

*Renderings from Worcester's Past:
Nineteenth-Century Architectural
Drawings at the American
Antiquarian Society*

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IN THE 1940s, architectural historians called for a regional approach to the study of American architectural history. In the next two decades, and especially in the 1970s, many histories of American architecture incorporated study of architectural drawings. Recent scholarship combines these two approaches, as architectural historians are writing regional studies using architectural drawings. This essay follows in that tradition, presenting a portrait of nineteenth-century Worcester architecture that is based on heretofore unpublished and unexhibited architectural drawings.

These depictions of Worcester architecture form the major part of the American Antiquarian Society's collection of American architectural drawings. The collection of drawings of Worcester architecture is catalogued below, and from this collection representative drawings were selected for the Worcester Art Museum exhibition on display from April 14 through June 21, 1987. These renderings were generally presented to the Society either as parts of collections of papers or as separate gifts. Some drawings were given by Society members, such as Samuel Foster Haven and William Lincoln, while others were given by staff members such as Albert Waite. Members of the

Worcester community, among them Edward F. Coffin, gave many fine drawings. In addition, some donors—such as Frank Cutting, the son of architect A. P. Cutting and a member of his firm, and E. J. Cross, a Worcester builder—had worked closely with the architects represented in this exhibition.

Study of these drawings will allow us to trace the development of the architectural profession in Worcester in the nineteenth century, a tradition that was characterized by a collaboration of local builders and architects with architects from other urban centers. This essay will also document the work of other New England architects, often from Boston, who were commissioned to design important buildings in Worcester and its environs, and will demonstrate the relationship of architecture in Worcester to contemporary national architectural trends.

CHARLES BULFINCH (1763–1844)

From the early nineteenth century on, Worcester's leading citizens commissioned Boston architects to design many of their important buildings. During the period from 1801 to 1824, Worcester turned to Charles Bulfinch, Peter Banner, and Asher Benjamin, the three men who dominated Boston architecture at the time. In 1801, the gentleman-amateur Bulfinch, whose salaried position as chairman of the board of selectmen and superintendent of police enabled him to regard architecture as an avocation, was selected to design the third Worcester courthouse, which is no longer extant (fig. 1; catalogue numbers 78, 79; subsequently, 'cat.'). Work on the building started in 1801 and was completed in 1803 at a cost of \$20,000.

Bulfinch's Federal- or Adam-style brick building was perfectly suited to New England's conservative taste. Bulfinch's architecture, which revealed a delicate taste for decorative detail, such as that on the cupola of the Worcester courthouse,

was inspired by the English Adam brothers, who were themselves influenced by books and prints of Roman ruins. In contrast, the style of Thomas Jefferson was more directly inspired by Roman and French sources as well as by architectural books.

The 'grandeur' of the brick courthouse was pronounced a striking proof of the prosperity of Worcester's inhabitants by Robert Treat Paine in his remarks at the dedication. The cross-axial plan was both dignified and functional. The substantial, glazed cupola bearing a statue of Justice was an outstanding feature.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a series of changes enlarged the courthouse and made it more harmonious with neighboring buildings. A lithograph executed by Addison Prentiss in 1851 shows the buildings that had been erected on Court Hill. In 1857, Bulfinch's courthouse was moved back forty feet; sixteen feet were added to the front, and the roof was raised four feet. The facade was changed; quoins were added, and the brick was covered with mastic. Thus, Bulfinch's courthouse, which was perceived to have been thrown in the shade by its elegant neighbors, was enriched so that it would be more in keeping with current architectural taste.

The plan and elevation of Bulfinch's courthouse, executed by the Worcester artist Jeremiah Stiles (d. 1826), are characteristic of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century architectural drawing. In so-called orthographic projections, the building is shown as an isolated structure unrelated to site or landscape. Such depictions are an extension of the classical-Renaissance tradition of perceiving architecture in terms of two major parts—elevations of the exterior and plans of interior spaces. If a source of light is revealed, it is generally from the upper left falling to the lower right; Stiles's elevation is no exception, since the shadows fall to the right of the portico's columns.

PETER BANNER (ACTIVE 1794-1828)

The design of the first building to house the American Antiquarian Society, another building in the Federal style, is an instance of the interplay between the architectural traditions of Boston and Worcester. In 1817 or 1818, Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), the Society's founder, apparently approached Peter Banner and asked him to furnish designs for the first Antiquarian Hall. Two bills (1818) and a letter requesting payment (1820), addressed by Banner to Thomas and Nathaniel Maccarty, the Society's treasurer, survive and link Banner firmly with the commission to design Antiquarian Hall.

Banner, originally from England, was the first of the New England builders to adopt the term 'architect.' Despite his professional pretensions, Banner probably supervised and helped to build many of the commissions associated with his name, as well as other projects such as Bulfinch's India Wharf, which he is known to have supervised in 1808. There is no record of Banner's participation in the construction of Antiquarian Hall; he seems to have served as design architect only, providing plans but leaving the construction to others.

Three surviving pen-and-ink floor plans for Antiquarian Hall demonstrate the interplay between Banner and Thomas. The more skilled plan for the lower story (cat. 11) has been attributed to Banner, despite the fact that on other drawings by Banner, such as that of the Yale College president's house, walls are inked in, whereas on this plan they are hatched.

Of the other surviving drawings, the two other plans (cat. 12, 13) and a graphite preliminary drawing of an elevation with other sketches (cat. 14) are most probably by Isaiah Thomas, who may have been working out his own ideas or ideas presented to him by Banner. According to those who know Thomas's hand, the writing on the less sophisticated lower- and upper-floor plans is clearly Thomas's, as are the corrections made on Banner's more technically sophisticated

plan for the lower story. The notes that discuss measurements on the pair of lower- and upper-floor plans also indicate a less assured author.

It is not possible to determine the order in which Banner and Thomas's plans were executed or the building's interior arrangement. Thomas might have sketched these plans and the graphite elevation prior to approaching Banner. On the other hand, Thomas might have taken Banner's plan (and others that are lost) as points of departure for his own plans and elevation.

Study of Thomas's own drawings and his corrections on Banner's plan indicates that Banner's client was unusually involved in the design of the library that would house his collection and for which he paid. This interplay between client and architect applied to the building's exterior as well. Differences between the facade of the completed building and that shown in the graphite sketch attributed to Thomas suggest that Banner and Thomas had different conceptions about the exterior.

The completed two-story, brick Antiquarian Hall, shown on an 1829 engraved map of the village of Worcester, featured a hipped roof, with a pediment supported by four Doric columns, two Doric pilasters at either end of the facade, and a wide Doric cornice with triglyphs. A cupola surmounted the whole. Stone steps led to the entrance. The completed facade featured a 'Venetian' window above a door, which also had an arch over its center and glazed side-lights. The building was dedicated on August 24, 1820. Fireproof wings and iron doors between the wings and the main building were added in 1832. In 1854, the Society, which had moved to a new building on Court Hill, sold the building to the Worcester Academy; it was demolished in 1911.

ASHER BENJAMIN (1771-1845)

Asher Benjamin designed a mansion for Asa Waters in the Greek Revival style that dominated American architecture

from the 1820s through the 1840s. Study of Benjamin's design (fig. 2; cat. 38-41), and the history of the mansion's construction attest to the interrelationship between Worcester and Boston. In 1824, Waters, a gunpowder manufacturer, selected Benjamin, an architect and author of architectural books, to furnish designs for a house to be built in Millbury, eight miles from Worcester. Like other master builders, Benjamin, originally from the Connecticut River Valley, had trained as a housewright. Seeking more business, Benjamin moved to Boston in 1802. During his early Boston years, in addition to writing, he supported himself by designing and building for wealthy clients. He was also employed on some of the twenty-two buildings designed by Bulfinch from 1802 to 1805.

In Boston, Benjamin's prospects brightened, for he found himself in a milieu in which professional consciousness was developing. Like Banner, Benjamin challenged Bulfinch's domination of the Boston architectural scene: between 1806 and 1809, either he or Banner won most of the major Boston commissions. Furthermore, Benjamin continued to win new church commissions away from Bulfinch in 1808, 1811, and 1813. As a result of his success and his involvement in organizations that encouraged professionalism in architecture, Benjamin's self-perception began to change. Following Banner's practice, Benjamin listed himself as an architect in the 1810 Boston directory. His architectural books became increasingly theoretical, and directed at readers with some prior knowledge of building and architecture. By 1830, he had ceased to address the builders who had been his colleagues. Instead, his aim was to serve as a substitute for an architect in situations where only a builder was employed. Thus, it is not surprising that when Waters wanted to build a grand house, he turned to Benjamin.

From 1817 to 1824, however, because of his involvement in other business ventures, Benjamin restricted his architectural activity to providing designs for distant commissions such as those for Waters. He ceased serving as a builder-architect.

The client, in this case, Waters, would then seek a housewright or builder. Such an arrangement might be seen as closer to the twentieth-century definition of the professional architect's role.

During the years prior to designing the Waters house, Benjamin, a popularizer of style rather than a stylistic innovator, was confronted with the recently introduced Greek Revival style. By 1818, Bulfinch, whose style had influenced Benjamin since 1795, had left for Washington. At the same time, Alexander Parris (1780–1852) and Solomon Willard (1788–1862) arrived in Boston, and the Greek Revival style began to emerge around Boston. In contrast to the competitive spirit that prevailed among the three earlier architects, Banner, Bulfinch, and Benjamin, the new Greek Revival architects were close friends who shared most commissions that did not go to Bulfinch. But Benjamin himself had few commissions, and those he did undertake, such as the Waters house, were often outside Boston.

Despite his severe financial difficulties, Benjamin became an alderman in the city of Boston, a nonsalaried position that placed him in an important advisory capacity in the planning and design of Parris's 1824 Faneuil Hall Market. In this commission, and in the Asa Waters house of 1824, Benjamin first encountered and attempted to employ the new Greek Revival style.

Although the Waters house is known to have been built between 1824 and 1826, no documents establish the architect's name. The plan of the principal floor is inscribed '93 Court Street' in handwriting that, although deliberately florid and elegant for presentation to a client, appears to be Benjamin's own (cat. 39). Because the address was that listed for Parris's office in the Boston directories of 1822 and 1823, the inscription raises the possibility that Benjamin did not execute the drawing. However, it is more likely that Benjamin was simply using Parris's office as other architects did, a contention bol-

stered by other known connections between Parris and Benjamin during this period.

Further examination of the design indicates that the Waters house should be attributed to Benjamin. Although the giant Ionic portico on the east front (cat. 38) and the lesser Doric portico on the north front (cat. 40) are Greek in form and in proportion, they are merely added to a building that is not otherwise Grecian. Underneath these appended porticoes, the Waters house is constructed very much like Benjamin's earliest houses in Greenfield, although expanded to meet a wealthier client's needs. On the principal front, five bays are centered by Benjamin's favorite door type. As on his Windsor and Greenfield houses, panels separate the windows on the first two stories; in addition, a hipped roof is employed. In the floor plan, the central hall divides the ground floor in two halves, each containing two rooms. Benjamin added cross-axial hallways and two ells to this traditional plan. The retention of this floor plan points to the essentially provincial nature of Benjamin's architecture and it is perhaps this conservative quality, as well as Benjamin's fame, that prompted Waters to commission Benjamin to design his house.

A comparison of the completed building with Benjamin's drawings once again reveals the interaction between a Boston architect and Worcester's own architectural tradition. Benjamin only supplied the drawings for this project; he did not supervise its construction. However, since both the plan and elevations were altered considerably during construction, the builder, identified as Capt. Lewis Bigelow (1778-1859) in Elbridge Boyden's *Reminiscences*, appears to have participated in the design process.

The changes in Benjamin's design made by Bigelow during construction indicate a movement toward a smaller but more ornate house. The west ell, in plan a hexagonal room appended to the rear and intended to serve as a library, was not built. Although the interior retains Benjamin's original plan and

cross-axial hallways, the emphasis has been shifted from east-west to north-south, a change that may have resulted from the deletion of the library ell. The main stairway was changed from a sweeping curve to a tight, three-story spiral culminating in a stuccoed ceiling rosette at the third story. The pitch of the hipped roof was also greatly reduced. In keeping with other changes, Bigelow reduced the size of the Doric entranceway on the north front of Benjamin's design and employed the more elaborate Composite order. Although he did not diminish the height of the east portico (fig. 2), he did replace the four Ionic columns with six columns and once again employed the more elaborate Composite order.

The decorative eclecticism of the house as built suggests that Bigelow was familiar with Benjamin's books and demonstrates that the Waters house resulted from the interplay between Boston and a local tradition of Worcester builders. In turn, a Bigelow drawing suggests that his role was also that of the local architect whose designs may have been built by local master carpenters or masons (cat. 42).

LEWIS BIGELOW (1778-1859) AND
JONATHAN WENTWORTH (1793-1834)

Bigelow was also involved—with his partner Jonathan Wentworth—in the development of the first building for the Calvinist (later Central) Church, which was designed in 1822 and completed and consecrated in 1823 (fig. 3; cat. 43-65). In 1820, a group of religious dissenters, most of whom had been members of the First Parish in Worcester and of Old South (the church connected to it), banded together to form the fourth parish in Worcester. The number ready to join the fledgling congregation was small, although it was believed that it would soon increase. Nonetheless, the society, which had initially worshipped in the courthouse, went ahead with plans to erect a meetinghouse on a lot on the west side of Main Street that

was owned by Daniel Waldo. The sanctuary was also paid for by Waldo and his sisters.

Both Bigelow and Wentworth were recognized as expert builders and played a prominent role in civic affairs. The partners are known to have worked together on Stephen Salisbury's mansion. In addition, they worked in partnership for the town. Since they were not the only carpenters listed in the 1828 directory, the fact that the town hired them suggests their rising importance. Bigelow became active politically and was also a captain in the Morning Star Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. Wentworth also assumed town office, and both builders were members of the Mutual Fire Society, which was founded in the Calvinist Church in 1822.

An extensive series of drawings shows Central Church to have been a modest structure; approximately four hundred people could be seated before additions were made. The heavily shadowed front elevation shows a white clapboard meeting-house with square-headed windows; a recessed outer entrance is flanked by two Ionic columns in antis capped by panels; the whole is topped by a cupola (fig. 3; cat. 44). A transverse section reveals that intricate, Adamesque carving ornamented the elevated pulpit, reached by two curved staircases, one on either side, in back of which was a window—a dramatic setting for preaching (cat. 45). Equally characteristic were the galleries on three sides of the interior, which provided additional seating without enlarging the actual structure. As a result, although heard by more people, a preacher's voice did not have to be more powerful. Such a construction plan also kept costs down. The plan indicates that there were three aisles (cat. 48). A section shows that the cupola did not have a bell, and thus served purely to aid air circulation (cat. 47).

PETER KENDALL (ACTIVE 1820S)

Bigelow served as both the contractor and builder of Town Hall (1824), a brick, three-story structure located on the Com-

mon next to Old South Church (cat. 159-63). Peter Kendall, a mason who was listed in the 1828 *Worcester Village Register* and who, like Bigelow and Wentworth, worked on the Salisbury Mansion, was chief architect. Prior to this date, the town had held its meetings in Old South Meeting House. The new building had a basement and two upper levels. The first floor had a hall, rooms for the town officers, and a large hall for public meetings. The second floor was divided into two halls. The cornerstone was laid on August 2, 1824, by Bigelow and Kendall. It is perhaps an additional measure of Bigelow's prominence that he presided, as captain of Morning Star Lodge, over the accompanying Masonic ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone. The building was completed and dedicated May 2, 1825. Among those who worked for Bigelow were his apprentices Samuel A. Porter and Horatio N. Tower; Tower later became an important Worcester builder.

The American Antiquarian Society's collection also contains unsigned drawings for the Blackstone Canal, including an elevation of a bulkhead and a drawing of a farm bridge (cat. 1, 2). First contemplated in 1796, the idea of a canal was revived in 1821-22 because the growth of the city had created a need for a new form of inexpensive transportation. An investigating committee hired Benjamin Wright, who had served as chief engineer of the Erie Canal's middle portion, to make a topographical survey of the route, examine the soil and construction factors, check the water supply, and estimate the cost of construction. In his report, Wright included a plan for a wooden lock, although he suggested the possible use of granite instead. The watercolor rendering of a bulkhead may have been executed by Wright or by his engineer (cat. 1).

In 1824, excavation of the canal began in Providence. A year later, the Massachusetts and Rhode Island companies (formed in 1823) were united as the Blackstone Canal Company. Ground was broken on the northern end of the canal in Worcester in July 1826. Work was completed in two years. The canal

reduced freight rates dramatically and improved and regulated the area's water supply. Many more mills and manufacturers were located along the river. In 1833, a number of mill owners, who had been reluctant to share the river's water because it supplied the power for their mills, took the canal company to court over the water issue. A decision was rendered in favor of the mill owners in 1840. In 1845, much of the financially crippled Massachusetts portion of the canal was sold to the Providence and Worcester Railroad, which planned to use the tow path as a railbed. The Rhode Island portion continued to operate feebly for several years, until the canal was closed in 1848.

ELIAS CARTER (1781-1864)

Perhaps drawn to the town because of the growth prompted by the Blackstone Canal, Elias Carter arrived in Worcester in 1828. Carter was not unfamiliar with Worcester. His father Timothy and his uncle Benjamin had formed the firm of Carter and Carter, building contractors, in Worcester, but, after his father's death, the family moved away. Upon returning to Worcester, Elias's first place of business was on Thomas Street, where he was in partnership with Zenas Studley. Later, he formed a partnership with Marchant Tobey; they became the most prominent builders in Worcester in the nineteenth century.

With Carter's arrival, architecture began to emerge as a profession in Worcester. Although Carter began his career as a master builder and listed himself as 'carpenter' in the 1829 *Village Register*, he considered himself an architect and wood-carver. He also used the term 'architect' as part of his signature on some of his designs for the Rejoice Newton house (cat. 93-94), which attests to his perception of himself as a professional designer rather than a builder. Like Bigelow and Wentworth before him, Carter also emerged as an important figure in town life.

Early on, Carter was known as a builder of churches. He

built churches in Mendon and in Milford in 1820, as well as Worcester's first Unitarian Church in 1828. During that same year, Carter was also designing a three-story mansion for Daniel Waldo, the founder of Central Church. Perhaps because of his reputation as an architect of churches and because Waldo had a firsthand opportunity to see the quality of his work, Carter was approached by Central Church—which he would later join—to make alterations only seven years after the meetinghouse was completed.

Growth of the town and of the congregation, as well as the congregation's increasing sophistication, made such alterations necessary. In order to create greater seating capacity, Carter narrowed the galleries and increased the number of pews by placing them closer together. Both the interior and the exterior of the meetinghouse were embellished. The mahogany pulpit was rebuilt, 'making it more conformable to modern style,' and ornamented with carving said to have been executed by Carter himself. The cupola, seen in a section (cat. 47), was replaced by a steeple. In addition, the recessed entrance or porch, evident in the elevation (fig. 3; cat. 44), was enclosed to create a vestibule with a room over it, a change that suggests expanded numbers and a wider variety of functions for the church. The window behind the pulpit, also documented in two interior views (cat. 45–46), was moved to a position over the front door. The furnace was also renovated. These improvements cost \$1,600. Carter was paid \$150 for making plans, providing stock, and superintending the work.

Only two years later, the church turned once again to Carter for further improvements and enlargements. The building was raised, cut in two, and lengthened ten feet and widened eighteen feet. After these enlargements, the meetinghouse contained ninety-four pews and looked much as it had before.

Carter, who is known to have worked on the Salisbury Mansion and to have designed the Salisbury House (1836–38), was also responsible for the unexecuted 1837 design of a house for

the prominent Worcester lawyer Rejoice Newton (fig. 4; cat. 93-96). The two may have met while serving together on the town finance committee. Although he was known for his houses in the Greek Revival style, such as those he built for Daniel Waldo and Pliny Merrick, Carter departed from such designs in his house for Newton. His elevation and plans call for a three-story brick house, with granite foundation and rounded bays three stories high on each side of the front door.

Although Newton did eventually live in a brick three-story house with a granite basement and such rounded bays, it is unlikely that this was the house designed by Carter. Located on Main Street and featured in Prentiss's 1851 lithograph of Court Hill, Newton's house as built was, according to a contemporary account, 'a double brick one' from the start. It seems clear that the house Newton built is not the house specified in Carter's plans and elevation, though the 1837 plans drawn by Carter may have been retained (and modified when the house was actually built). It is also possible that Newton selected a similar house, putting aside the plans that Carter had prepared for him, but retaining certain desirable concepts. This notion is bolstered when chronology is taken into account: Newton's wife did not acquire title to the land until 1849, and Newton did not build on the lot until 1851; thus, the unexecuted plans would have been retained by Newton for fourteen years. In addition, during the year that he designed this house, Carter left Worcester and went to Chicopee Falls, returning to town at a later date. This may explain why Carter's plans were not realized.

JAMES M. LEARNED

(ACTIVE IN WORCESTER, 1846-50)

The Gothic Revival style was used both by Worcester architects and by architects from other cities who were commissioned to design structures for Worcester. James M. Learned,

an architect and a carpenter, designed a Gothic cottage for Isaac Davis at Lake Quinsigamond (fig. 5; cat. 164–74). Davis, several times Worcester's mayor, was a major investor in Lake Quinsigamond property and served for substantial periods of time as president of the Quinsigamond Bank and of the Coal Factory.

In his design, Learned appears to have been influenced by 'Design No. II: A Cottage in the English Style,' which was featured in Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (1842). An advocate of the small, inexpensive, detached house in a nonurban setting, Downing wrote several popular architectural patternbooks aimed as much at laymen as at builders. Downing admired the English Gothic style, which he viewed as picturesque. For Downing, the steep roofs, tall gables ornamented by vergeboards, fanciful chimneypops, and latticed windows were important characteristics of homes in the Gothic style. Each of these devices was employed by Learned. Although verandas were rarely seen in English examples, their utility during summer months prompted Downing to shelter the doorway of his 'English' cottage with one. Following Downing's example, Learned placed a castellated veranda on the front elevation of his cottage for Davis. In the designs by Learned and Downing, the veranda roof also forms a balcony for the lancet window above. In order to preserve the verticality that he felt was a key element of the Gothic style, Downing advocated making the veranda shorter than the facade on either end; Learned followed this advice. The irregular plan of Davis's cottage, in which the rooms radiated out from a central core, certainly adhered to the dictates of the picturesque Gothic style.

In the elevation of Davis's cottage (fig. 5), Learned has depicted the cottage as having a stone facade. However, drawings for the cottage's framing indicate that Davis's cottage was built of wood (cat. 168). This suggests that the cottage

was covered with stucco, which was then made to look like stone. This manipulation of materials is an aspect of Learned's design not entirely in keeping with Downing's dictates.

Learned's elevation also shows a new concern for landscape, a concern first introduced into American architectural drawing by Alexander J. Davis (1803-92). Davis was Downing's associate, Ithiel Town's partner, and a pioneer of the picturesque mode. Davis supplied many of the designs, often shown in perspective drawings (a new way of rendering a building), for Downing's books. Perhaps influenced by this new concern for environment, Learned places his cottage on a sandy or light earthen ground, rather than on a field of white paper, thus hinting at the waterside site that might have been intended for this cottage.

RICHARD UPJOHN (1802-78)

Architects from other urban centers also brought the Gothic Revival to Worcester. In 1845, Richard Upjohn was living in New York when he received the commission to design All Saints Church, to be located on Pearl Street. Upjohn had initially been contacted by the congregation in 1836 when he lived in Boston. However, at that time, they did not have enough money for construction. Several years later, when the congregation could afford to proceed, the building committee approached Arthur Gilman, a Boston architect known for his small, rural churches. However, the committee decided that Gilman's design was too costly for its small seating capacity. Upjohn was then contacted once again. Supplied with the dimensions of the Pearl Street lot (102' x 65') and a budget limitation of \$5,000, Upjohn was asked to supply a design for a church suiting the congregation's 'means and conditions.' An architect's fee of \$300 was agreed upon.

In mid-July 1845, Samuel D. Harding, 'an intelligent carpenter and master-builder,' was employed to superintend construction. On August 5, Upjohn came to Worcester to lay out the grounds; that day, the first shovel of earth was turned. The

church opened June 10, 1846, though it was not consecrated until the associated debt was paid. In subsequent years, there were various alterations made to the structure, which was destroyed by fire in 1874.

Upjohn's carpenter-Gothic All Saints Church embodied the notions that he propounded in *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (1852). The church was of board-and-batten construction. The plan (cat. 195) called for three aisles (one down the center and two at the extreme right and left of the church). Seventy-five pews seated about three hundred. An articulated chancel and a nave longer than the aisles satisfied Upjohn's requirements for a church whose architecture expressed the ritualistic nature of the Episcopalian service. As can be seen in an anonymous photograph taken after the 1874 fire, the windows were pointed, that is, lancet shaped. Above the gabled, enclosed entry porch, which was placed in the center of the facade, was a small rose window. The tower was placed at an angle to the church, in a manner characteristic of Upjohn's late rural churches, a solution that Upjohn may have begun to employ because of his increasing admiration for the asymmetry that characterized the Gothic Revival. The woodwork on the interior was dark and heavily trussed. The whole evoked the small, early English country parish. The continuous demand for these churches was to lead the architect to produce *Upjohn's Rural Architect* (1852), to satisfy those parishes that were too poor to permit even a modest architect's fee.

THOMAS ALEXANDER TEFFT (1826-59)

A dramatic shift in style is revealed in three elevations (cat. 185-87) and a perspective (fig. 6; cat. 188) executed by the young Providence architect Thomas Alexander Tefft, who had been commissioned to design the American Antiquarian Society's second building. In selecting Tefft, the building committee showed that it was cosmopolitan enough to bring in an avant-garde architect from another urban center to design a major building in the latest style. The history of this commis-

sion further demonstrates the interrelationship between a local Worcester architectural tradition and that of another city.

Born in Richmond, Rhode Island, Tefft was persuaded to enroll at Brown University by Henry Barnard, Rhode Island's commissioner of education. While a student, Tefft was employed by Tallman and Bucklin, the leading architectural firm in Providence. Upon his graduation in 1851, the year he was commissioned to design the Society's second building, Tefft opened his own office. Tefft was one of a new breed of architects, who were both educated at universities and who served apprenticeships in professional architectural firms. Tefft, a founder of the American Institute of Architects, regarded architecture as a profession and emphasized the architect's right to control over his designs.

During his years at Brown, Tefft met Charles C. Jewett, a member of the class of 1835 and the university's librarian from 1842 to 1848. Jewett had considerable influence on Tefft's architectural ideas. When the American Antiquarian Society decided to erect a new building because dampness was causing the books to decay and because greater storage space was required, Jewett, a member of the Society, helped Tefft secure the commission.

The new structure was to be erected on a lot on 'Court Hill' at the corner of Main and Highland streets. The building would be located near Young's Greek Revival courthouse and next to Bulfinch's Georgian courthouse, both evident in Tefft's proposed perspective (fig. 6) and in the Addison Prentiss 1851 lithograph of Court Hill. The necessary excavation at the new building site was measured by the Worcester firm of Boyden and Ball. The Worcester builder Horatio N. Tower, who had served his apprenticeship under Capt. Lewis Bigelow, was awarded the contract for the new building in 1852.

The proposed elevations and perspective show that for his design of Antiquarian Hall Tefft contemplated using the Romanesque Revival style. It has been speculated that Tefft's

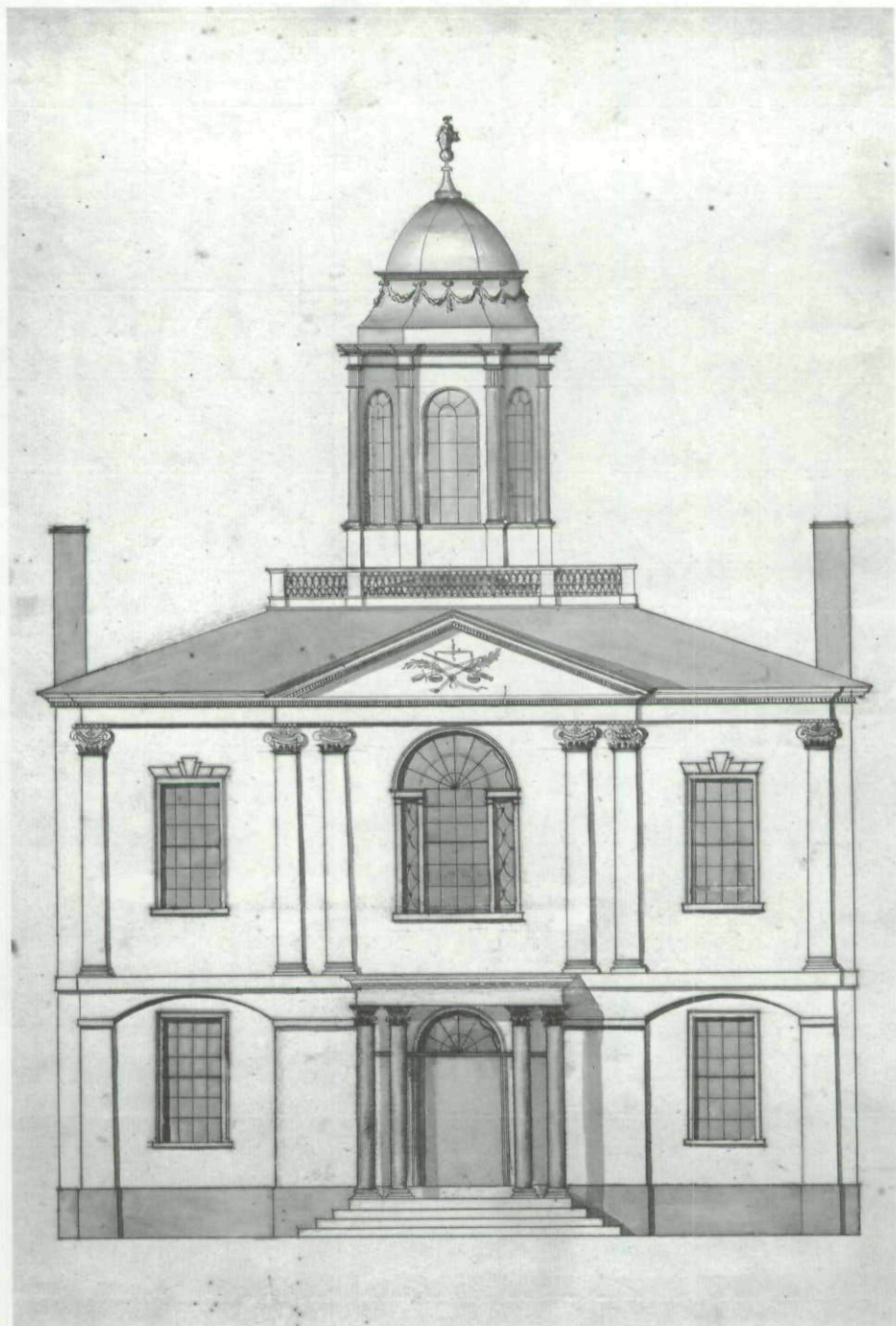


Fig. 1. Jeremiah Stiles, *Elevation of Charles Bulfinch's Courthouse, 1801-3.*

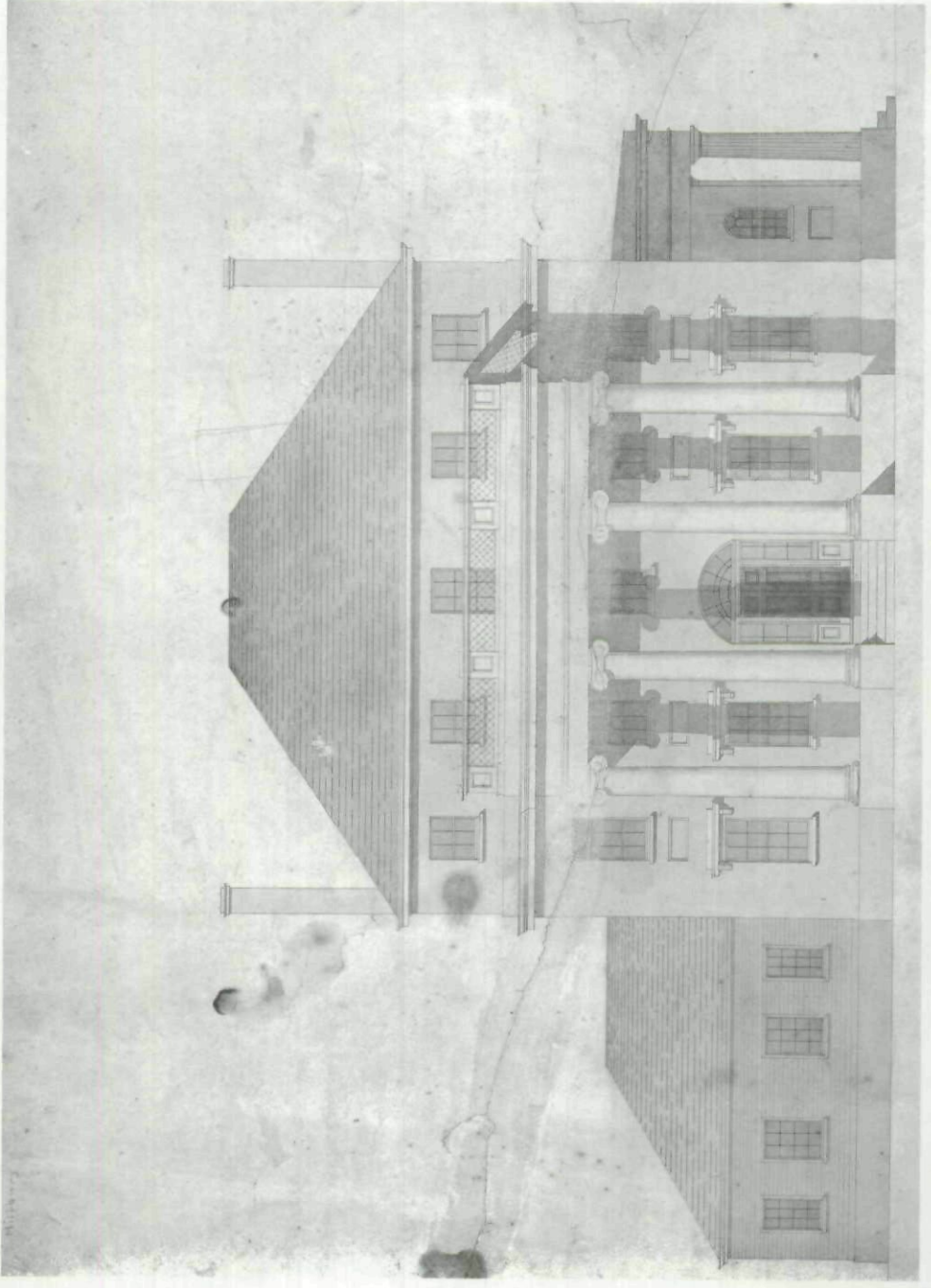


Fig. 2. Asher Benjamin, *Elevation of East Front, House for Asa Waters, Millbury, Mass., 1824.*

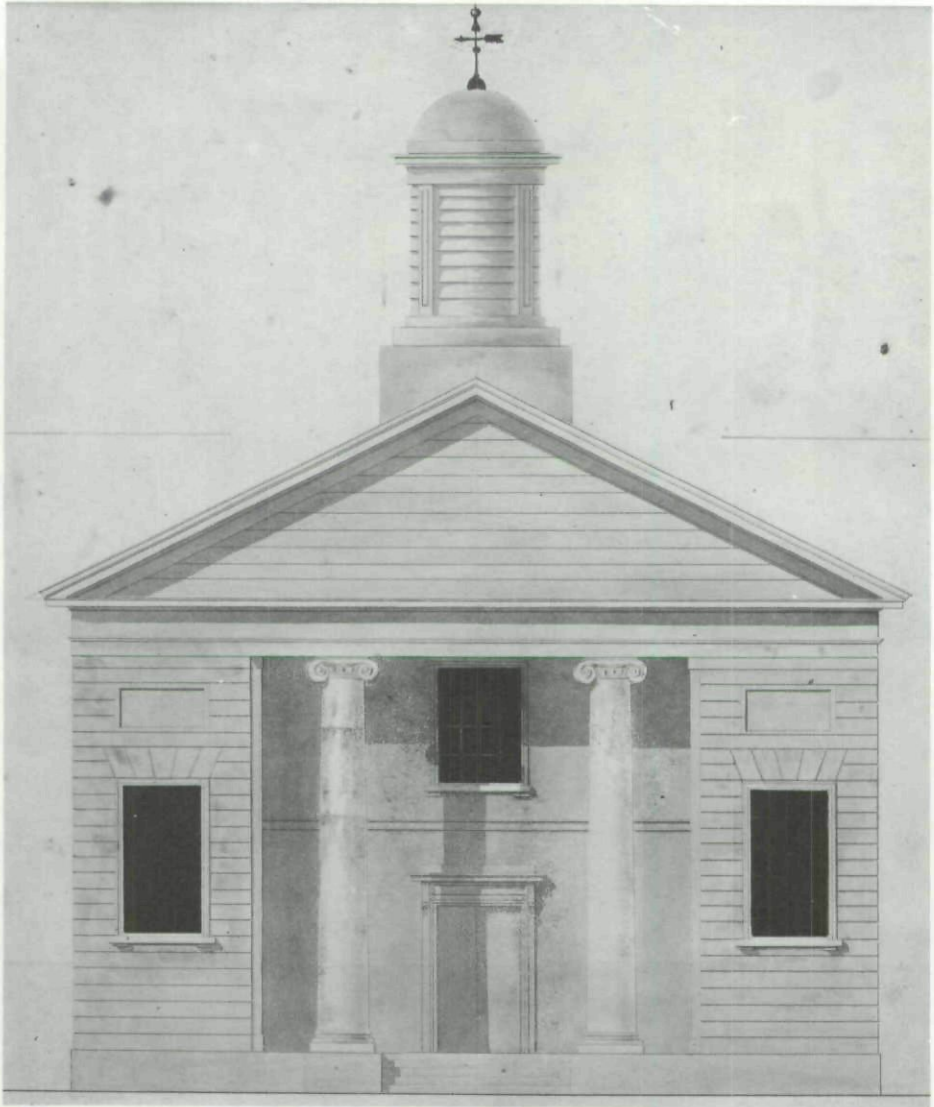


Fig. 3. Lewis Bigelow and Jonathan Wentworth, *Elevation for the Principal Front, Calvinist Church (later Central Church), 1822.*

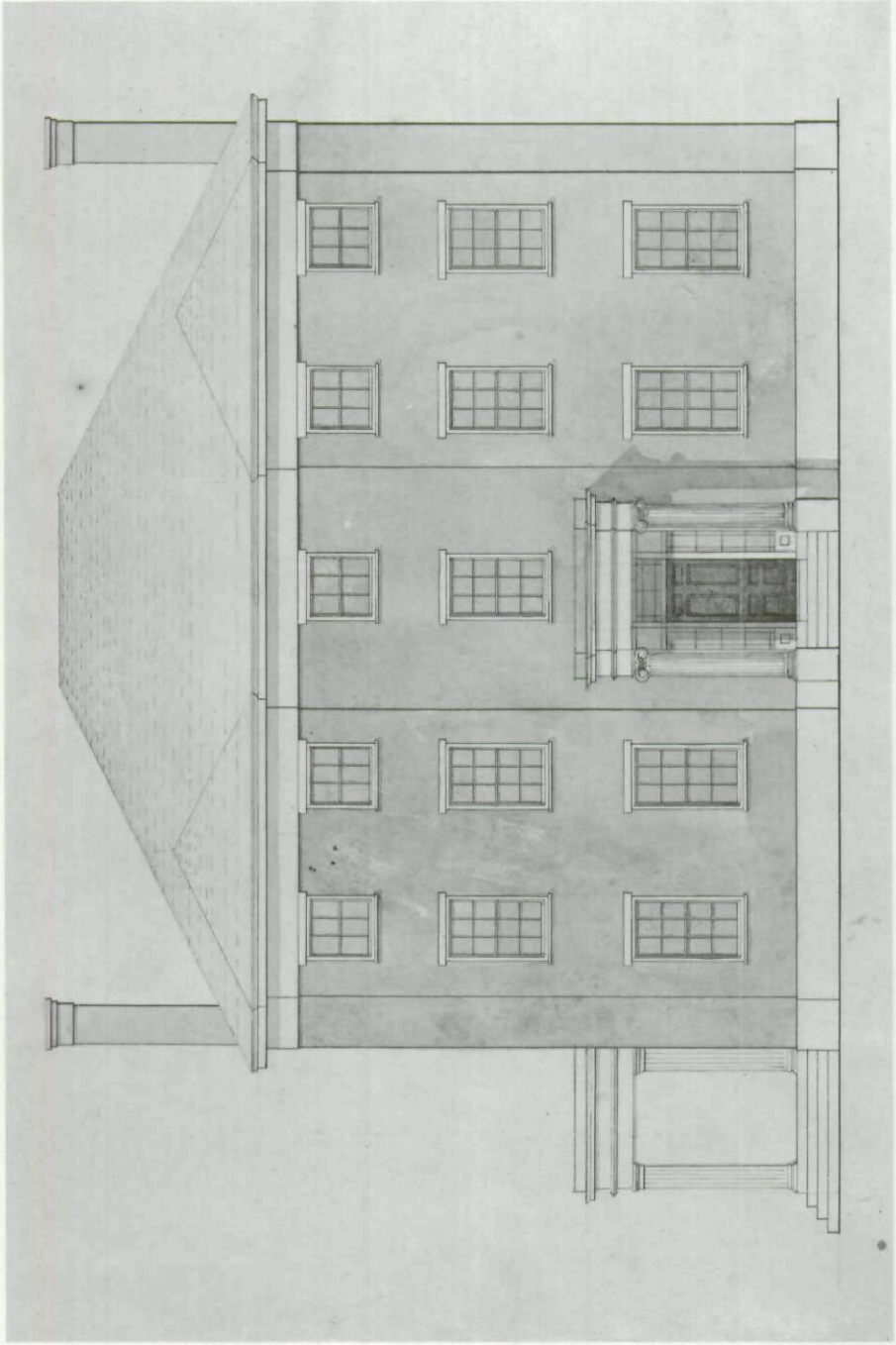


Fig. 4. Elias Carter, *Front Elevation, Rejoice Newton House, 1837.*

fascination with Lombard Romanesque architecture may have been caused by or resulted from his love of brick, which he admired for its economy, versatility, color, and permanence. The development of inexpensive, machine-made pressed bricks had made brick a popular medium by mid-century. This fitted well with the reaction against the Greek Revival aesthetic of cold, white surfaces. The exposed brick, pronounced corbeling, dentilled cornices, and round-arched windows employed by Tefft in the Society's perspective and elevations were inspired by the German architectural movement, the *Rundbogenstil*, in which characteristics of northern Italian churches in the Romanesque style were adapted for public buildings. Although Tefft owned source books for the Lombard Romanesque buildings, as well as publications by the architects of the *Rundbogenstil* movement, the immediate catalyst for his interest in the style may have been St. George's Church, designed by Leopold Eidlitz and erected in New York City in 1846.

In the final design for the Society's building (no longer standing), Tefft opted for a Renaissance palazzo building, as can be seen in an anonymous photograph of the completed building. Tefft designed a rectangular, brick and freestone building that was fifty feet wide, eighty feet long, and two stories high. As in his competition designs for the Providence Custom House, Tefft employed a Florentine arcaded entrance. He retained the dark brick indicated on the perspective, a feature that enhanced the building's prominence next to its white and pink neighbors.

The simplicity of the building's interior plan matched its exterior. An entrance hall flanked by offices led into the library room. The first floor contained a vestibule, a cabinet, offices, and a large apartment for future expansion. Illuminated by a skylight and by windows on three sides, the library was located on the second floor. Tefft had intended to pattern the library on the panoptic principle; according to its dictates, each book is housed in equidistant alcoves radiating from a center and

visible from this central point. When this proved impossible, Tefft arranged the partitions of the nine alcoves on each side at right angles to the walls. These alcoves radiated from eight Tuscan columns, which were arranged in a square in the library's center and which supported a dome, thus preserving the panoptic plan's goals of economy and convenience.

In the elevations and perspective, Tefft employed many of his characteristic drawing techniques. The elevations (cat. 185-87) are in pen and ink, while the perspective (fig. 6) is in watercolor. The softly rendered corners on the periphery of the perspective drawing, a feature frequently found in daguerreotypes from the 1850s, and its clearly delineated central area might reveal the influence of photography. Furthermore, as is characteristic of Tefft's perspectives, the building is set within a vignetted landscape. The small, precise lettering on the elevations is also typical of Tefft's drawings, as are the crisp technique, the fine detail, and the careful finish.

The building itself prompted conflicting opinions. One contemporary critic observed that he was 'charitable enough to entertain the belief that it suffers more from its location than from any fault in its architectural design.' The author continued, 'it would look far better if it stood upon a plain, embowered with trees and shrubbery. As it is, one looks at it now as a lover upon his knees looks in the face of his mistress; and though I never served on a nunnery committee, you will never get so good a view of a lady's countenance when looking up at an angle of forty-five degrees as you do when looking at her horizontally in the face.' In contrast, *Norton's Literary Gazette* pronounced the building 'in a style of the simplest and severest taste relying for effect more upon the harmony of its proportions and the keeping of its architectural members, than upon merely ornamental work or device.' The interior was also deemed 'simple but graceful.' In response to criticism that the facade was too devoid of ornament, Edward Everett Hale noted in the Society's *Proceedings* that the building 'resembles

some of the smaller and simpler buildings erected in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries, by architects as distinguished as Raphael and Michael Angelo, when the purpose was one which required severe simplicity.'

In 1858, Elbridge Boyden designed a railing for Court Hill (cat. 72). The contract for building the railing was awarded to Woodward and Sibley, a Worcester firm, which, in 1859, agreed to build Boyden's 'Design No. 2' for \$500. Boyden's watercolor drawing of the railing and the entryways of the Court Hill buildings suggests that the railing was meant to give the buildings a more unified look. In further pursuit of that aim, Bulfinch's courthouse had been moved back, enlarged, and embellished in 1857.

When the Society's collections outgrew Tefft's building in 1876, the Worcester architect Stephen C. Earle was commissioned to design an addition to the building (cat. 103-9). Thus, the completed project, which combined the work of local architects and builders with that of a major New England architect, serves as a model for Worcester's architectural scene. Earle employed the same materials and Renaissance design vocabulary that Tefft did, although the windows in his design were square-headed rather than round, as the side elevation reveals. In contrast to the Tefft building, however, the end of Earle's addition was rounded, as can be seen in the plan of the cellar (cat. 108). In his report of April 1878, the Society's librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, pronounced himself well pleased with Earle's addition to Tefft's building, declaring that '[the] external appearance is agreeable to the eye, and the internal construction presents a harmonious extension of space adapted to the previously existing arrangements; . . . glazed doors and glass divisions, employed for the sake of light, preserve the effect of the entire length of the apartments, while admitting such separation as may be desirable . . . the shelf-room has been nearly doubled.'

ELBRIDGE BOYDEN (1810-98)

Elbridge Boyden, the architect of the railing for Court Hill, can be seen as a transitional figure between the architect trained by a builder and the architect trained by architects and, or alternatively, educated at one of the schools of architecture that were just being founded. Boyden apprenticed for three years with Joel Stratton, 'one of the best carpenters' in Athol, whose business he later purchased. In 1830, Boyden then 'let' himself to Jonathan Cutting of Templeton, an elderly meetinghouse builder, to help build a church in Rutland. Commenting on his own education in his *Reminiscences* (1890), Boyden recalled that during his youth, all prominent architects 'came from the shop and not from the college.' In sum, he noted 'there were no *professionals*.' Only within the twenty-five years prior to his writing did 'the schools and colleges . . . turn . . . out some architects and we hope that they will be able to raise the standard in the profession.'

Boyden's concerns about the education of the architect and about his attendant right to complete control of his design may have prompted him to become a key figure in the professionalization of architecture in Worcester. In addition to the training he provided future Worcester architects such as Stephen Earle and Albert Barker, Boyden was active in professional organizations. Although he became a member of the Boston chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1874, he allowed his membership to lapse in 1877. Yet, when Worcester formed its own chapter, he served as its president until his death.

The thirty-four-year-old Boyden arrived in Worcester on April 1, 1844, to assist in building an addition to the insane asylum. Boyden recalled that Worcester was already famed for 'good workmen and good buildings.' One of Boyden's most important contributions to Worcester architecture was Mechanics Hall. Built of mastic-covered brick, cast iron, and galvanized iron, Mechanics Hall was planned as a formal, sym-

metrical, three-story building with Corinthian capitals and pilasters. Horatio N. Tower, who had apprenticed with Bigelow and built Tefft's Antiquarian Hall, was hired as the superintendent.

The training Boyden received from builders and the influence of builder's guides is perhaps reflected in his retention of the early nineteenth-century drafting conventions as a means for rendering the Italianate house he designed about 1853 for the builder William T. Merrifield (no longer standing). The watercolor elevation (cat. 67) reveals that a concave central gable interrupted the mansard roof on each of three sides. Each central gable was flanked by two gable windows. The roof had both an elaborate cornice, supported by decorative brackets, and a cupola with a mansard roof that echoed the lines of the main roof. Quoins defined the sides of the house. The windows were tall and arched; those on the second floor had elaborate treatments. A porch centered on the facade was supported by detailed columns and ogee arches. The plan (cat. 66) indicates that three of the four sides had such porches, which afforded the occupants views of the surrounding countryside. A kitchen ell was located to the rear. The most outstanding features of the house were the glass conservatory, the vinery, and the hot-house (which are featured on both the plan and elevation). Contemporary photographs reveal that the house as built was quite close to the design specified in Boyden's elevation. The exterior was sheathed in white or light-colored horizontal wood clapboarding, which contrasted with the dark quoins, pilasters, and window surrounds.

Boyden's client served as his own contractor for the construction of his house. Despite the delicate impression that the watercolor elevation conveys, the house was actually built of poured concrete. The inside walls were masonry. The heat for the house, which was built before electricity was available and which also had no indoor plumbing, came from the barn and was transported into the house by way of an underground

tunnel. When Merrifield died in 1896, his daughter, Harriette Merrifield Forbes, and her husband, Judge William T. Forbes, decided to move to Worcester from Westboro. Although they obtained estimates for modernizing her father's house, the solidity of the masonry walls made such improvement impossible. After attempting to pull down the house, it was finally blown up and replaced by a more modern structure.

Boyden designed many fine residences in a variety of mid-century styles. The unexecuted circular house designed about 1863-75 for Clark Jillson (who served as Worcester's mayor) demonstrates Boyden's interest in midcentury exotic styles (fig. 7). As the pen-and-ink plan makes clear (cat. 75), the house was to consist of at least five circular structures placed adjacent to each other; a sixth circular structure was added on to the ground plan in graphite. The elevation shows that the hipped roofs were supported by brackets and topped by finials (cat. 77). The center structure's concave roof is higher than its neighbors. Reminiscent of a pagoda, it imparts an Oriental aspect to the design.

Circular houses, such as the one designed by Boyden, enjoyed a burst of popularity at mid-century, particularly in Worcester. In his builder's guide, *The Cottage Builder's Manual* (Worcester, 1856) the Worcester builder Zephaniah Baker stressed circular houses. Baker maintained that circles both enclosed more space and that, in the division of interior spaces, the use of a circular shape minimized the distance between rooms. He also argued that more light and air were admitted in circular houses and that they were easier to heat and illuminate. These arguments were later employed by Orson Fowler in his tract *The Octagon House* (1858).

AMOS P. CUTTING (1839-96)

Known particularly as a church architect, Amos P. Cutting was born in Lyme, New Hampshire. Cutting learned the carpenter's trade as a young man, and while employed by Russ and

Eddy, a Worcester firm that specialized in moldings, brackets, and window frames, he studied architecture on his own. He established himself as an architect in 1868. Cutting also traveled twice to Europe during his career to study architecture. He became a member of the Western Association of Architects and thus a fellow of the American Institute of Architects. Cutting was also a member of the Worcester chapter of the latter organization.

Plymouth Church (no longer standing) was one of Cutting's best known commissions in the High Victorian Gothic style. A presentation perspective drawn by 'E.N.B.,' clearly a draftsman working for the firm, documents Cutting's design (cat. 100). Formed in 1869, Plymouth Church issued a call on October 18, 1871, to the Reverend George W. Phillips of Columbus, Ohio, which was accepted on condition that the society build a church. The congregation decided to build the following year, and the sanctuary's cornerstone was laid in April 1873. The elongated proportions of the Fitzwilliam granite church were characteristic of Cutting's work and of High Victorian Gothic churches in general. The off-center placement of the spire was in keeping with the picturesque principles of the Gothic Revival style, as was the use of lighter gray granite to outline the portal and accentuate aspects of the tower and spire. Even more characteristic is the iron-crested and varicolored slate roof evident in the perspective.

The drawing itself has characteristics common to renderings of the 1870s, such as its elaborate border in which architectural elements (including foils) both frame the image and serve as a transition into the architectural world on paper. In addition, the explicitly detailed building predominates visually over subsidiary elements, which were rendered later and with less attention. A *horror vacui* characteristic of the period is evident in the drawing; no white paper shows. Instead, the entire surface is covered with atmospheric effects at the top and incidental street scenes below.

Although the histories of All Saints Church state that only four other firms were invited to compete for the commission, comparison of the perspective of Plymouth Church with the unsigned competition perspective for All Saints Church suggests that the latter drawing was also by 'E. N. B.' (fig. 8; cat. 102). A probable explanation for Cutting's unsolicited entry into the competition is related to Union Congregational's pursuit of the same lot on Pleasant Street. Commissioned by Union Church, Cutting had already prepared a plan for a High Victorian Gothic church to be built on the site. Because All Saints parish moved more quickly than 'Union' did, this piece of land passed into their possession. It seems likely that Cutting intended to enter the design he had already prepared for Union in the competition for All Saints. However, since Cutting was not invited to compete, the architect may have instructed the draftsman to abandon his efforts, which would account for the unfinished matte.

Cutting's design seems to be more High Victorian in both form and detail than Earle's successful entry. It has been observed that Earle's design, which also revealed the influences of Richardson's North Congregational Church and the Church of the Unity in Springfield, was a conventional Gothic Revival design, derived ultimately from the English parish church but more immediately from designs by such architects as Henry Hudson Holly and Frederick Withers. In contrast, the nave and transepts rise much higher in Cutting's drawing than they do on the Earle church. On Earle's design, the front portion of the chapel-Sunday school rectangle appear to be a separate free-standing, octagonal chapter house or baptistry, an aspect of his design that differed from Cutting's. In addition, the tower is at the extreme right in the Earle design; this is not the case in Cutting's entry. Furthermore, in contrast to Cutting's vivid polychromy, Earle's design was executed primarily in quarry-faced, Longmeadow brownstone ashlar, laid in red mortar, with occasional use of cut stone for the trim.

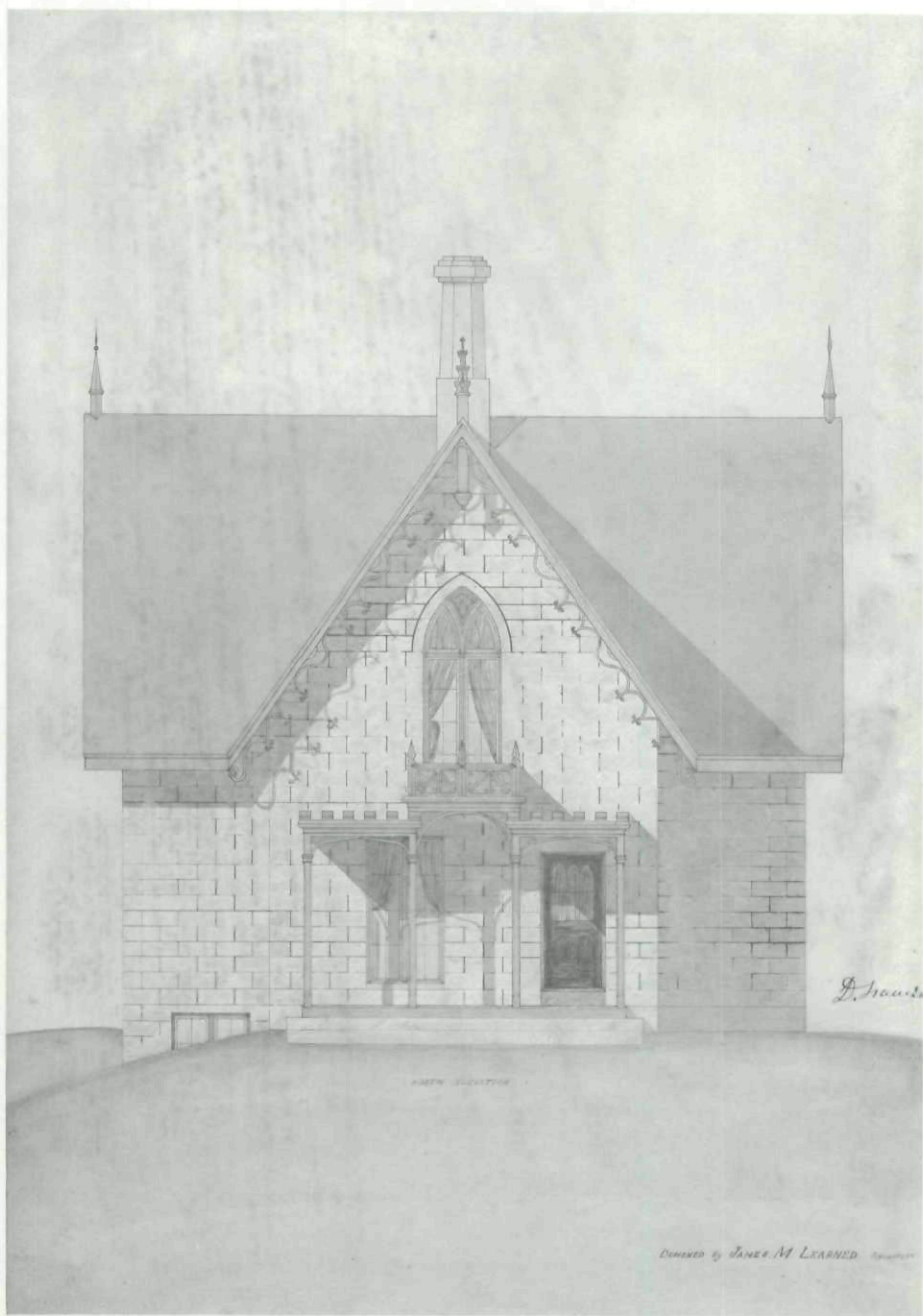


Fig. 5. James M. Learned, *North Elevation, Cottage for Isaac Davis, Lake Quinsigamond, ca. 1845-60.*

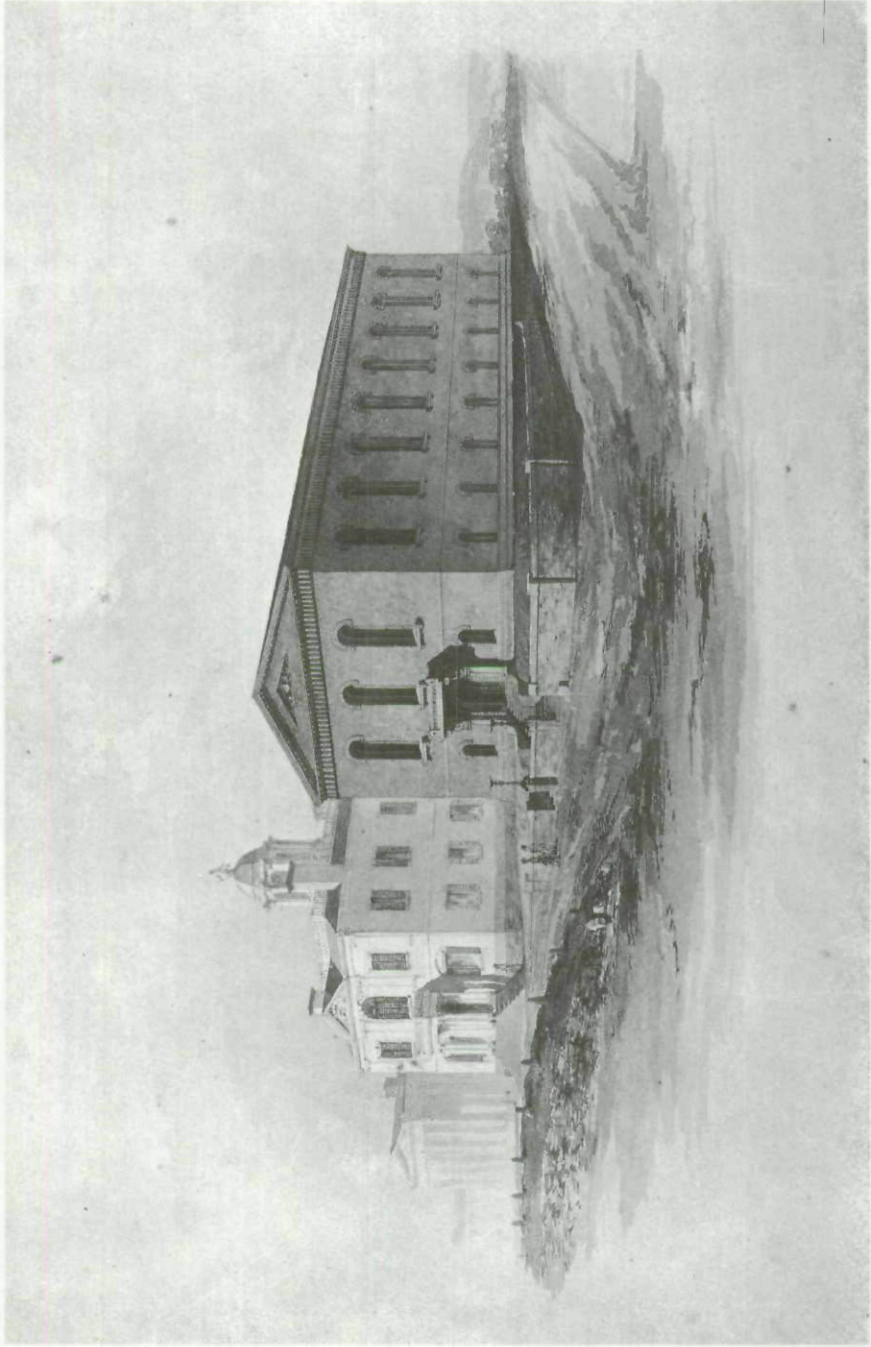


Fig. 6. Thomas A. Telfit, *Perspective View of Antiquarian Hall with Bulfinch's Court-house and Ammi Young's Court-house*, 1851-52.



*Front Elevation of House
for C. Jilison
Warester, Mass*

Fig. 7. Elbridge Boyden and Son, *Front Elevation and Section of House for C. Jilison*, ca. 1863-65.



Fig. 8. Amos P. Cutting, *Competition Perspective*, *All Saints Church*, 1874.

Certain similarities between the drawing techniques employed on the perspective of Plymouth Church and that of All Saints bolster the attribution of this unsigned perspective to 'E. N. B.' (fig. 8). The use of the straight-edge is similar on both drawings, as was the order of execution; the building was rendered first and the background filled in subsequently. Like the elevation of Plymouth Church, the unsigned presentation perspective displays a *horror vacui* and features a decorative border, which also incorporates foils as a motif, although in this instance the border is on a separate mat that frames the drawing. The border on the All Saints drawing is more elaborate; the use of gold ink and blue watercolor to further embellish the tracery and motifs such as the sextant's instruments may be an attempt to emulate a medieval manuscript page, intended to reinforce the links to the past inherent in the architectural style and in the act of worship. Furthermore, the drawing for All Saints was also given to the Society in 1943 by Frank H. Cutting, a provenance that strengthens the attribution of this design to Cutting and of the drawing to 'E. N. B.'

STEPHEN C. EARLE (1839-1913)

The winner of the competition for All Saints Church, Stephen Earle, was the new breed of architect described by Boyden. Earle was born into one of the small group of influential Quaker families that had settled in Leicester, Massachusetts, in the early eighteenth century. After his father's death, Stephen's mother and his six siblings moved to Worcester. The following year, she and her other children moved to Michigan, while Stephen remained in Worcester at the home of his father's cousin, Edward Earle. He graduated from Worcester High School in 1856, having studied mechanical drawing along the way.

In 1861, Earle went to New York, where he worked as a draftsman in the office of Calvert Vaux, who had in the past

received a number of commissions in Worcester. In addition to his work for Vaux, Earle studied architectural drawing and perspective at Cooper Union. After spending a year in the Civil War as a medical corpsman, he returned to New York in 1863 and again worked for Vaux.

By Christmas of 1863, Earle had returned to Worcester, where he was to live and practice architecture until his death in 1913. He began as an architectural draftsman in the offices of Worcester's premier architect, Elbridge Boyden, whose son and partner George had been one of Earle's boyhood friends. Leaving Boyden's employ, Earle worked as a draftsman on the famous Hoosac Tunnel railroad project in western Massachusetts, after which he embarked on a seven-month tour of Europe. In 1868, feeling the need of further training, Earle attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, enrolling in the two-year, short course planned especially for students already working in architects' offices.

Like many of the architects before him, Earle was prominent in public affairs and active in professional organizations. In January 1874, he was elected a fellow of the Boston Society of Architects and often took part in the Society's activities until at least 1895. As a result of his election to the Boston Society, he became a member of the American Institute of Architects, in which he played an active role until his death. When the Worcester Society of Architects, which Earle helped to found in 1887, became a chapter of the American Institute Architects in 1892, Earle was elected vice-president, a post that he held until Boyden's death in 1898. Earle succeeded to the presidency, an office he occupied until his own death.

From 1872 through 1884, Earle maintained an office in Boston, though his main office always remained in Worcester. It has been speculated that his need for an additional office was prompted by a surplus of work, which created a need for competent draftsmen on an irregular basis. The pen-and-ink perspective of the Charles H. Davis House (1873) at Cedar and

Fruit Streets in Worcester that was designed by Earle and James Fuller (1836–1901), his partner until 1876, may have been executed by a draftsman Earle contracted in Boston (fig. 9; cat. 124). This contention is supported by the speculation that the perspective was meant to be a companion to the publication drawing 'Hall in a Cottage in Worcester,' which appeared in *Architectural Sketchbook* (October 1875). The reliance on the straightedge, the somewhat blocky and geometrical letters, and the building's domination over the subsidiary elements of the setting characterize publication drawings of the mid-1870s.

The Davis house is one of four richly decorated houses that Earle designed from 1873 to 1879 in the 'late Picturesque mode' of the Stick Style, a style that Richard Morris Hunt had popularized in Newport in the 1860s. The exterior of this house, as seen in the front elevation (cat. 125), was finished with clapboarding, broken by bands of vertical sheathing; this geometry was heightened by the crosses below the windows, the rhythm of the spindles in the porch balustrades, and the diagonal braces supporting the veranda roofs. Saw-toothed red bands cross the gray roofs and add the color characteristic of the mode. Also evident on the front elevation are the steep, iron-crested and finialed roofs with gables and dormers, chimneys corbeled out to hold chimney pots, and the tall first-floor windows. These attributes, like the irregular plan itself, made the house a typical example of what the Newport journalist Margery Deane called the 'bar-finish' mode.

Elevations of the Davis house's bookcase (cat. 127), chimneycase (cat. 128), and bureau (cat. 129), some of which feature drawings of iron or brasswork, attest to Earle's concern (increasingly, shared by many of the period's architects) with a schematized interior that harmonized with a structure's exterior. These carefully designed interior furnishings for the Davis house were much praised by *The Worcester Spy*. Notations on the drawings of the interior finishings sometimes

suggest the woods to be used. Such elevations of the Davis house document the care that architects took to design furnishings in keeping with the architecture of the house.

Because watercolor allowed for the suggestion of glass's transparency, as well as the solidity and color of other materials, this medium was uniquely suited to conveying the feeling of ground-floor openness that Earle attempted to combine with functional space above in his designs for business blocks. In his 1877 design for a brick business block for Sumner Pratt, a woolen and cotton manufacturer, Earle moved toward the idea of a glass-fronted building (fig. 10; cat. 110). The facade is divided into a balanced main section and a narrower section indicating a stairway to offices and other rooms; a little gable accented by a finial tops the narrower portion. Brick and granite piers frame the exterior edges of the large first-floor shop windows; the slender columns that border the interior window edges frame the sides of a recessed doorway. These windows create a feeling of openness that is heightened by the tall, paired second-floor windows, which themselves are separated only by piers. The whole creates essentially a glass wall. A broad band, indicating an iron girder, sets off the glass-fronted shops on the ground floor from the upper stories.

It has been observed that in designing the brick piers that divided the second-story windows, Earle was influenced by contemporary cast-iron designs and by their ancestors, the masonry palazzi of the Italian Renaissance. By joining the first- and second-story windows so that each vertical pair appeared to be one tall opening capped by an arch, Earle reinforced the idea of a glass wall and made the intervening floor appear to be only a heavy transom.

In the design for the Whitcomb Block (cat. 112), Earle again played with the balance between glass windows and functional space above, as shown in the watercolor perspective executed by Earle's apprentice George H. Clemence (1865-1924). Once again, watercolor heightens the contrast between the transparency of glass and the solidity and color of other

materials. A light-colored, stone, four-story facade rests on an iron band and rises above the wide, iron-framed, store windows in the ground story. The iron frames of the second-story windows form a transition between the iron and glass ground floor and the masonry floors above. Similarly, the building's stone midsection links the architecturally detailed fifth story and the building's stone cornice to the iron and glass shop fronts.

Three drawings document Earle's use of the Richardson Romanesque in his designs for Worcester churches. Earle had certainly met H. H. Richardson by 1869, if not before. In that year, Earle and Fuller were hired to superintend construction of the Maple Street High School that was designed by Richardson in 1869 and built by Norcross Brothers (who became Earle's, as they were Richardson's, favorite builder).

Earle's unsuccessful competition drawing for Union Congregational Church on Front Street (1879), a competition won by Elbridge Boyden, documents his movement toward the Richardsonian Romanesque (cat. 111). The vividly colored watercolor shows a solid rectangular, gable-fronted stone building. Although the building has characteristics from his earlier styles, Union Congregational foreshadows Earle's stone Romanesque buildings that depend for much of their effect on strongly accented colors. The arch that rests on carved terracotta impostes, the checkerboard marquetry under the gable top, the slant-roof porch supported on heavy square piers with terracotta capitals, and engaged colonnettes are all elements of the Richardsonian Romanesque, as are the church's solidity and the miniature Romanesque portals that serve as dormers on the tower.

The pen-and-ink-on-card competition perspective executed by Sanford Phipps of Central Congregational Church was another of Earle's churches done in the Richardsonian Romanesque style (fig. 11; cat. 113). In contrast to the vivid polychromy of Earle's unsuccessful entry in the competition for Union Congregational, Central Church was characterized by

shape, mass, texture, and carved decoration, and not by color contrast. Constructed of Longmeadow brownstone, the church had underpinning and street curbings made of Fitzwilliam granite.

Phipps depicted Central Church from the perspective of the viewer standing before the tower, which was set on a battered base, capped by a steep pyramidal roof, and, like the tower for All Saints (1874), placed on the corner. The tower both focuses the whole complex structure and divides it into two parts: the strictly ecclesiastical sanctuary and the section containing Sunday school, parlors, missionary room, library, and kitchen. This later side repeats motifs from Earle's educational and domestic buildings. The sanctuary is larger, and incorporates the great rose window and tower, as well as more elaborate decorative motifs.

When seen from the corner vantage point, three basically similar entrances reinforce the tower's importance as the demarcator for two halves of a modern church complex, each devoted to a different aspect of religious life. The gabled wooden porch roof welcomes the worshipper to the right of the triple-arched tower portal in the center. The Sunday school entrance on the left is symbolically simpler but echoes the basic motifs in the other entrances. Yet, the religious purpose that unified each of these different functions is emphasized by a diminishing sequence: the tall, square, pyramid-roofed principal tower on the right, the round tower with a conical roof in the middle, and the much lower, two-story, round bay with half-conical roof in the far left.

Contemporary authors felt that Central Church's building was also modern theologically, particularly in the innovative plan of the sanctuary. Except for a small ell on its north side, the sanctuary's plan is strictly rectangular. By cutting out a square to the right of the chancel (for the organ) and a similar square to the left (for a pastor's study), Earle created a cruciform shape. He enhanced this effect by intersecting the barrel vault of the main roof with a lateral vault of the transept at the

crossing. In addition, the pulpit's traditional location in the center of the chancel was given over to a communion table. The pulpit was located on the left side and was balanced on the right by a reading desk. Some commentators felt that by arranging the church's interior in this manner, Earle 'presented architecturally the ideas of praise, the sacraments, the Scriptures, preaching in their union and relative order,' while at the same time creating 'a building suited for all the purposes of practical religion.'

Phipps's perspective appears to have been the same drawing published in *American Architect and Building News* on June 12, 1886. It has been suggested that the large size of such drawings is related to the rise of such periodicals as *American Architect and Building News*, which often made large page sizes available. In such publications, drawings were arranged separately in a plate section similar to the layout of many contemporary art publications. Furthermore, the development of photomechanical processes made it possible to reproduce drawings accurately. As a result, it became advantageous for large offices to employ professional renderers to produce impressive perspective drawings, which were used to sell the product to the customer and potentially advertise the firm through publications.

A number of elements in the drawing of Central Congregational Church suggest that Phipps also intended his work for publication. The combination of looser and more rounded upper- and lower-case letters clearly executed by hand, the elimination of excess line and shadow, and the compositional finesse Phipps displayed in portraying the building from the vantage point of the tower, as well as the elimination of any border, are characteristics of published perspective drawings from 1880 to 1886. Equally significant was Phipps's decision to surround the building with areas of empty or lightly touched background; indeed, the *horror vacui* of the preceding decade had vanished.

C. W. Bixby's presentation perspective of Earle's 1887 brick Romanesque building for the Pilgrim Congregational Church is equally characteristic of published drawings of the

period in its method of depiction (cat. 115). The drawing has no border; the lettering, which is both upper and lower case, is evidently hand-done; the sky is loosely drawn in; and the strong diagonal sweep of the roof is a striking abstract form quite apart from any illustrative function it performs. In addition, the building is set into the middle ground and surrounded by a generous area of untouched white space.

Bixby's drawing of the Pilgrim Congregational Church seems to represent an early conception of the building that was modified during construction. In the drawing, the hipped roof rises much higher in relation to both the tower and the large gabled side bays than does the roof of the actual building. As drawn, the roof and the sharp-pointed ventilation turrets at the ends of its ridge give the central mass of the church far more power and hence offer better balance to the tower at the side. The actual church exterior is stiff, and the prominent gabled bay in the center of the facade appears small in relation to the bulk of the building behind it.

Bixby's drawing also documents a third variation in Earle's use of the Romanesque style, which employs granite or brownstone trim but relies principally on the adaptation of Romanesque shapes to a brick idiom. In this church, Earle employed a large, quatrefoil rose window, a triple-arched entrance portal, solid, short, granite Byzantine columns, and the lofty square tower (anchoring the west corner of the building) that characterized his work in the Richardsonian manner.

In the 1890s, several projects enhanced the cultural life of the citizenry. One of them was the establishment, in 1896, of the Worcester Art Museum, for which Earle received the commission. Modeled on McKim, Mead, and White's Renaissance-style Boston Public Library (1892), Earle's design is evident in a watercolor perspective executed by G. H. Halcott in the Worcester Art Museum collections. In addition, improvements were made in the city's park system, and in 1891, Earle—in a new partnership with Clelland W. Fisher (1861—

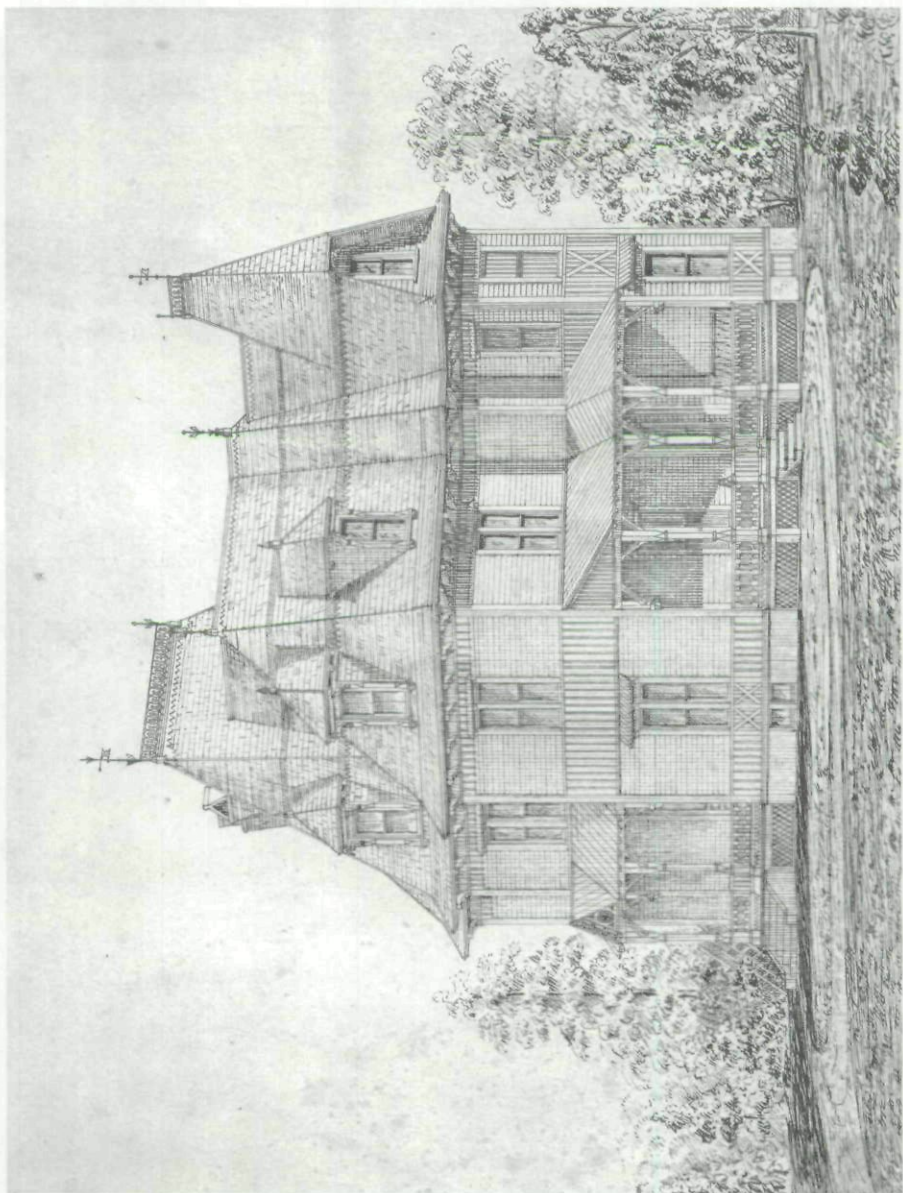
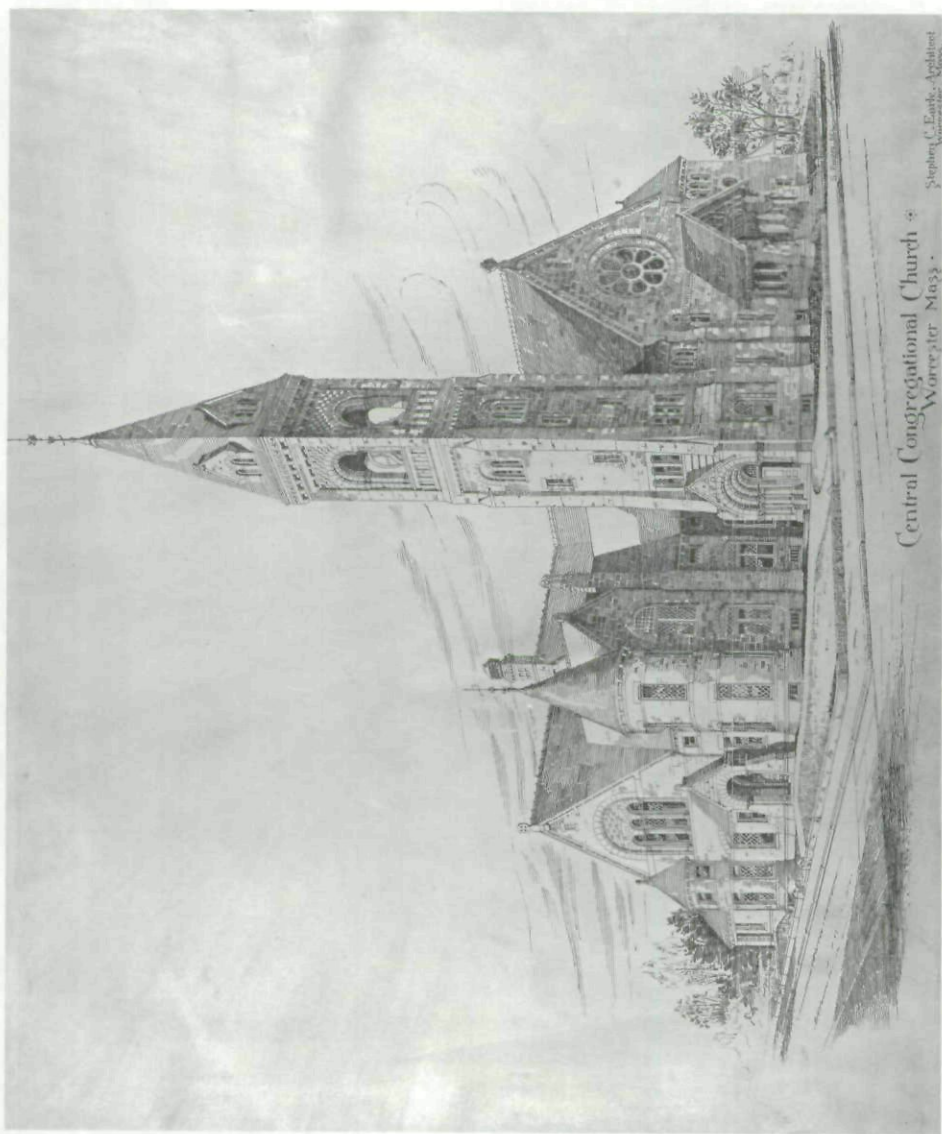


Fig. 9. Stephen Earle and James Fuller, Publication Perspective: Design for a House for Charles H. Davis, 1874.



Fig. 10. Stephen C. Earle, *Perspective, Sumner Pratt Building, 1877.*



Central Congregational Church
Worcester, Mass.

Fig. 11. Stephen C. Earle, *Publication Perspective*, Central Congregational Church, 1888.

HOUSE FOR JUDGE W. T. FORBES.
 WORCESTER, MASS.
 BARKER & NOURSE, ARCHITECTS,
 WORCESTER, MASS.

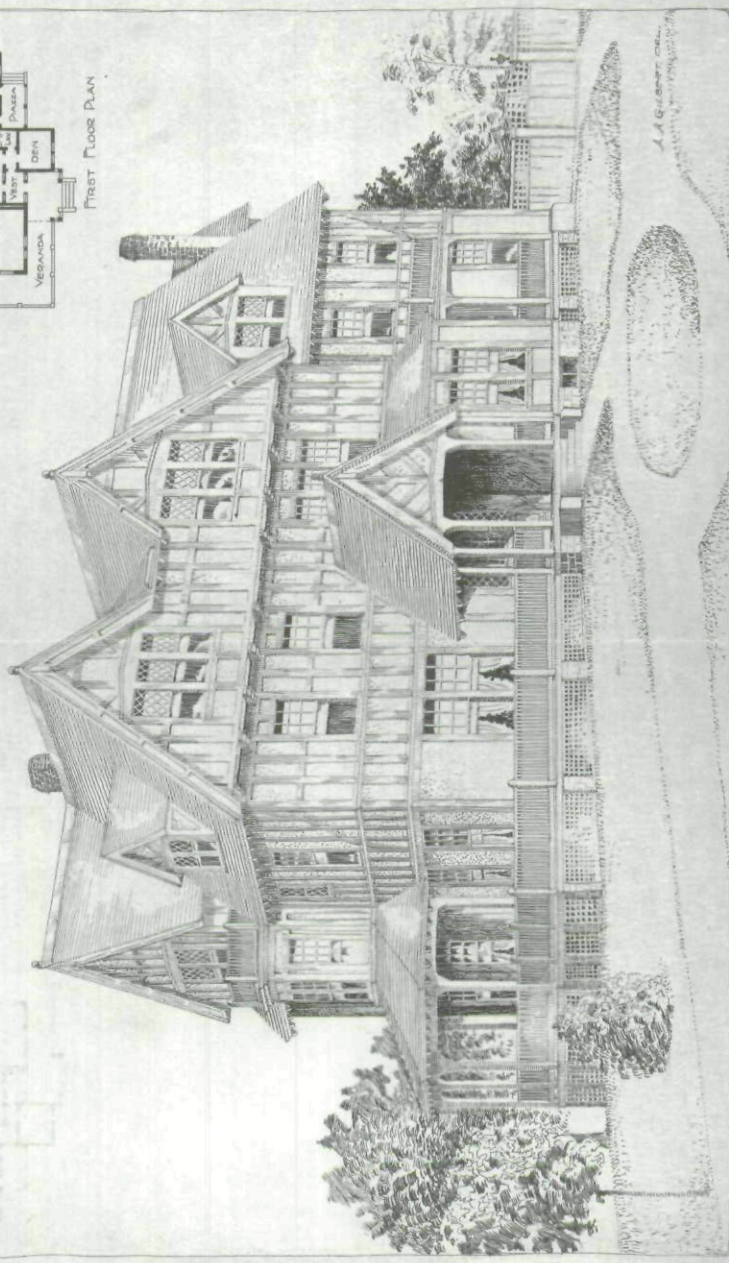
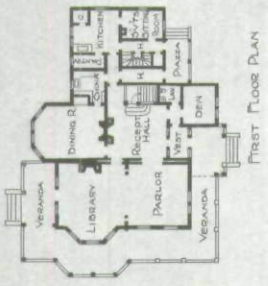


Fig. 12. Albert Barker and Walter Nourse, *Perspective and First-Floor Plan, Judge W. T. Forbes House, 1898.*

1932)—was responsible for the Observatory Tower for Institute Park (1892), one of three ornamental, Gothic stone towers that Earle designed for Worcester's parks.

Located on the park's highest elevation, the Observatory, a reproduction of the Round Tower at Newport, exemplifies the then-current rage for reproducing old buildings and the skill with which Earle 'combined serious archeology and whimsical fun.' The tower was a new venture for Earle that perhaps required particular engineering skill. Earle may have considered his elevation and section (cat. 119, 120), which were executed on vellum, to be preparatory studies in which he both clarified his initial ideas and resolved design problems. The section (cat. 120) shows the interior, forty-five-step, spiral staircase, one of the great gargoyle waterspouts, and the foundations below ground, while the elevation (cat. 119) indicates that the three windows were to be added later. These drawings were given to the American Antiquarian Society by E. J. Cross of the E. J. Cross construction company (successors to the Norcross firm), which suggests that these drawings were preparatory studies that the architects discussed with the Norcross firm.

ALBERT BARKER (1852-1905) AND
WALTER B. NOURSE (1853-1906)

During these years, the firm of Barker and Nourse was also producing buildings that looked to the past in terms of style. The presentation perspective of the house designed for Judge William T. Forbes, executed about 1898 by Arthur A. Gilbert, featured Colonial Revival and Tudor elements such as half-timbering, diamond-patterned, upper-story windows, a projecting, hooded entry porch, and projecting gables and dormer windows (fig. 12; cat. 35). Judging from Gilbert's age at the time he executed this rendering, he may have been an office apprentice. Albert Barker attended Worcester's public schools and later apprenticed in Elbridge Boyden's office. Prominent in

Worcester civic life, Barker also became active in the professional architectural world. Born in Westboro, Walter B. Nourse, Barker's partner, was the son of a carpenter who later went into the business of manufacturing garden trellises. Nourse apprenticed in A. P. Cutting's office. He, too, was active in civic affairs and prominent in the architectural profession. In March 1879, the two formed a partnership that lasted until January 1, 1904.

Barker and Nourse designed housing for Worcester's professional, middle, and upper-middle class during the 1880s and 1890s. Among these was the house designed in 1893 for Dr. W. F. Gilman, a dentist, which was built on Fruit Street (cat. 26-34). Examination of the front elevation reveals that this house was characterized by such Colonial Revival elements as the eyelid dormer, the variant of the Palladian window, and the Adamesque frieze that would have been machine-produced, purchased by the yard, and applied to the exterior of a house (cat. 26). Equally characteristic were the contrast between different building materials, such as the horizontal clapboards of the first floor and the shingles on the second story.

Dwellings such as those for Dr. Gilman and for Nourse himself were located in the newer section of Worcester near Fruit Street. Marston Way was opened from Fruit to Sever Street about 1887-88. In the next six years, the firm appears to have designed at least seven houses in the immediate area, one of which, number 7 Marston Way, was designed for Nourse himself (cat. 17-25). Such an extension of the city's boundaries was a process that contemporary writers perceived as essential for Worcester.

Although the houses designed by Barker and Nourse were Colonial Revival or Queen Anne in spirit, the series of drawings produced for Nourse's own home attests to the increasing complexities of the buildings that were being erected. The motifs of the past—such as the eyelid dormer and Federal-style glazing that ornamented the house, as well as the clap-

boards and shingles that covered the dwelling—cloaked a more modern 'engine for living.' Such homes often involved more workmen and required more complex drawings, as demonstrated by the first- and second-floor plans for Nourse's house (cat. 18). This sheet of plans was a 'working drawing,' produced after the proportions, details, and dimensions of the building had been finalized. Representing the architect's final thoughts before construction, these functional drawings employ symbols and notations; each color used on the drawing refers to specific material to be used during construction. Examination of these working drawings reveals lavatories and other modern conveniences not found on renderings of earlier Worcester residences. Working drawings also often took the form of sections and elevations, as exemplified by the front elevation and section for 7 Marston Way (cat. 17), as well as drawings of construction details such as those for the interior finish (cat. 19).

In conclusion, this examination of the nineteenth-century architectural drawings of Worcester at the American Anti-Quarian Society traces the development of more sophisticated techniques of rendering as the century progressed and architecture emerged as a profession both in the nation and in Worcester. These renderings reveal the emergence and the development of the architectural profession during the nineteenth century in Worcester, as well as the collaboration of Worcester builders and architects with architects from other cities. In this exhibition, a heretofore veiled portrait of Worcester's nineteenth-century history and architecture emerges.

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