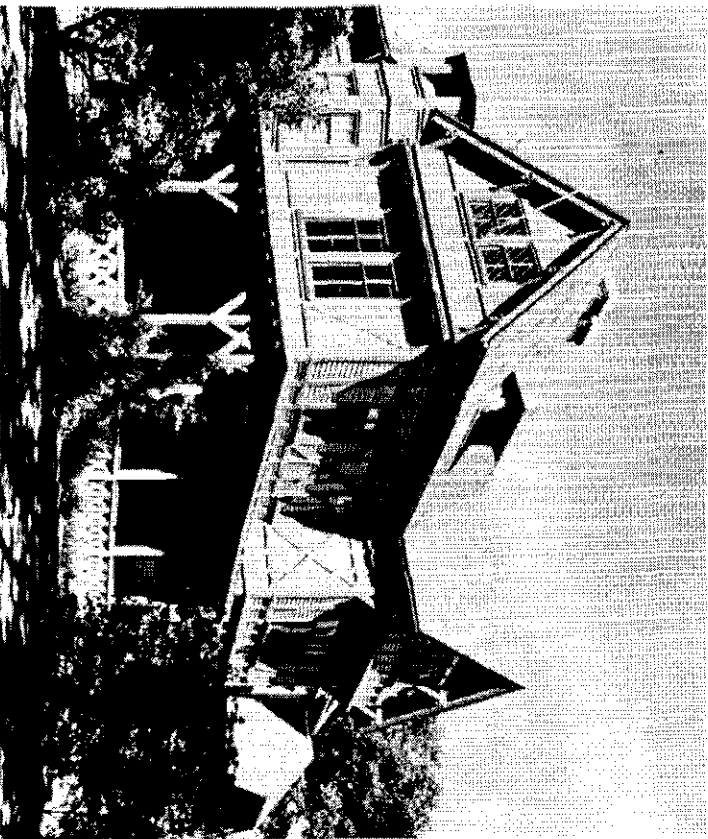
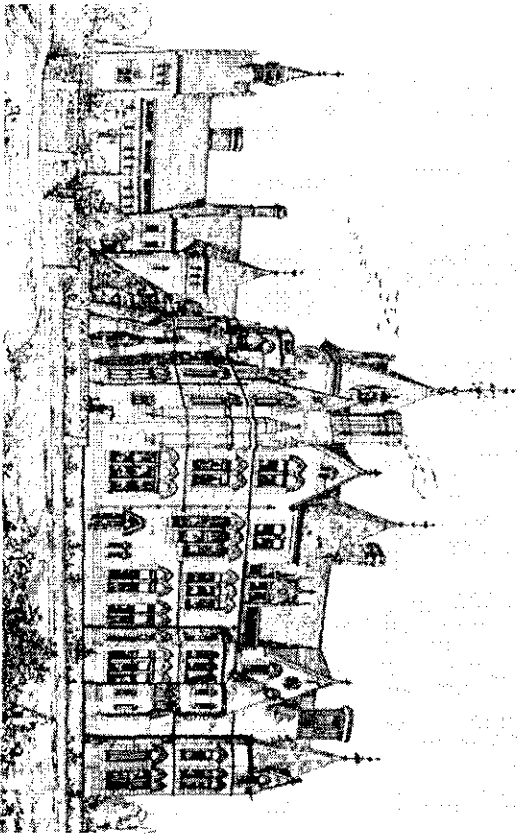


Plate 33 Grimsdike, Harrow Weald, Richard Norman Shaw, 1872.

Plate 34 Bestwood Lodge, Nottinghamshire, Samuel Sanders Teulon, 1862.



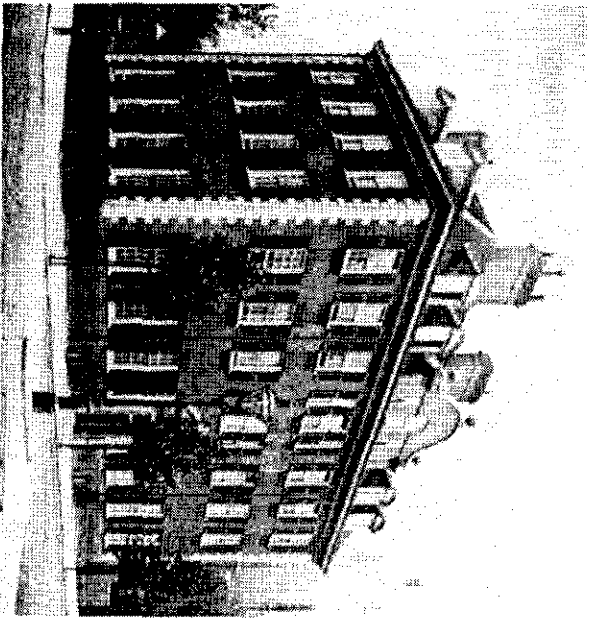


Plate 35 170 Queen's Gate, London, Richard Norman Shaw, 1888.

Plate 36 Watts Sherman House, Newport, R.I. H. H. Richardson and Stanford White, 1874.

Plate 37 H. A. C. Taylor House, Newport, R.I. McKim, Mead and White, 1886.

