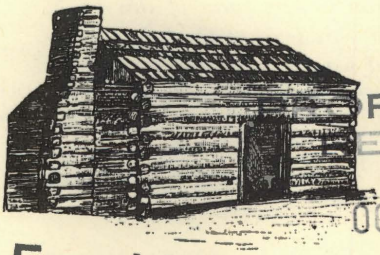
Volume 6

The New Jersey Historical Series

Architecture in New Jersey

A RECORD OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION



ALAN GOWANS

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To

ROBERT G. BRADSHAW

A fine Painter, Teacher, and
Ornament to his native State

A loyal Friend for many years

FOREWORD

Many tracks will be left by the New Jersey Tercentenary celebration, but few will be larger than those made by the New Jersey Historical Series. The Series is a monumental publishing project—the product of a remarkable collaborative effort between public and private enterprise.

New Jersey has needed a series of books about itself. The 300th anniversary of the State is a fitting time to publish such a series. It is to the credit of the State's Tercentenary Commission that this series has been created.

In an enterprise of such scope, there must be many contributors. Each of these must give considerably of himself if the enterprise is to succeed. The New Jersey Historical Series, the most ambitious publishing venture ever undertaken about a state, was conceived by a committee of Jerseymen—Julian P. Boyd, Wesley Frank Craven, John T. Cunningham, David S. Davies, and Richard P. McCormick. Not only did these men outline the need for such an historic venture; they also aided in the selection of the editors of the series.

Both jobs were well done. The volumes speak for themselves. The devoted and scholarly services of

Richard M. Huber and Wheaton J. Lane, the editors, are a part of every book in the series. The editors have been aided in their work by two fine assistants, Elizabeth Jackson Holland and Bertha DeGraw Miller.

To D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. my special thanks for recognizing New Jersey's need and for bringing their skills and publishing wisdom to bear upon the printing and distributing of the New Jersey Historical Series.

My final and most heartfelt thanks must go to Alan Gowans, who accepted my invitation to write *Architecture in New Jersey,* doing so at great personal sacrifice and without thought of material gain. We are richer by his scholarship. We welcome this important contribution to an understanding of our State.

RICHARD J. HUGHES
Governor of the
State of New Jersey

January, 1964

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INTRODUCTION
NEW JERSEY ARCHITECTURE AS HISTORICAL EXPRESSION

IN FEW IF ANY other parts of the United States can you sense of the depth of history so powerfully, read the record of the past so plainly and fully as in the architectural landscape of New Jersey. Relatively few people ever think, or historically have thought of it in that way, however. From the time when Benjamin Franklin reportedly called New Jersey "a barrel tapped at both ends," to Woodrow Wilson's describing it as having "always been inconvenienced by New York on the one hand and Philadelphia on the other," the State has most commonly been thought of by visitors as a place you must cross to get somewhere else, and by its own people all too often as being without any special character, overshadowed by larger and more distinctive centers.

In the Dutch period, New Jersey was a featureless territory, a blank space on the map separating the northern settlements of New Netherland on Manhattan Island from its southern outposts on the Delaware. In the eighteenth century, it was the rural retreat across the river from "Penn's great towne," largest city in America; still in 1844, when J. Barber and H. Howe published their *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey,* they could recall how

within the memory of those living, the whole locality of Camden was tilled as a farm, with but a few dwellings along the shore, occupied by ferrymen. Then, long lines of black-cherry and mulberry trees stood in the highways, and numerous apple orchards allured the holyday and truant boys from Philadelphia. Towards the end of the last century, indeed, the eccentric William Cobbett and Matthew Carey fought a duel on a spot now the heart of the city, unperceived by any one but their seconds . . .

In the nineteenth century, New Jersey was the rural land so providentially near the crowded metropolis and world port of New York, ready to make fortunes for alert speculators in suburban real estate when the railroads went through; as late as 1900 a single high school satisfied the needs of Newark, largest of New Jersey cities. And it all too often seems characterless today. Still for millions of travelers New Jersey consists of a blur of marshes and factories, marshaling yards, and diners separating New York from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and points south. Still for millions who live in it—and New Jersey is now almost as densely populated as Japan—their native State is little more than a home base from which to leave for work in cities across the river, vacations in New England, weekends on a seaside boardwalk. As for significant architecture—that too is something most people would look for elsewhere. And in one sense they would be right.

Just as New Jersey has from the beginning been a place people passed through to get from one concentration of commerce, wealth, and population to another, so this State's main cultural areas have always represented little more than local variants or reflections of developments outside its borders. During the first century of its history, to be sure, several distinctive house-types developed in New Jersey—a "Dutch" type in the Hackensack Valley, a New England type in East Jersey, a Philadelphia type in the south. But all of them were importations that originated elsewhere, the work of immigrants reproducing ancestral traditions, or itinerant artisans following

conventions of their trade. Broadly speaking, so few buildings in New Jersey are of real architectural consequence, that it would be possible to write a history of architecture in the United States without mentioning any New Jersey buildings whatsoever.

Hardly an encouraging thought with which to begin a book on the subject, perhaps; but well worth keeping in mind. For if we approach the architecture of New Jersey hoping to find great or original masterpieces, we shall surely be disappointed; history and geography have been consistently set against their appearance. What we can and do find is something quite different—and something which is in the long run quite as important. Precisely because New Jersey has always been more a corridor for the transmission of people and ideas than an originating center of culture, its architecture is an unrivaled record of the development of American civilization.

Architecture is the most inescapable of the arts. You may go through life without ever setting foot in an art gallery or attending a symphony, but you can hardly avoid seeing architecture, and being influenced by the kind of buildings that shelter and surround you. Architecture is also the most collective of artistic expressions. It can never be private or personal to the same extent as, say, painting or poetry. No matter how eccentric or original a given architect may be, what he does always involves collaboration with other people—with builders, with patrons, and, through them, with all society. His design must take into account available materials, climate, building codes, topography. Architecture of all kinds, everywhere, inevitably is the most tangible of all cultural expressions. And this is particularly evident in a region like New Jersey. Precisely because New Jersey architecture has always been at once so uncomplicated by greatness or originality and so open to diverse influences from all sides, it manifests the great ideas, the changing tastes, the permanent values of Western civilization generally and American life in particular, with unusual

clarity and completeness. Pioneer traditions of struggle with the wilderness, diverse national heritages from Europe, medieval traditions from the seventeenth century, classical traditions from the eighteenth, Victorian attitudes from the nineteenth and the technological triumphs of the twentieth century—all the great strands that went into the rich composite pattern of civilization in the United States are represented in this State. It is this light that the historic architecture of New Jersey takes on a real and vital significance.

It has been the misfortune of our century to be distinguished—if that is the word—by the appearance of a new theory and practice of government: the totalitarian state. One thing all these new totalitarian governments have had in common: as soon as they have seized power, they began to control the reading and teaching of history. They understood all too well that, as George Orwell put it in his great study of the totalitarian mind, *Nineteen Eighty-Four,*

> Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past. . . . Cut off from contact with the outer world, and with the past, the citizen of Oceania is like a man in interstellar space, who has no way of knowing which direction is up and which is down. The rulers of such a state are absolute, as the Pharaohs or the Caesars could not be.

Why? Because only with his feet firmly on the ground of historical fact can a man be in any position to dispute what the State chooses to tell him, or resist its claims to order his life. It follows that a government dedicated to the opposite principle, one existing to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for its citizens, needs and ought to encourage their knowing and understanding history in every feasible way. This is the ultimate reason for the preservation and maintenance of historic architecture by Federal, State, and local agencies—and by an intelligent citizenry. This is the ultimate justification for the study of architectural history in New Jersey, or anywhere else.

I

CABIN, CHURCH, AND COTTAGE: MEDIEVAL NEW JERSEY

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY in New Jersey, as everywhere else in America, with a brief, embryo-like recapitulation of a thousand years' evolution in the art of building in Europe, from a Stone Age through an Iron Age, and beyond. The first settlers, drifting into New Jersey from regions earlier established north and south, found themselves in a wilderness inhabited by Indians who were still living in a Stone Age, following ways of life that survived in Europe only as a racial memory, still using kinds of tools forgotten in the Old World since Neolithic times; and facing for a moment the same implacable Nature that dictated Indian building forms, they were reduced often enough to building as the Indians did: rude oval or round shelters made of bent saplings covered with bark and grass and mud, the architectural expression of a Stone Age culture. But for Europeans, coming as they did from a civilization that had long possessed the technology to conquer and control Nature, Stone Age building could never be more than the briefest of prefaces to architectural history. In one sense, to be sure, the Stone Age in America lasted three hundred years—a century after the last bark cabins of the East had rotted into ruin, they were reappearing in the Old Northwest Territory, and a century after that, settlement on the Great Plains began with Stone Age sod huts, tents of hides and poles; and in the form of huts small boys build in back-

yards, hunters' shelters in the woods, and so on, this universal phase of architectural development is still very much with us. Historically, however, the Stone Age was in any one given place a matter of instants, over almost before it had begun. Only here and there a few traces remain—darkened spots in the turf, decayed remnants of posts sunk in the ground, ancient buried and blackened hearths—revealing to the trained archaeologist's eye how once in New Jersey men relived the long Stone Ages of Europe, when natural raw materials determined the forms men's buildings had to take, when Nature and not man was in command. Already by the middle of the seventeenth century the Stone Age had been superseded as the characteristic architectural expression of New Jersey by the buildings of an Age of Iron.

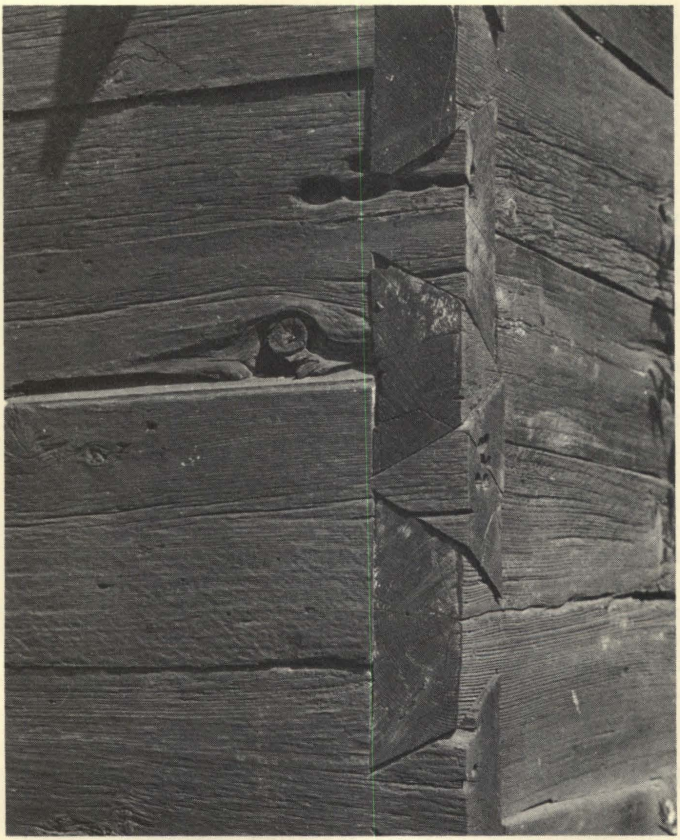
Frontier Arts and Folk Traditions from the Seventeenth Century

From Stone Age saplings and bark shaped by hand to logs hewn into timber or riven into shingles by a froe seems a most logical step. In log cabins, the raw tree is still in evidence, still determines structural characteristics; but now, with a few sturdy Iron Age tools, men can begin to control and manipulate Nature. They can tackle big trees barely dentable by the Indians' stone hatchets—can fell them, notch or square their ends, and fit them together to form a solid, fairly permanent, and quickly erected building. So natural and logical a form is the log cabin for a forested country, so normal and inevitable a second stage of architectural evolution in North America does it seem, that it is commonly assumed that settlers on this continent built log cabins from the first. But apparently they did not. In the early English settlements of Massachusetts and Virginia, and in New France, what followed the palisade and sod hut was not log cabins, but elaborate medieval constructions of mortised and tenoned beams, pit-sawn boards, and bricks imported

from Europe. Not until several generations had passed—not really until the eighteenth century, in fact—did log-cabin construction become generally common on the frontier. Only the Swedes and Finns who came to the Delaware Valley in the 1640's from still heavily-forested homelands—and perhaps the Germans in Pennsylvania some decades later—seem to have brought the technique with them. In the *Journal* of his trip from Manhattan to Maryland in 1679, Jaspar Danckerts records that the house of Jacob Hendrix near "Borlinghton," where he stayed the night of November 18, was

> made according to the Swedish mode, and as they usually build their houses here, which are block-houses, being nothing else than entire trees, split through the middle, or squared out of the rough, and placed in the form of a square, one upon the other, as high as they wish to have the house; the ends of these timbers are let into each other, about a foot from the ends, half of one into half of the other. The whole structure is thus made, without a nail or a spike. The ceiling and roof do not exhibit much finer work, except among the most careful people, who have the ceiling planked and a glass window. The doors are wide enough, but very low, so that you have to stoop in entering. These houses are quite tight and warm; but the chimney is placed in a corner. . . .

The Swedes then, were probably first to introduce to the United States that form of building which in later generations came to seem so peculiarly American a symbol of pioneer ruggedness, perseverance, and virtue generally. Theirs, then, were the ultimate ancestors of the log-cabin badges and floats that won the presidential election of 1840 for William Henry Harrison, of the Lincoln shrines at New Salem in Illinois and Hardin County in Kentucky, of the old tailor shop at Greenville that helped purge the memory of Tennessee Andrew Johnson. It is fitting that in examples like the Cedar Plank House the State of New Jersey should honor such an achievement.



The Cedar Plank House, Hancock's Bridge. Reconstruction of a one-story cabin built of cedar logs, taken from nearby swamps by Swedish settlers more than two centuries ago, hewn into planks, and assembled by traditional techniques. Throughout the nineteenth century giant prehistoric white cedar logs, preserved in the mud of Great Cedar Swamp, were still being "mined" in Salem County.

To the early Swedes on the Delaware, of course, log cabins had no such esoteric connotations. They, like all other early settlers, were simply reproducing a kind of building they had known at home. And what is more, log cabins for them—as for all other early builders—were not intended to be permanent, finished architectural expressions, but simply convenient shelters during the time their new land was first being claimed for civilization. As the squatter's hut was built for a few days or weeks, so the pioneer's cabin was built for a few months or years. Once civilization was established, once society began to settle into more stable and organized patterns of life, log cabins in their turn gave way to the more advanced architectural form of family homesteads—folk architecture, built by local craftsmen to last for generations. Of this process, the buildings at Hancock's Bridge illustrated here provide an admirable demonstration.

Folk architecture, like the Stone Age hut and Iron Age cabin before it, is still an anonymous product of community life. The kind of relationship it expresses between man and nature is, however, very different. The primitive builder was dominated by the materials he used, and the axman still left them raw; but in examples like the William Hancock house and its connected buildings, although the nature of the materials used is much in evidence, they are definitely under man's control. They are products of a society long and securely enough established to support some specialization of labor. No longer the work of a single man with a few tools, buildings like these involve the developed skills of many men—masons and carpenters, bricklayers and smiths—who are perfectly familiar with their materials and can do more or less what they want with them. And at this point builders are able for the first time to concern themselves with something beyond mere stability or convenience. They can begin to give a building the precise forms they want,

Two views of the William and Sarah Hancock House, Hancock's Bridge. As is shown by the initials and the date—worked into the typical brickwork pattern of blue-glazed headers against ruddy stretchers on its west gable—the main house was built in 1734, contiguously with two smaller dwellings, one probably earlier, the other later; but a house like this could have been built in Salem, Gloucester, or adjacent counties anywhere from the early eighteenth century well into the nineteenth century. As almost invariably occurs in such houses, there are later repairs and additions which contribute to the effectiveness of this expression of generations of family living.

Both views Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

make it suit their tastes—or, in short, consider matters of design or beauty.

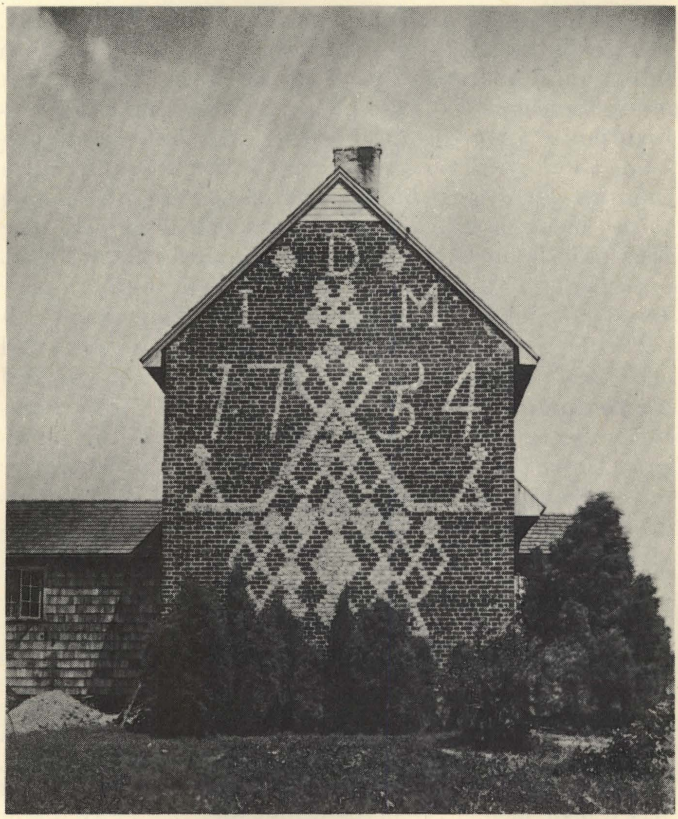
What design or beauty such buildings have will not as yet be a personal matter, however. Unself-consciousness is the most basic of all characteristics of folk architecture; and these buildings are typical. Built not so much functionally as adaptably, they do not represent conscious solutions to particular problems of light, air, or structure worked out by some deliberate process of calculation (as in modern architecture), but rather the embodiment of inherited generations of experience with and adjustment to local climate and materials, social customs, and community tastes. If their materials are expressed frankly, it is not from any conscious convictions about architectural honesty or the virtues of handicraft (folk builders never hesitate to cover handsome stone walls or fine brickwork with plaster or creosote if that will protect them from frost or decay, for example), but simply because, having only local materials to work with and neither much time nor many resources to spare, their builders must proceed to work in the simplest and most direct ways they can. Their knowledge of what materials can do is based, not on measured experiment or scientific theory, but on generations of practical trial-and-error experience; and this inevitably inhibits them from trying anything too new and daring, or indulging any personal whims of imagination. Whatever taste their work expresses will be not their own, but that of the community and national tradition in which they were trained.

In practice, national traditions are most often and most clearly recognizable as a consistent taste, in given regions, for one set of proportions in preference to another—as of height to width, roof to wall, solid to void, etc.; for certain kinds of materials handled in a certain way; for certain kinds of characteristic roof shapes, sizes and spacing of doors and windows; for certain details of plan and decoration more characteristic of one race, region, or culture than another. So here, for instance, while the smaller units of the Hancock house share characteristics

common to folk architecture everywhere, they can also—unlike the hut or cabin, which will look roughly the same no matter who built them or where—be recognized as typical of Southern rather than Northern colonial building; you can find the same general proportions of roof to wall, the same interior arrangements, the same combination of materials commonly in the early architecture of Maryland, Virginia, or Delaware, but rarely in, say, Connecticut, or the Hudson Valley, or Massachusetts.

As for the main Hancock House, its combination of characteristics is more distinctive still. It represents not merely a national tradition in general, but the expression of a particular region and culture. A narrow boxlike shape; a pent eave running across the house front with a little pediment in the middle; a cove cornice; a front door approached by a small flight of steps; a symmetrically fenestrated façade and a blank side wall—all these are characteristic features of a type of house introduced to the Delaware Valley by the builders of Philadelphia, who in turn took their inspiration from the house-type developed in London after the Great Fire of 1666. Collectively, the several units of the Hancock House reveal how completely the English-speaking settlement had overwhelmed early Swedish cultural patterns by the beginning of the eighteenth century—we recall how Peter Kalm, traveling in the 1740's through what was once New Sweden found Swedish still spoken only in a few isolated places. And in the main Hancock House, and the dozens like it all over this region, is evidenced how soon all southwestern New Jersey had become culturally dependent on the mushrooming metropolis-to-be across the river.

One of the most distinctive features of these "Philadelphia Colonial" houses of South Jersey is their patterned brickwork; it is a characteristic example of folk traditions and heritage. Far back into history a love of flat zig-zag patterns had been a characteristic of medieval folk taste; it is manifest in the rib-vaulting of medieval cathedrals, in the "diaper-patterned" backgrounds of il-



Joseph Sickler, in *The Old Houses of Salem County*, called this west wall of the Dickinson House near Alloway, "the most ornate glazed brickwork in all America." Certainly it is the most ornate wall in South Jersey, displaying almost the complete vocabulary of this art: date (1754), initials of the builders (John and Martha Dickinson, or Dickison), and a wealth of geometric designs, diamonds, zigzags, quasi-floral patterns. The present gabled roof of the Dickinson House dates from 1931; older photographs show that originally the roof was at least hipped, and may well have had a "Swedish" gambrel.

Courtesy of Historic Sites Commission

luminated manuscripts, in Tudor half-timber work, and the stonework of Anglo-Saxon monuments. Presumably, though by no means certainly, builders in the English folk tradition brought it to Philadelphia, but in that more sophisticated atmosphere it never flourished as luxuriantly as in the rural setting of Camden, Cumberland, Gloucester, and, above all, Burlington and Salem counties. Here local builders developed it into striking forms, many of which are still very well preserved. The Dickinson House a few miles east of Salem near Alloway, one of over a hundred known examples in southern New Jersey, including some thirty-five in Salem County, is particularly striking. Looking at it in 1964, in its isolated and rural setting, without scientific restoration, we feel the continuity of history and the quality of life two centuries ago to a degree rarely matched in American buildings. Here, too, we sense the curiously Baltic character of this South Jersey brickwork; is it possible that there is in it some trace of traditions from New Sweden surviving in the region? *

Central Jersey: Folk Traditions from Early New England

The first permanent settlements in East Jersey depended upon migration from Long Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire rather than, as in West Jersey, upon migrants from the British Isles. . . . Three parent grants—the Elizabethtown patent, the Monmouth patent, and the Newark patent—resulted by 1669 in the establishment of

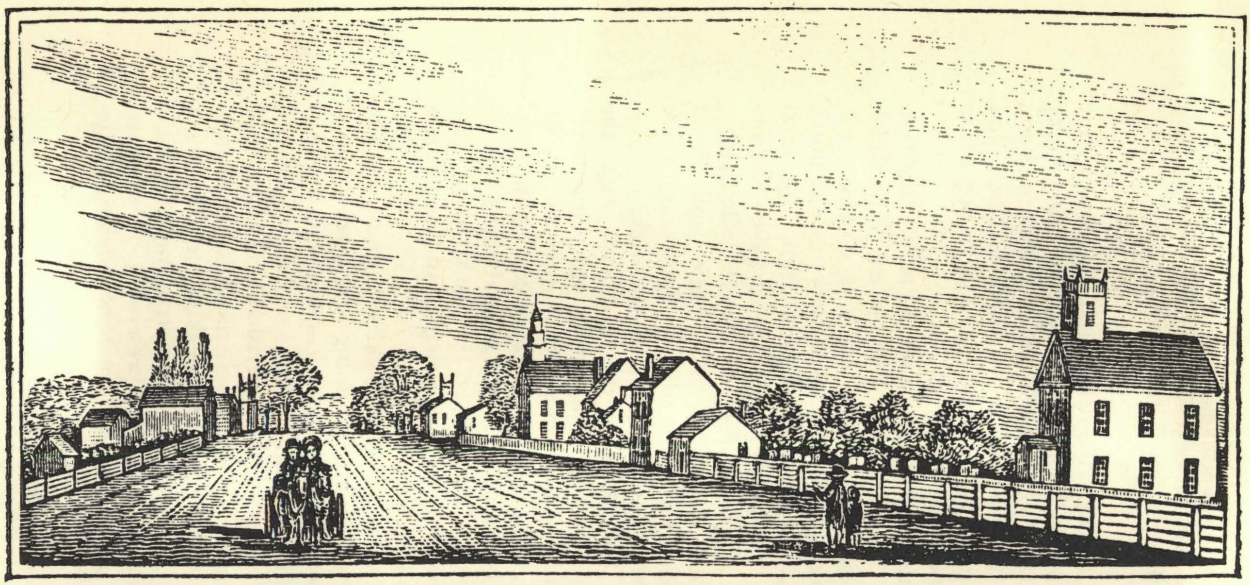
* Paul Love, in his admirable "Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey," (*Proceedings of The New Jersey Historical Society,* LXXIII, 3 (1955), pp. 182-208) notes in this connection that there is no evidence of brick building among the Swedes settled in New Jersey before 1675. However, it remains a tantalizing fact not only that there is a Baltic tradition of brickwork quite similar to the one in South Jersey, but also that if one superimposes a mapped pattern of the occurrence of patterned brick houses in South Jersey on a map of Swedish settlement there, they coincide remarkably.

the six towns of Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Middletown, Shrewsbury, and Newark. These settlements represent the farthest southern extension of the New England town system, for all were cast in the Puritan mould.

So J. E. Pomfret has described the establishment of New England traditions in New Jersey, in *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702.* And from their original bases in what became the counties of Monmouth, Essex, and Middlesex, groups of New Englanders began spreading sporadically all over the State.

These new settlers introduced a second major tradition of regional folk building into New Jersey. The Wick House near Morristown typifies most of its characteristic features. It was built, circa 1746, by settlers pushing north from Newark. Except for a stone foundation, the usual New England house was built entirely of wood—an oblong box of stout timbers over which were nailed either long wedge-shaped clapboards or shingles split from oak, pine, or cedar; commonly (though not always) there was a central chimney—made of stone, brick, or clay-smeared wattle, depending on the time and place; the roof shingled and, by the eighteenth century, relatively low-pitched. Windows and doors were inserted as convenience, rather than symmetry, dictated. Characteristically, too, the house consisted of several units put together, sometimes a "lean-to" at the back, which produced the distinctive "salt-box" shape, and sometimes parts strung along side-to-side.

Two hundred years ago you could still find plenty of examples of New England building scattered all over New Jersey; nowadays, only an occasional one survives in anything like its original condition. In the nature of things, wooden houses are more perishable than brick or stone. New England settlements were more dispersed than those of other groups, generally speaking, so that fewer people have been aware of the distinctive tradition their buildings embodied and alert to preserve it. In any case, the very success of so many of the New England settle-



By 1844, when this "View in Middletown" was published in the *Historical Collections of the States of New Jersey* by John Barber and Henry Howe, descendants of the New Englanders from Long Island who founded Middletown in 1667 had long been merged in the general mixed population already typical of central New Jersey: "The first building on the right . . . is the Academy; the second and third, the Baptist and Reformed Churches; the spire on the left is that of the Episcopal Church." But in the great width of the street, the importance of the Academy, and the Baptist Church—first in New Jersey—the flavor of New England culture still remains strong.

Wick House, Jockey Hollow Park, Morristown
Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

ments meant that, as they grew into thriving towns, their earliest architecture was soon torn down and built over. For all these reasons it is apparent that the present scarcity of architectural examples is no measure of the importance of New England traditions in the cultural patterns of New Jersey. Turn to descriptions and illustrations of Central New Jersey as it was a century and more ago, to old prints and literary records and gazeteers, and the effect is very different. There we can see street after street lined with characteristic New England frame and clapboard houses; and if only a few evidences of eighteenth-century New England town-plans centered on

a public "green" remain—Morristown is one—many towns preserve a vestige of it in their characteristically wide main streets (Newark is a conspicuous example). Features like these suggest how strong and vital the New England tradition really was, what a significant formative influence on New Jersey life it has been.

North Jersey: Folk Traditions from New Netherland

Much more famous, if perhaps of no more ultimate cultural importance than either the New England or South Jersey traditions of folk building, was the so-called Dutch colonial architecture characteristic of Passaic, Hudson, and Bergen counties, and sporadically found elsewhere (notably along the Delaware and Raritan Canal line of Dutch penetration into central New Jersey). The examples here are typical representatives. Actually, although such houses derive ultimately from the cultural patterns brought across the Hudson by descendants of the old New Netherland colony established in the 1620's, "Dutch" is something of a misnomer for them. For despite its name, New Netherland was never "Dutch" in the same sense and degree as Philadelphia and New England were English, or as New France was French. The Dutch West India Company throughout most of its tenure looked on its American holdings more as a commercial speculation than as a colonizing venture. Trade was what interested the governing classes of New Netherland; people they looked on as an incidental and even annoying necessity for securing maximum profits on their New World investment. They had to have people manning their colonies just as they needed men to man their armies; and they went about obtaining them in the same way. As European historians describe the Dutch armies as recruited from every Protestant country in Europe, so leaseholders in the patroonship of Rensselaerswick on the Hudson, for instance, included Norwegians, Danes, Ger-

mans, Scots, and Irish as well as Hollanders; as for the city of New Amsterdam, Governor Stuyvesant once declared that it was "peopled by the scrapings of nationalities." And this heterogeneity helps answer the otherwise mystifying question of the origin of the New Netherland house-types in New Jersey.

Whereas it is fairly easy to find prototypes in the Old World for most of the distinctive folk building traditions that appeared in the New, none, despite the most vigorous ransackings of northern Europe, has ever been found for precisely the kind of house that developed in rural New Netherland. Early Philadelphia houses have obvious precedents in Restoration London, and New England types in East Anglia; it is plain, too, that the distinctive stepped-gable brick houses which once lined the streets of Dutch New York and Albany reproduced those of the rich burghers of Amsterdam and Haarlem and Delft who first financed and governed the New Netherland settlement. But while all the characteristic details of the developed "Dutch Colonial" houses of New Jersey can be found one place or another in Europe, there is no real European counterpart to their distinctive combination of features: the long, low, stone or shingled walls, the roof (sometimes gambreled and sometimes straight) sweeping far out at the eaves to form a porch, the ground plan of three contiguous rooms. And that, given the heterogeneous nature of the rural population of New Netherland (by contrast to the city merchants) is precisely what we should expect. For as the "Dutch" population of Northern New Jersey was a composite product of many different peoples and cultures coalescing over several generations, so what we call "Dutch" houses were in fact products of a comparable evolutionary process, a composite of many different folk traditions from all over northern Europe. Evidence that this is so is suggested not only by the dating of "Dutch Colonial" houses as a group—the best and most developed examples usually later rather than earlier in the eighteenth century—but also by their individual histories; as the two examples

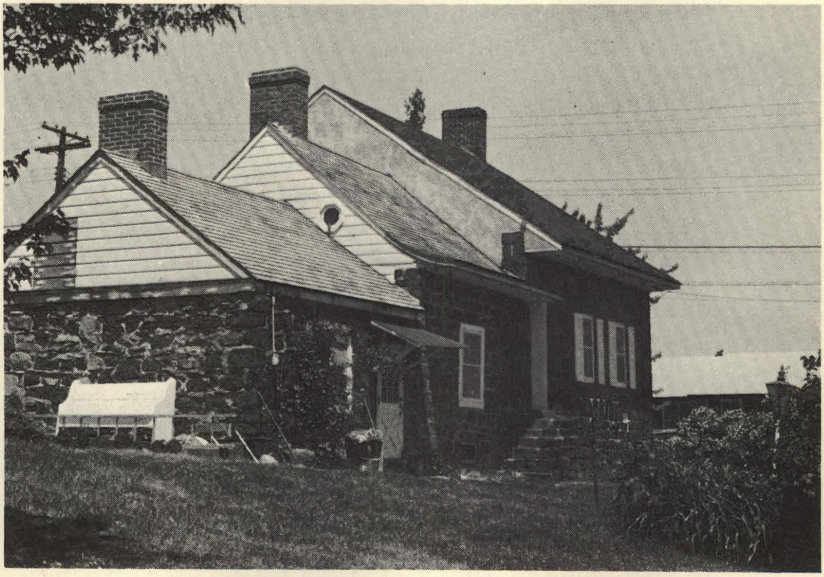
Zabriskie—von Steuben House, North Hackensack, begun 1737 by miller John Zabriskie, confiscated during the war, presented to Baron von Steuben after the Revolution, and bought back by the Zabriskie family in 1797, now is headquarters of the Bergen County Historical Society. In its present form, with three contiguous rooms, wide flaring eaves forming a porch, gambrel roof and long, low walls of purplish sandstone, it seems the very paradigm of the house-type developed in northern New Jersey by settlers from New Netherland pushing into this region after the English conquest of 1664; but appearances are deceptive. As first built by John Zabriskie, it consisted of a single-room stone house with a straight-gabled roof; in 1752 his sons John and Peter added a second room to the south, and another to the north thirty-odd years later, also increasing its depth to the rear. Only then were added the gambrel roof and flaring eaves that tie the whole into a single dwelling.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

here show, most of them attained their present form in a series of stages. What we have in the "Dutch Colonial" house-type, in short, is an early architectural expression of the "melting pot"—a composite creation of diverse races and traditions, reminiscent of all but distinctive of none alone; it is genuinely American, and peculiarly characteristic of New Jersey throughout the State's history.

At first sight, early New Jersey architecture would seem to be no more than an explicit demonstration of the old internal divisions that go back to the beginnings of the State's history, and still influence it somewhat today. Who could imagine buildings more different from the

In the Branford-Van Horne House at Wyckoff, a few miles east of Pompton, the successive stages of growth of a typical "Dutch Colonial" house are obvious: one section dates from 1747, another from 1760, a third from 1800, each distinguished by slight variations in proportion and roof treatment. Restored in 1957 and privately owned.



prim brick boxes of South Jersey than the low rambling stone farmhouses of the northern counties, or the stark New England houses of clapboard and shingle in between? Professor Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker in *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (1938) observed that if you draw a line from Princeton to Wilmington, Delaware, most of the older buildings north and west of it will be of stone; those south and east, of brick. The explanation is partly geological—a belt of some of the best kaolin-bearing clay in the United States runs through New Jersey on approximately this line. Partly, too, it has to do with traditions of folk building brought by early settlers—New Englanders from East Anglia having ancestral skills in carpentry, Quakers from London and English towns being used to building with brick, Scots and Quakers from rural areas having been accustomed to work in stone.

Certainly in form these buildings are entirely diverse. But a tradition in architecture is not alone a matter of form—of combinations of shapes and materials more characteristic of one culture than another; even more, it has to do with the spirit in which these forms are chosen and used—with the particular beliefs and attitudes toward life that motivate builders' preferences for certain shapes and materials over others, and certain distinctive ways of handling them, consistently over generations and centuries. And when we look at the early architecture of New Jersey from this point of view, we find, instead of diversity, a common spirit animating them all. In all these buildings, the same three basic principles are apparent.

In all of them we see, first, the same direct expression of materials. Stone, brick, wood—each looks like itself, and nothing else. Just as there is no attempt to paint wood or brick to make them look like stone, so stone and plaster appear in all their undisguised roughness. Whatever aesthetic effect these buildings possess grows out of the nature of the materials themselves—patterns created by alternating stretcher and glazed header bricks, for in-

stance; or by overlapping clapboards and shingles; by jointed stonework; or from the differing textures of baked clay, weathered wood and colorful sandstone.

In the same way, a direct expression of structure is common to them all. With interiors, it is manifest particularly in great exposed beams running across ceilings, in the exposed structure of fireplaces, and in the framing of doors and windows; outside, in the way doors are located and roofs pitched and windows spaced, not in accordance with any predetermined scheme of ratios worked out on paper, but simply by functional convenience. To be sure, south Jersey houses do have a certain formal symmetry, reflecting the influence of eighteenth-century classical tradition from cosmopolitan Philadelphia; but it is never very strong, and is constantly contradicted in details.

Then finally, all these buildings are composed on the same kind of additive principle. They are not "designed" according to any formal system, but simply "grow" by a process of assemblage: one room added to another, one unit to the next, as times and circumstance suggest. And to their growth there is no self-evident limit; theoretically, these rambling complexes could go on expanding indefinitely.

In each of these principles the key concept is "natural." These builders make no effort to impose any conspicuous or unnecessary order on their work; composition, materials, structure, all are determined by what seems the most natural thing to do. And in this we may recognize a characteristic attitude which goes far back into history—a heritage from the Middle Ages, brought to America by the country people and small artisans who made up the bulk of seventeenth-century settlement in every colony.

By the time America was settled, of course, what we think of as the most characteristic manifestations of the Middle Ages—the great cathedrals with rib-vaults and flying buttresses, the illuminated manuscripts, the esoteric treatises on divine geometry— had long been super-

Holcomb House, Lambertville. *Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development*

seded among the aristocracy and intellectual classes of Europe by newer and very different forms derived from the Renaissance of classical Antiquity. Only the simpler forms of medieval art had been perpetuated in the lower strata of society: casement windows with diamond panes, overhangs, flat linear patterns, and the like. But—of far greater significance—the fundamental attitudes to life and work which had inspired cathedrals and casements, patterned brickwork and rib-tracery alike, were still very much alive.

In general terms, the medieval attitude toward Nature was based on an assumption that all things work naturally together for good to them that love God; hence that men should beware of taking destiny into their own hands, of deliberately pitting themselves against any self-evident, natural order of things. Nature existed for man's use rather than for his enjoyment. It followed that, though for practical purposes medieval man had mastered his environment, he allowed himself no conscious satisfaction in his powers. For him there was none of that reveling in man's control over Nature which characterized the Renaissance; Nature, he felt, should be interfered with no more than necessary. Vestiges of this attitude survived even into the twentieth century, in, for example, religious opposition to birth control. In the Middle Ages it went much further; then there was (logically enough, perhaps) some diffidence about death control as well, a certain reluctance to dabble much in medicine beyond making sufferers comfortable, a feeling that Nature ought to be allowed to take its course. You prayed that its course might be towards recovery; if it were not, then you cooperated with the inevitable. And architecture in the medieval tradition expressed the same attitude. You ought not to force materials to behave unnaturally; you should work in the nature of the material. From this premise the principles of direct expression of materials, direct expression of structure, and additive or "organic" composition proceeded naturally, without conscious formulation. It followed, too,

(*Facing Page*) Arney's Mount Friends' Meeting House, Bordentown, Old Tennent Church, Freehold.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

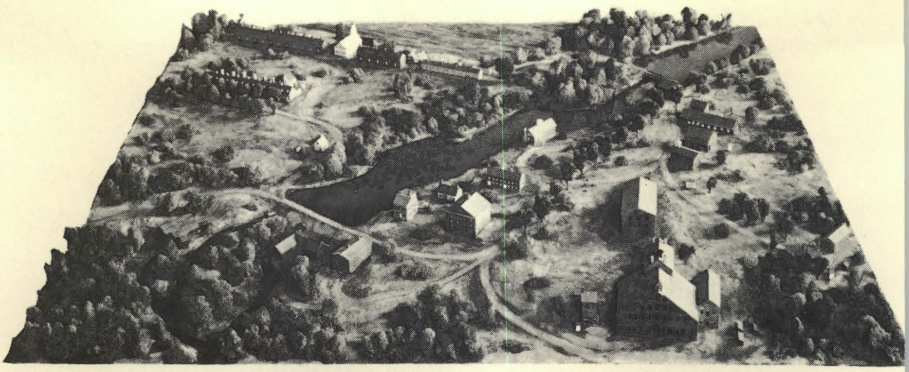
that buildings which observed these principles were "good" buildings, and that builders (or anyone else) who refrained from taking destiny into their own hands and let Nature take a normal course were good men.

Wherever its basic assumptions were taken for granted, there the fundamental principles and spirit of medieval architecture were manifest. So it is that although neat examples of the three major national folk buildings traditions descending from the Middle Ages are comparatively rare, New Jersey still preserves plenty of buildings embodying a basically medieval heritage.

Typical of that building tradition in its contiguous plan, frankly exposed materials, and haphazard fenestration expressing the absence of systematic interior plan, is the Holcomb House in Lambertville. Since Washington is reputed to have slept here (as in so many other places in New Jersey) the stone portion at least must date back into the eighteenth century; but like folk architecture everywhere, such a house is essentially timeless.

Two examples of medieval traditions in religious building are Arney's Mount Friends' Meeting House near Bordentown, which was built in 1775 by descendants of the Meeting founded by early settler John Arney in 1705; and the much more famous Old Tennent Church near Freehold, built in 1751 by a congregation of Scottish Presbyterians chartered by George II in 1749, and used as a field hospital during the Battle of Monmouth. Though quite different in location, materials, and outward forms, the same attitude to building is evident in both. Whatever aesthetic appeal they have grows naturally out of a frank expression of local materials, rough fieldstone and cedar shingles, and the unself-conscious directness of structure and plan.

The medieval spirit penetrated even industrial build-



Model of the Village of Allaire, South of Tinton, c. 1835.
Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Grist mill, Batsto.
Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

ing. Look, for example, at the model of the Village of Allaire as it was *circa* 1835, or the grist mill from Batsto, site of the Batsto Iron Works established in 1765. It was in barns and similar unpretentious buildings and in early industrial architecture that the medieval approach to building survived longest in America—well into the nineteenth century. Not being considered "architecture," but simply "buildings," they were put up in the simplest and most direct way possible—just as settlers had built in the seventeenth century, and as peasants and artisans had built centuries before that. Though maintained as an early "company town" by iron manufacturer James Allaire of New York City, the location of streets and houses in Allaire Village was determined by topography and use rather than any formal plan, just as they had been in medieval towns.

II

MODULED MANSIONS: CLASSICAL NEW JERSEY

IT TAKES HARDLY MORE than a glance to see that such typical eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Jersey buildings as "Morven," the Ford Mansion, or "Old Queens" at Rutgers are quite outside the medieval tradition. The principles that inform them are fundamentally different—indeed, opposite. So far from being openly expressed, the natural patterns and textures of their materials is concealed—the brick walls of "Morven" painted (white or, as now, yellow); the boarding of the Ford Mansion laid evenly, painted and scored to look like fine masonry, with quoins at the corners; the stonework of "Old Queens" possibly stuccoed or otherwise smoothed down, certainly less variegated than weathering has left it now. So far from having doorways and windows and dormers inserted wherever internal arrangements suggest, internal arrangements and the spacing of doors and windows and dormers are all dictated by an abstract scheme of formal balance, in which each element has its predetermined place, fixed by geometric ratio in relationship to every other element and to the whole. And in place of rambling, spontaneously additive composition, there is an insistence on self-containment, on precise definition of outline, on self-evident boundaries. Casual additions of ells, of another story, or extra wings would be worse than superfluous; they would destroy carefully

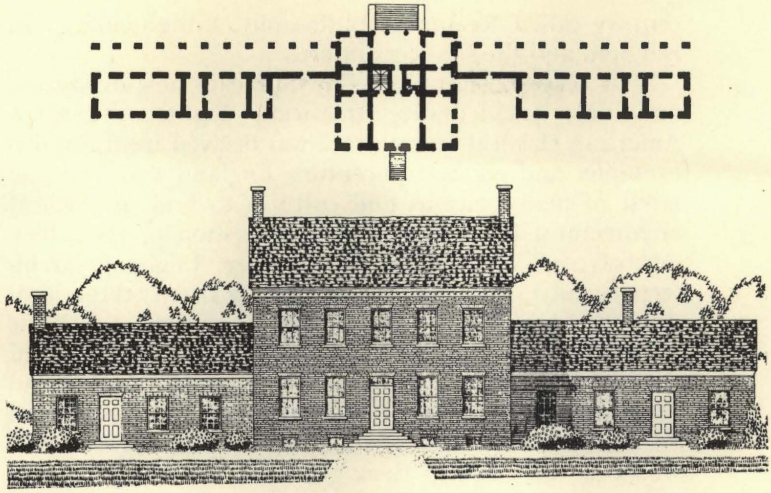
calculated effects of overall symmetry and balance. Even when necessity forces additions or changes, basic units are kept cleanly and precisely self-contained by framings with quoins or cornices or comparable devices, and the additions are made with a definite relationship to other parts, and to the whole, in mind.

Phases of the Classical Period

Regularity, symmetry, order—these are the distinguishing characteristics of the classical period. A new sense of discipline ends the old haphazard irregularity of miscellaneously massed gables, lean-tos, overhangs, and pent eaves, crisply defines and precisely coordinates all details in the total design. A new sense of proportion finds windows and doors stuck in here, there, and everywhere intolerable; it demands that they be spaced and arranged in accordance with a predetermined and self-evident system which, if need be, will take precedence over structural considerations to the extent of having surfaces artificially veneered with paneling or brick facing or stonework in order to simulate schemes of coordinated elements where none in fact exists. Design becomes increasingly self-conscious, so that as the eighteenth century progresses, motifs drawn from Greco-Roman or Renaissance building are more and more commonly applied: pediments, porticoes, pilasters, cornices, entablatures. The net result is that these buildings are intelligible, as medieval structures never were. Their basic plans, the organization of their elements, is immediately comprehensible to the mind, because they embody the same kind of inherent logic that you find in, say, a sonata by Mozart or a paragraph by Samuel Johnson.

More than a change of "style" or detail is involved here; this is the result of a basically new and different concept of the relationship between man and Nature. Gone is the medieval "acceptance" of Nature's taking its course, along with the unworked materials, exposed con-

struction, and additive composition that expressed it. These buildings are informed by very different convictions—that the world has a basic immutable order, not subject to capricious supernatural interventions; that men by powers of reason can discover what that order is; and that, discovering it, they can control their environment to a degree unsuspected before. This is architecture embodying Aristotle's classic principle that good works of art should have a beginning, a middle, and an end—should be composed, that is to say, so as to be immediately comprehensible to the individual human mind, understandable in terms of personal experience. This is the creation of men delighting in their power to scale and coordinate the world to their own measure, and who, in consequence, see nothing but barbarism in endless trailings off of additions in all directions, or accidental effects of weathering, or independent flat patterns in half-timber or brick. This is an expression of what the eighteenth



Conjectural restoration of "Morven" as it may have appeared in the early eighteenth century. The main block was built c. 1701-1709 by Richard Stockton; the house was refurbished c. 1780-1790, and the verandah added early in the nineteenth century. When the wings were added—or, indeed, whether one of them at least was not built before the main block—remains undetermined; certainly they were there before 1750. Certain it is, too, that as originally built "Morven" was a "Plantation House"—consciously conceived as an architectural monument, one of the first appearances of the new principles of classical architecture in the State, and among the earliest in the nation.

Courtesy of Princeton University Press

(Facing Page)
"Morven," since 1951 official residence of governors of New Jersey, at Princeton.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

century called Reason in philosophy, Enlightenment in religion, and the Classical in art.

This "classical mind" was by no means new in history, and only incidentally American. Eighteenth-century American classical architecture was derived from English example; and eighteenth-century England was only the latest of many nations and cultures to find in classical architectural forms the perfect expression of their feelings of confident control over Nature. England's architects began to build in classical forms twenty-three hundred years after the Greeks had perfected the basic orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, as an expression of their ideal of a world governed by reasoned thought and argument; two millennia after the Romans had spread their amplified version of them all over the then-civilized world as the mark of their genius for organization and rule; and more than three centuries after the so-called "rebirth" or "Renaissance" of Greek and Roman architecture in Italy—the period when the term "classical" came into general use. "Classical" in theory meant art that was "classic" or "standard," in contrast to the "barbarian" or "Gothic" art of the Middle Ages. In practice, "classical" meant art with some basic relationship to Greece and Rome—sometimes directly reproducing Greco-Roman forms, sometimes only applying what were considered the Greco-Roman principles of proportioning buildings to human scale, designing with clear rational organization of elements, and so forth; or any combination of these characteristics. What appeared in eighteenth-century England and America was a third recurrence of the classical mind—differing in circumstantial detail, but the same in spirit and basic forms.

As in Greece of the fifth-century before Christ or fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy, there was nothing contrived about the use of classical forms in eighteenth-century England and America. Anglo-American builders drew on earlier sources, to be sure—a little from surviving Greek buildings which were just becoming known, a good deal more from Roman ones, most of all

from Italian Renaissance sources like the *Four Books on Architecture* of Andrea Palladio. But this was no affected taste, nothing artificially contrived from books or dependent on romantic associations; it grew out of the lives of the people.

In England, the self-sufficient and imperious spirit of classical art corresponded perfectly to a national mood of confident security engendered by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the string of successes which in the course of the following seventy-five years turned an insignificant island into the center of an Empire greater than Imperial Rome's. And in America, this was the age when 13 small and disparate provinces grew into a united and self-sufficient nation. Classical art in America is the monument to a great mood in American history—to the self-confidence and elation of that century when, though Indians and Frenchmen and hard frontiers might still threaten, the ultimate success of English America was sure; when, in the widening space between shore and wilderness, wealth and leisure were accumulating so that more and more men had time to stop doing and start thinking, writing, and creating in spiritual and artistic and political realms; when two or three generations had the unique privilege of seeing a new civilization take shape largely as they chose. In such a mood, the medieval attitude toward Nature, the sense of man's being controlled by some irresistible destiny higher than himself, faded into unreality. The fact was, or so it seemed to many, that man was quite capable of looking after his own destiny. He need not "cooperate with the inevitable" in the medieval sense; to men who could deduce the principles of Nature, nothing was inevitable, anything could be ordered to their will. All at once medieval forms and traditions in architecture seemed crude and pointless. All at once, the controlled forms of classical art, the principles of organizing and arranging environments in relation to themselves seemed so self-evidently right that Englishmen and Americans—at least those benefitting most from the new national power and prosperity—could

hardly endure any others. Another of those brief peaks rising out of the long level plains of history was at hand, when men were encouraged to try and build a world to their own specifications, put experience in perspective to themselves. As in Greece of the fifth century B. C., as in Renaissance Italy, so now in the Anglo-American world of the eighteenth century there was established and came to dominance that attitude of mind called long ago the "classical" spirit and view of life.

The people who held that view and built in the classical spirit had often enough only the dimmest notions of life in the city-states of Greece and knew the independent, self-governing communities of Renaissance Italy as no more than names. But they had an instinctive understanding of the kind of architecture created there, because they lived in the same kind of intellectual climate. The forms of classical architecture presuppose a world molded and controlled by the human mind, a world whose proportions are determined by human standards, a world that excludes everything suggestive of infinity, the impermanence of life, or human limitations. Only when a man feels fully in command of his environment can the classical spirit truly flourish; and he can really feel this way only in a small and substantially independent community. Nowadays, a man may have some hope of keeping his personal affairs in reasonable order, and perhaps exert some influence on local conditions; but in larger national or international affairs he is practically helpless. Great events like wars or depressions, which can change or ruin his life, simply happen to him. They result from decisions taken at levels where he has at most one voice among millions; all he can do is accept them. But in the small, self-contained communities of eighteenth-century America things were very different. There a man could really feel he knew what was going on, and could do something about it. He lived off his own land—or at least felt he could if he had to; he made his own decisions about joining the militia or educating his children. And because he had this feeling of

confident control over life, there was nothing forced about his appreciation of the measured, ordered, controlled forms of classical architecture. To him it seemed as natural for life to be governed by formal rules as it perhaps seems abnormal to us. Unlike the twentieth, the eighteenth century agreed with Hobbes that the "natural" state of man was nasty, brutish, and short, and took it for granted that the "natural" man was avaricious for power in politics, self-centered and sensual and crude in society, with no "natural" sense of fitness or beauty in art. It followed that a "good" government was one that put abundant checks on all its officials—as the United States Constitution did, for instance; that a "good" society was one where common standards of moral behavior were supported by an established religion and "civil intercourse" defined by rigorous codes of manners; that "good art"—whether painting or prose or architecture—depended on fixed and intelligible rules being accepted as binding on patrons and artisans alike.

Of course, classical art was not perfected all at once. It took several generations for men to find the forms and formulate the principles that would satisfactorily express the new confident command over Nature they felt. In *Images of American Living,* I have described at length how the classical mind in eighteenth-century America developed in four definable phases roughly comparable to those recognizable in the evolution of classical art in Antiquity and the Renaissance. This development is not as systematically illustrated in New Jersey as in culturally more seminal regions of the country; New Jersey has nothing comparable to the sequence of great houses in Virginia, say, from the Governors' Palace at Williamsburg through Westover to Gunston Hall, Mount Airy, Mount Vernon, Brandon, Monticello, and Bremo. But buildings like those illustrated here show the general trend well enough, particularly in the contrast of early classicism at "Morven" in its original form with the maturer design of the Ford Mansion; "Old Queen's" belongs chiefly to the last, Adamesque-Federal eighteenth-

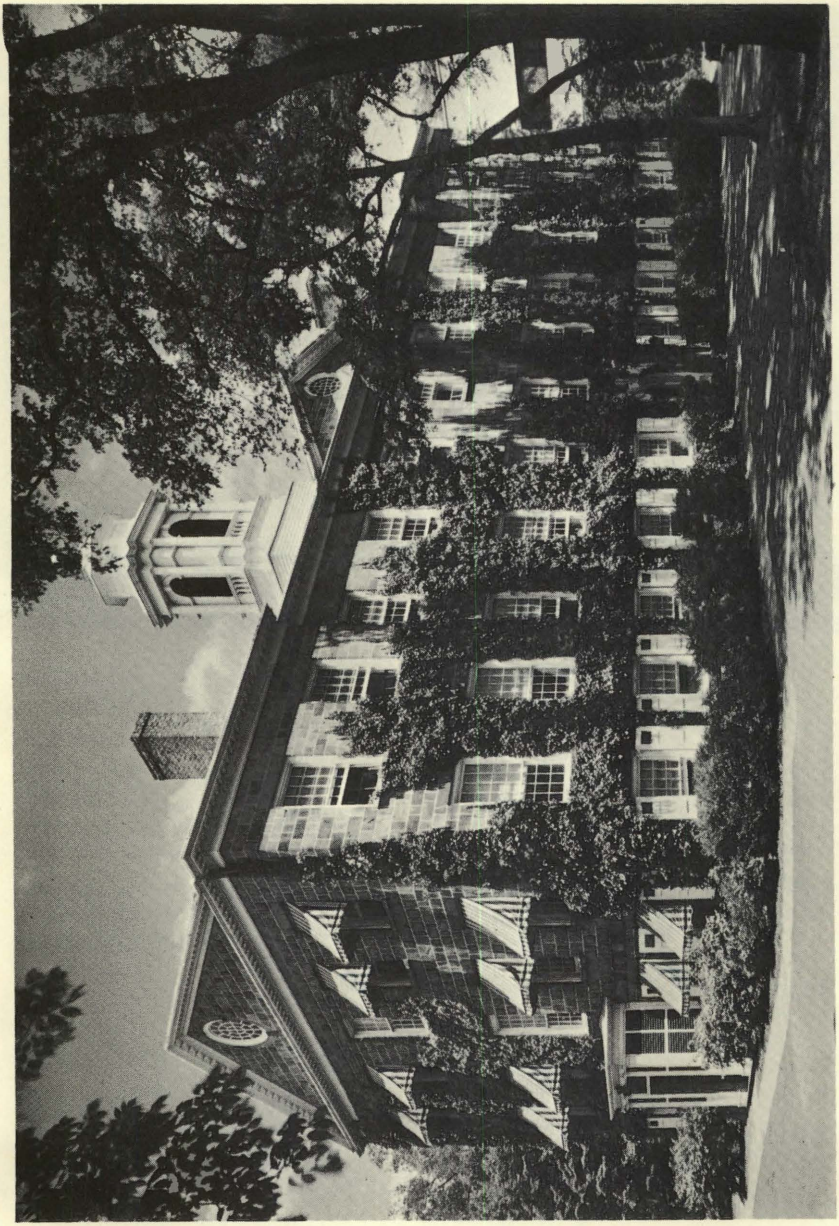
century phase, though in some details it is already affected by the newer and different principles of the nineteenth-century Greek and Roman "Revivals.'

In the course of the century, proportions tend to become more and more predominantly horizontal, satisfying the love of stability characteristic of the classical mind: roofs pitched lower, façades longer and wider, ground plans squarer, doors and windows consistently more horizontal in whole and in detail—see how at "Old Queen's" the first-story windows are almost square, for instance, visually emphazing the horizontal rather than the vertical effect of this large building. Greater command over materials is expressed by an increasing lightness of decorative and structural forms. More and more self-conscious awareness of the classical tradition is seen in an increasingly direct borrowing from Greco-Roman and Renaissance sources—originally, "Morven" had only a few classical dentils; the Ford Mansion has a Palladian window and door in addition to its cornice, but the classical forms are interpreted freely; "Old Queen's" has correctly-scaled classical pediments at both ends, and pilasters creating the illusion of a temple-front marking its main entrance.

Even more striking is the increasing tactile sense, manifest in three-dimensional design. To "comprehend" means, literally, to "grasp" or "take hold of," and the stages by which the classical mind progressively expressed its tangible hold on experience may be seen by comparing the original flat two-dimensional façade of "Morven" with the effects of low-relief sculpture achieved by the doorway of the Ford Mansion, and, finally, the subtle in-and-out movement of spatial planes evident in the cupola and façade of "Old Queen's." Most impressive of all, perhaps, is the achievement of increasingly complex balance and unity in design. Balance is perhaps the keynote of the classical mind—balance of structure and ornament, of solids and voids, of vertical and horizontal, of one element with another, comparable to the balance of imagination and reason in classical eighteenth-century

Ford Mansion, Morristown. Built by Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., in 1774, it was a provincial but still very impressive witness to the mid-eighteenth century maturity of classical American architecture. Acquired in 1873 by the Washington Association of New Jersey, it was made a Revolutionary Museum in honor of Washington's stay from December, 1779, to June, 1780, and all its "quaint apartments," as W. Jay Mills described them in *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, "filled with the *lares et penates* of many long-dead Jerseyites."

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development



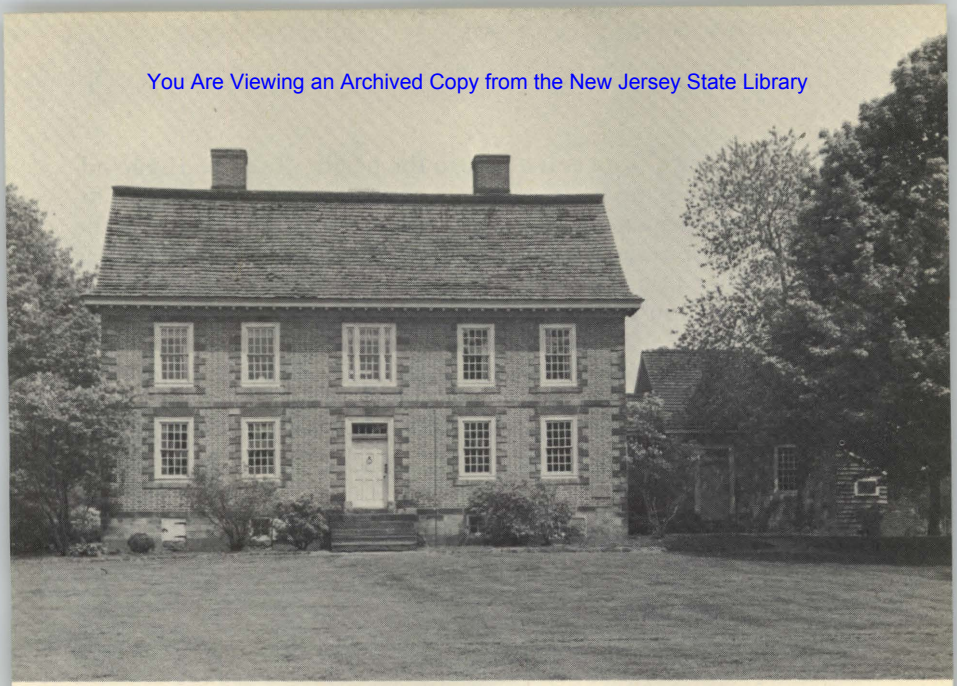
thought, of florid imagery with rigid syntax in classical eighteenth-century writing. At "Morven," balance is a simple affair of symmetry. In the Ford Mansion, it is more complex, with a central axis established by the elaborate doorway and second-floor window set off against starkly simple chimney masses. In "Old Queen's" it is more complex still, involving all sorts of subtle repetitions of motifs and spatial effects.

In this natural and spontaneous development, we see the reflection of a society growing steadily in mature self-sufficiency, a society whose outlook on the world sprang from the same disciplined self-confidence and assurance in absolute rules of life and art that motivated the great classical eras of the past. In retrospect, it is obvious that men who expressed themselves in art forms like these could not long be content to have their ultimate affairs dictated by others; to this extent, eighteenth-century classical architecture is a great tangible commentary on the truth of John Adams' famous claim that "the American Revolution began in the hearts and minds of the people."

(Facing page) Queen's Building, Rutgers University, New Brunswick. Though chartered in 1766 as Queen's College, uninterrupted instruction at what was to become Rutgers did not begin until 1807; "Old Queen's"—intended to house all students and faculty, classrooms, chapel, and library—was begun 1809 and occupied 1811. Its central section and cupola were not completed until 1825, however. The architect, John McComb of New York City, was an old-fashioned contractor-builder (the stylistically much more sophisticated New York City Hall, for which McComb is chiefly remembered, was largely designed by French-trained Joseph Mangin, his collaborator); "Old Queen's," in consequence, represents later eighteenth-century classicism rather than the newer classical-revival concepts of architecture current when it was erected.
Photograph by F. J. Higgins, Rutgers News Service

At the same time it is obvious, too, that to the eighteenth-century classical mind "absolute" rules and disciplined order did not mean the kind of rigid dependence on fixed forms and prototypes that, as we shall see, characterized the later "revivals" and culminated, at the end of the nineteenth century, in deliberate scale-models of earlier buildings, slavishly copied. Within its broad controlling framework of accepted proportions and principles of design, eighteenth-century classical architecture was infinitely flexible, capable of constant growth, change, and adaptation to particular needs and circumstances. And nowhere can we see this quality better than in New Jersey. The same provinciality which makes New Jersey buildings on the whole less systematic illustrations of the phases of classical evolution than others elsewhere, makes them admirable examples of the flexibility of eighteenth-century classicism, perfect demonstrations of the way its principles could be ingeniously and effectively adapted by local builders to regional folk traditions and diverse uses. Something of the infinite variety possible under these set conditions is suggested in such examples as the Dey Mansion, near Totowa, Passaic County, "Boxwood Hall" in Elizabeth, and New Johnson Hall in Salem.

The Dey Mansion retains many features of the New Netherland house-type of North Jersey—side and rear walls of rough sandstone, gambrel roof, flaring eave. But Colonel Theunis Dey, who inherited a six-hundred-acre estate and the house begun by his father Dirck, circa 1740, was no ordinary farmer, and he completed the house circa 1750 in the spirit and on the principles of classical architecture as understood and accepted among upper-class colonials everywhere. Balance, precision, formal order, and self-containment govern the total design. Within this framework, however, materials are frankly exposed and contrasted in the medieval spirit—on the front façade openings are framed by smooth sandstone



The Dey Mansion, Lower Preakness, Passaic County, a classical expression of New Netherland traditions.
Courtesy of Raymond F. Dey

quoins set in a brick wall; on the rear, brick frames the openings, while the walls are of rough sandstone blocks; the side walls provide a similar contrast between the patterned brick of the attic-story and the lower stories of rough stone. To modern eyes, the result is a uniquely attractive regional variant of the classical tradition. Restored in 1933, the Dey Mansion is remarkable for its interior furnishings, paneling, and an enclosed stairway (the latter a characteristic of eighteenth-century New Jersey houses generally—the Ford Mansion provides another example). Noteworthy also is the detached kitchen in the style of the main house, with a clapboard lean-to woodshed.

"Boxwood Hall" is the center section of a house built circa 1755 by Samuel Woodruff. Originally, it had two wings (rather like "Morven"); they were demolished in the course of extensive remodeling, 1868-1870, which

added a story and a half to the height of the Hall, including a mansard roof, brackets, and other Victorian additive ornament. These Victoriana were removed, and the house returned to its original condition, by the Historic Sites Commission in 1942-1943. Here the classical spirit, manifest in formal symmetry and balance of elements as well as simplified classical forms in the Palladian window and doorway, dominates such strong reminiscences of the New England tradition of folk building as stark shingled walls and a central window whose location far up under the eaves seems determined as much by interior exigen-

"Boxwood Hall," Elizabeth. [Boudinot House]. A classical expression of the New England tradition.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

cies, as by any formal scheme. Like many New England houses, too, it had surprisingly rich interior decor, of which the fireplace, elaborately framed with pilasters and an entablature in bold relief, is an impressive survivor; New England interiors very often were much more up-to-date in terms of classical evolution than their exteriors would lead one to expect. Central New Jersey has many houses of this same general character—structures of traditional New England clapboard and frame disciplined with classical symmetry. "Rockingham," the Berrien House, Washington's sometime headquarters at Rocky Hill, is one example; the Wallace House at Somerville, another.

New Johnson Hall, Salem, was built in 1806-1807 as the town house of Colonel Robert Gibbons Johnson, historian and wealthy landowner who introduced tomatoes to New Jersey in 1820. The porch is a later addition. Partly because of an inherent symmetry in the late seventeenth-century Philadelphia house-type established in South Jersey, partly because of an inherent conservatism in its Quaker population, partly because of the region's isolation from main lines of trade and communication, the classical spirit was manifested there not by any new or markedly altered house-type, but by slow and subtle refinements of the existing one. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, New Johnson Hall was still basically a simple brick box, like the Hancock House of sixty years before; and even something of the medieval tradition survives in the pattern of its unpainted brickwork, in the irregular disposition of windows in its side walls, and in the contiguous addition of a kitchen wing at the back. But now its details inside and out are consciously classical—the fine Adamesque mantelpieces are especially noteworthy—while such obvious evidences of medieval tradition as pent eaves and red-and-blue checkerboard brickwork have disappeared; the façade is composed with a conscious sense for formal balance; classical principles and proportions pervade the whole and details alike.

New Johnson Hall, Salem. A classical expression of the traditional Philadelphia house-type.
Courtesy of Historic Sites Commission

Classical Architectural Expressions of Education, Religion, Law

Classical principles as conceived in the eighteenth century were absolute and universal—applicable at all times and places, to all situations. Nassau Hall, Princeton University, is a good example. When after its first ten peripatetic years, the College of New Jersey was finally settled at Princeton in 1756, its curriculum consisted largely of Greek and Latin classics—studies calculated to accustom young minds to grave and logical habits of thought, lucid and balanced modes of expression; and the same principles were embodied in the balanced symmetrical plan of its first and, for long, only academic building,

Nassau Hall, Princeton University. Restorations following military occupation during the Revolution and fires in 1802 and 1855 have left little of the original 1754-1756 interior intact; on the outside, a restoration by John Notman (1810-1865) of Philadelphia, in 1855, replaced the original low cupola, designed by Robert Smith, with the present higher one, added end stairway turrets, and eliminated the balancing doors in the wings which originally flanked the central section.

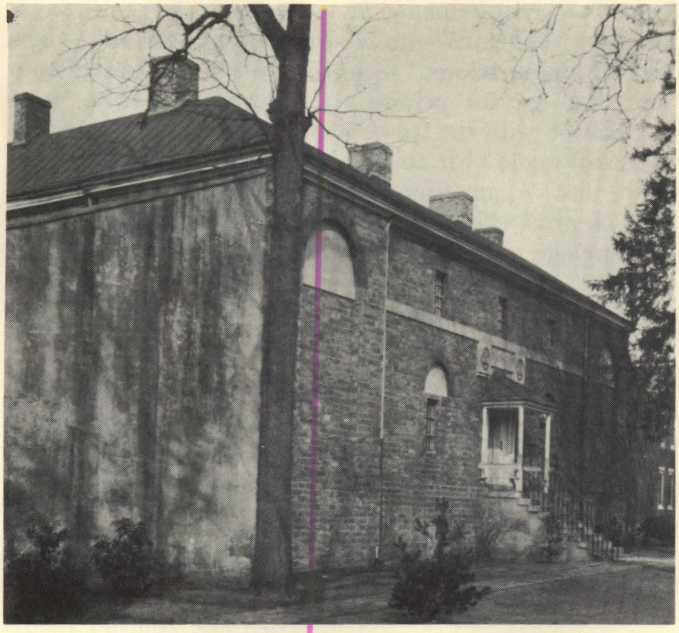
Courtesy Princeton University Department of Public Information

erected during the years 1754-1756. It was designed by two men in collaboration—a typical eighteenth-century arrangement: trustee Dr. William Shippen, and master-builder Robert Smith of Philadelphia, later famous as the builder of Carpenters' Hall.

Classical expression was also found in church architecture and is well represented by the Presbyterian Church in Bridgeton. At first sight, a classical church might seem something of a contradiction in terms—how

can the classical view of life, based on the concept of man's controlling his own destiny and moulding environments at will, be reconciled with the Christian concept of man as the creature of Providence, for whom this world is a vale of tears, trials, and preparation for another and better one? The classical mind thought in different terms, however: God is glorified not by exhibitions of man's passive dependence and acceptance of things as they are, but in manifestations of the powers of reason and order with which He has endowed man, His supreme creation. And where should those powers be better proclaimed than in churches whose design shows forth how

Presbyterian Church, Bridgeton. Originally projected in 1774—and possibly also designed at this time, since its features are characteristic of the third quarter of the eighteenth century—the building was not undertaken until 1792 because of the war and subsequent financial difficulties; it was completed in 1795, probably by local artisans using published architectural guidebooks.



Burlington County Jail, Mount Holly. Subtle play of spatial planes in the handling of blank niches and windows, of horizontal against vertical lines, of projecting end wings against receding main block, makes even a jail a sensitive work of art.

Courtesy Library of Congress
Historic American Buildings Survey

far men can comprehend and share in the grand principles of regularity, order, and balance on which the universe itself is built?

For a radically different purpose, Robert Mills, later to become famous as the designer of Washington monuments in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., sent plans and elevation from Philadelphia to the Burlington County Commissioners in May, 1808. The result can be seen today in the Burlington County Jail at Mount Holly. Though in a covering letter Mills emphasized the

pendence had stimulated new habits of thought. Aware of themselves as a new kind of nation, Americans began to think and talk as never before of an architecture, art, or literature that might be deliberately American, distinct from English or any other Old World culture. At the same time, the old classical concept of absolute rules was shaken by new discoveries and expanding horizons of experience. Considerations like these soon generated a new attitude toward architecture. No longer simply the "art of building well" in terms of "commodity, firmness, and delight," as older theoreticians had been content to define it, architecture increasingly came to be thought of as a kind of symbolic language, a vehicle for communicating ideas. Architectural forms came to be valued more and more for what they might say, less and less for themselves alone. Where once a building might be admired simply because it embodied general classical principles of proportion, unity of design, or balanced rhythms, now it had to be a specific, identifiable variety of classical architecture—Greek or Roman, Doric or Ionic. Soon particular monuments were being ostentatiously copied, in part if not yet completely—the Pantheon in Rome, the Theseum in Athens, the Maison Carrée in Nîmes. And specific meanings were attached to them; one might choose Doric, say, for a bank because of its "strongly marked stability in harmony with the character of the institution," for a church because it will "better suit the simplicity of the Unitarian faith," or for a prison because "the effect it produces on the imagination of every passing spectator is peculiarly impressive, solemn, and instructive." And now too, other styles are discovered and "revived" for symbolic purposes—Gothic pointed arches for their association with medieval churches and thence Christian virtue generally; Egyptian pylons for permanence, strength, eternity; Moorish minarets for exotic opulence. In short, the whole framework of aesthetic reference and architectural standards is altered.

Generally speaking, this new attitude or approach to architecture informs, to a greater or lesser degree, prac-

tically all building of any pretensions from the 1820's to World War I. It marks what, for want of a more "American" title, we call the Victorian age and tradition in architecture.

Within the span of Victorian architecture, three fairly distinct phases may be recognized: Early, High, and Late. Early Victorian lasted roughly from the 1820's into the 1850's. Its chief characteristic is eclecticism of taste—that is, the "best" styles from the past were freely imitated for symbolic purposes but generally one at a time. The same architect may design a given Early Victorian building in Gothic, and Greek, or Baroque forms, say, but rarely a mixture. Mixing historical styles indiscriminately is what characterizes the next, or High Victorian phase; it produced an eclectic style which, depending on no one historical era in particular, had a rather distinctive character of its own. In High Victorian architecture (roughly, from the 1850's into the 1880's) there is, in fact, consistent taste enough for certain general principles of design—especially a "picturesqueness" of outline, massing, and texture—and an effective enough expression of the age's ideals and way of life, to justify seeing it in some degree as a true historical style. But that, in turn, gives way to the Late Victorian attitude, which lasted from the late 1880's far into the twentieth century (there were many places where it was by no means extinct in 1964). This is the architecture which is primarily responsible for the bad name of Victorian architecture in general. For in its time a host of new materials and new techniques of construction had been developed and were demanding expression; but the old borrowed forms hung on—used now without conviction, surviving only through the inertia of convention. To judge all Victorian architecture by the moribund standards of this last phase would be unfair for, considered on its own terms Victorian architecture in general, as we see it in New Jersey, has many merits.

The "Battle of the Styles": Early Victorian "Revivals," 1820-1860

The change from classical to Victorian traditions in American architecture is manifested first in a subtle change within the classical tradition. Already in its last, Adamesque-Federal phase, archaeological correctness and literary associations take on an ever-increasing importance; by the early decades of the nineteenth century these qualities are coming to seem all-important, the key to "good" design. Very suddenly, it seems, fragile forms and exquisitely refined proportions are superseded by heavy sculptural reproductions of Greek and Roman art. The change is dramatically evident in furniture, where the later work of cabinetmakers like Duncan Phyfe of New York or the circle around Samuel McIntire of Salem, in Massachusetts, is so entirely different from their earlier productions that it might have been done by quite different people. In architecture the change is less startling, because more and more correct classical forms had been creeping in other several decades, but it is nonetheless real. The same Robert Mills who built the Burlington County jail in such delicate Adamesque-Federal forms in the first decade of the nineteenth century, by the second is designing the Washington Monument in Baltimore as a near-replica of Imperial Roman art. Everywhere—in houses, public buildings, churches—builders are motivated less and less by general principles of nice proportion and unifying balance, more and more by attempts to "revive" Greek and Roman architecture wholesale, for symbolic purposes.

It was Thomas Jefferson more than anyone else, perhaps, who promoted the Classical Revivals in the United States. Like most eighteenth-century Virginia gentlemen, he always had a lively interest in architectural matters; unlike most, he pursued it to the point of becoming almost professional. In the many houses he designed for his friends, from the 1760's practically to the end of his life, he worked within the eighteenth-century classical

tradition in which he had been raised; but in what he considered public buildings—the State Capitol of Virginia, the remodeling of his "Monticello" (after it had become in a sense the symbol of his public life), the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville—Jefferson consistently sacrificed both functional convenience and his own personal preference to incorporate forms deliberately evoking associations with the Roman Republic. The reason was obvious. In Jefferson's mind, public buildings in the new United States should be more than things of beauty or convenience; above all, they should state a creed. They should declare to the world the full meaning of American Independence—that what was created in 1776 was not just another political entity, but a basically new way of life. With this nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to an equality the Old World never knew, a new era in world history had begun. Its mission and destiny were plain—to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, the inspiration and model by which all peoples might come to freedom. But first that ideal must be realized and perfected at home. All the old pernicious habits of European thought must be rooted out so that every aspect of life might become truly American. One of the ways to accomplish such an end, surely, was to develop a new and distinctive kind of American architecture—one that would not only symbolize the American ideal, but envelop it and inculcate Americans with it. And for Jefferson there was no doubt what that kind of architecture should be. The whole cast of his mind, his whole upbringing in patrician Virginia predisposed him to see analogies between the new republic in America and the ancient Republic of Rome. Indeed, it was more than an analogy; to him and his contemporaries (for, of course, he was hardly alone in his convictions), it seemed as if this new nation, living proof of the classical assumption that men could control their destinies and mould worlds to their will, was the very reincarnation of the grandeur that had been Rome. In the heroes and statesmen of the Revolution, the selfless

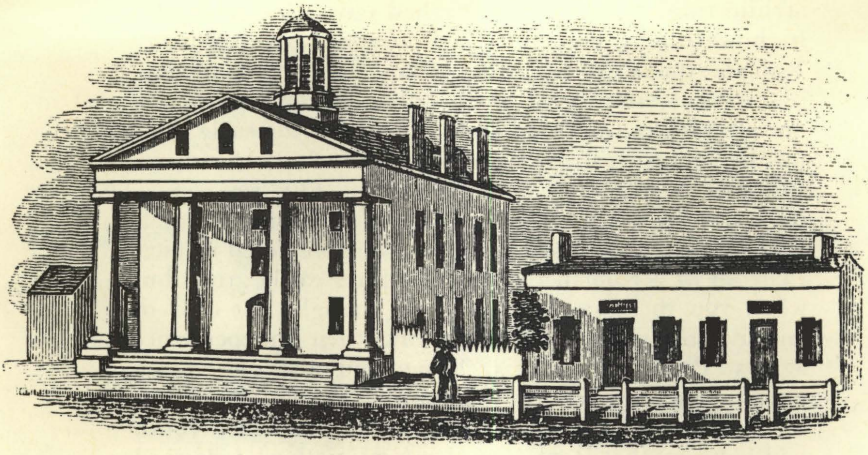
patriotism of the Horatii and Cincinnatus lived again; in the new Senate on the Potomac, the old Senate on the Tiber would be reborn; just so, in the new courthouses and capitols and official mansions of America, the monuments of Rome would be rebuilt. Succeeding to Rome's destiny, America should succeed to Rome's architecture. No truth seemed more self-evident.

The men of his own generation, however, never entirely understood what Jefferson was trying to do. They associated his concept of a symbolic American style by the great masses of the people with the particular political party he headed. They thought of the "Jeffersonian Classical" style as opposed to the Adamesque-Federal phase of the older classical tradition, in the same way that Jefferson's "Republican-Democratic" Party was oppossed to the Federalist Party in politics —the one suitable to an America dominated by lower, commoner, more vulgar classes and tastes, the other suitable to aristocratic, propertied interests and people of cultivated leisure. So it was that in many parts of the country where the Federalist Party and convictions were strong, eighteenth-century classicism in its Adamesque-Federal (or even older) forms continued to dominate the architectural scene and Roman Revival architecture seldom or never appeared. New Jersey was one such place. In the first State House at Trenton of 1794, for example, no trace of the spirit animating the new Capitol or White House in Washington—let alone Jefferson's Richmond Capitol—is evident; its forms belonged entirely in the older classical tradition. And the same remained true, generally speaking, of architecture in New Jersey for another two decades thereafter.

Varieties of Greek Revival in New Jersey

It was the men of the next generation who fully accepted Jefferson's concepts, and in the 1820's and 30's made "Classical Revival" practically an official American

architectural expression, as he had envisaged. They did it, however, by making a compromise. For Jefferson's Roman symbols of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they substituted a revival of the architecture of ancient Greece. "Grecian architecture," as the early nineteenth century called it, seemed free of all the disadvantages of the Roman Revival. For fifty years now, historical research had been making increasingly apparent what Napoleon Bonaparte had demonstrated in fact: that out of a Roman republic, Empires easily grow; but when you thought of Greece, you thought not only of ancient free city-states maintaining their independence against Persia or Imperial Rome, but also of modern Greece battling against despotic Turkey almost (it seemed) in the spirit of '76. Men in Jefferson's youth had believed that Rome was the great mother of classical art, and Greek merely one of her offshoots; now it was clear that the reverse was true: it was in Greece that classical forms had their origin. Furthermore, Grecian architecture appeared free of "campaign commitments." Associated with Jefferson and his political party as it appeared to be, the Roman style seemed somehow mixed up in people's minds with States' Rights, with opposition to the tariff, to monied aristocracy, to class privilege. As such, it was anathema to the very people who in the nature of things were most likely to give important architectural commissions, and put the young American-born architect who might sympathize with Jeffersonian ideals of a revived classical architecture in an unpleasant dilemma indeed. From all such perplexities the Greek Revival neatly rescued architects and patrons alike. It was no accident, for instance, that when the Directors of the United States Bank announced a competition in 1818 to design a bank building in Philadelphia, they specified "Grecian architecture in its purest form"; a Roman building, associated as it must have been with that political party which proclaimed a national bank the most terrible of threats to free opportunity, would have been altogether too paradoxical. Greek architecture, by



(Facing page) Mead Hall (the old Gibbons Mansion), Drew University, Madison. As a region already well settled by the 1820's and 1830's and so needing proportionately fewer new buildings, New Jersey does not and never did have anything like the number of small temple-houses that dot the landscape of western New York, northwestern Pennsylvania, or northern Ohio; but it can show some fine examples of Greek Revival houses nonetheless. This mansion built by William Gibbons between 1833 and 1836 was one of the finest. Gibbons was the son of Thomas Gibbons, a lawyer from Savannah, Georgia, who had settled in Elizabeth and made a fortune in transportation (among other accomplishments, helping start Cornelius Vanderbilt on his career as a partner in his steamboat enterprises); he conceived his mansion as a country home and ran it along the lines of a Southern plantation. Architecturally it is Southern, too, with the typical two-story portico without pediment and generous (even lavish) proportions—a kind of stage for upper-class social and political life. Like a plantation house, it had a good many dependencies; these came to serve various academic functions when the entire property was bought by Daniel Drew in 1866 and given to the university named after him.

Drew University Public Relations Department

(Facing page) Hunterdon County Courthouse, Flemington. Built in 1828, it was a relatively early (for New Jersey) example of Classical Revival architecture, and still rather primitive—though intended to be "Grecian," and so described universally, its forms are half-Roman in detail and quite Roman in their heavy proportions, while the intercolumination is archaeologically incorrect by any standard. Nevertheless, by contrast with such delicately elegant predecessors as the Burlington County Courthouse in Mount Holly thirty years before, its great stone bulk and two-story portico must have seemed the very symbol of the majesty of republican law—which, of course, was precisely the idea its forms were intended to convey. Originally, the basement was used as a prison—a neat example of the flexibility always characteristic of Classical Revival work in the hands of local builders.

From *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (1844)

contrast, stood for liberty in general; it seemed to be above party, universally appropriate in all situations, for all kinds of people. No wonder, then, that through the 1820's and 1830's and on into the 1840's Greek Revival forms dominated the American architectural scene as no other "style" has, before or since.

New Jersey was never as rich in Classical Revival buildings as some other parts of the country, and of what there was, time has taken a great toll. But still enough is left for us to reconstruct in imagination something of the lost world they embodied—to catch a glimpse of America when the Republic was new, a nation of "templed hills" and Revolutionary ideals modeled on classical Antiquity. And because we can recognize in these fragments from the past an expression of the first great era of American national civilization, it is easy to wax sentimental about them.

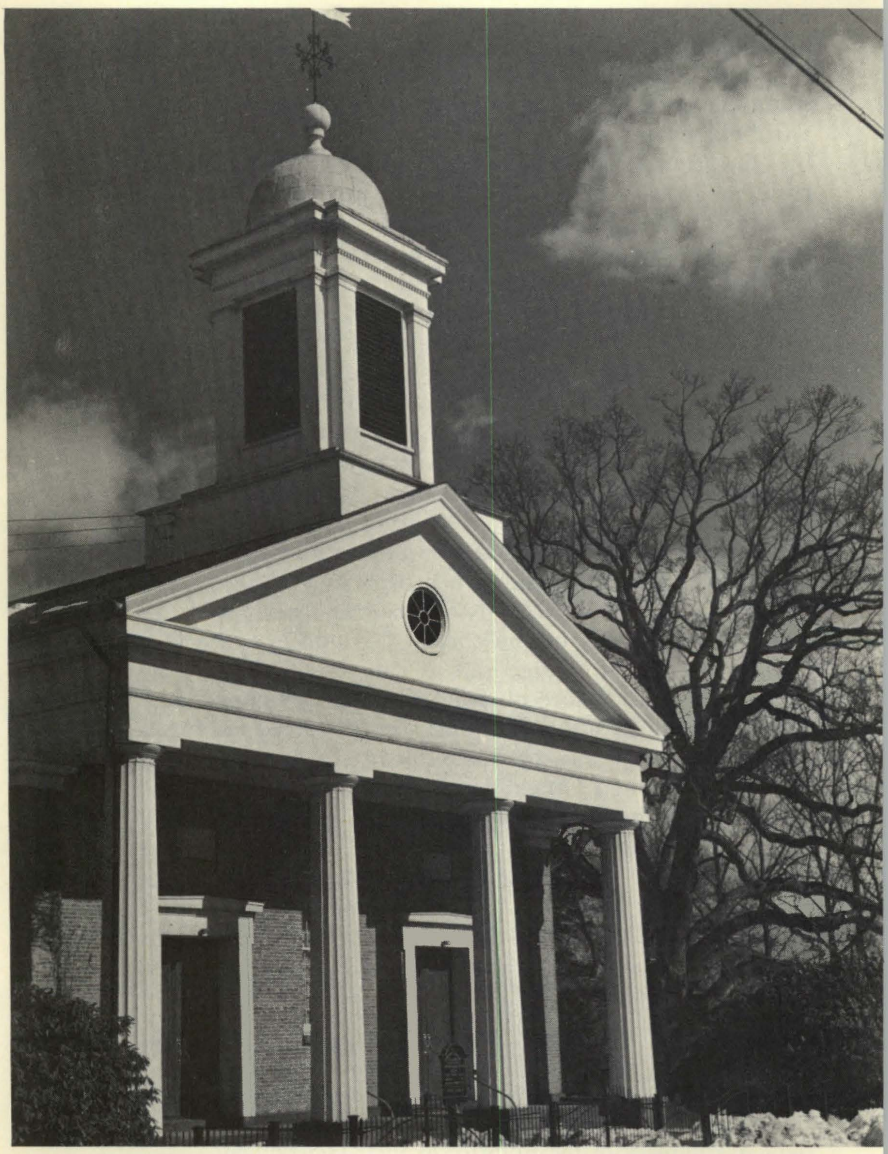
Classical Revival architecture was essentially romantic in concept, intended to evoke noble feelings about past ages; in retrospect, it is even more so. Buildings like these from the 1820's, 1830's, and 1840's seem to tell of a golden age of economic hope and national glory that moved even so somber a writer as George Orwell to uncharacteristic nostalgia for "the native gaiety, a buoyant carefree feeling, which was the product, presumably, of the unheard-of freedom and security which nineteenth-century America enjoyed." They recall those years when the nation seemed to be realizing its political, social, and cultural destiny with a speed and on a scale the Founding Fathers had hardly dared hope. It was not only that in fifty years a whole vast wilderness between the Appalachians and the Mississippi had been transformed into a land of tidy towns, spacious courthouses, rich farms and rolling plantations; even more it was that these material successes seemed complete vindication of faith in the great new American experiment of government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

All those prophets who had predicted that the new Republic would fall apart in anarchy like the old city-

states of Antiquity seemed refuted. Jefferson's vision of a classical America which would fulfil the frustrated religious impulses of so many of its seventeenth-century founders seemed to be coming true. What had been withheld by inscrutable grace was being brought about by education in the classics; Arcadia had displaced Jerusalem in the American dream, just as Troys and Spartas and Athenses were displacing New Zions, Bethlehems, and Salems on maps of the new American states. And of all this, Classical Revival architecture was the great and tangible expression. Greek Revival forms were truly democratic; the same mouldings and dentils that embellished the capitalist's mansion on the hill reappeared on the laborer's row house in the city. In Ionic capitals and Corinthian friezes and Doric metopes the merchant found expression for his credo of untrammeled private enterprise, the clergyman a symbol of religious liberty, the statesman an expression of free governmental institutions, all Americans a common emblem of union, national power, and collective prosperity.

Or so it seemed. Actually, of course, there were always contradictions in the complex symbolism of Classical Revival architecture; and as time went on they became greater and more obvious. Financier Nicholas Biddle, for example, was a life-long admirer of Greek forms and prescribed them for his Bank of the United States as well as Stephen Girard's new college in Philadelphia, because to him they stood for freedom of the financial community from outside interference; but Greek was also the official style of that Government which struck down Biddle's bank in 1832 and commissioned Robert Mills to build a United States Treasury whose forms should proclaim how, in the words of President Andrew Jackson's veto message:

> When the laws undertake . . . artificial distinctions . . . to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humbler members of society . . . who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government.

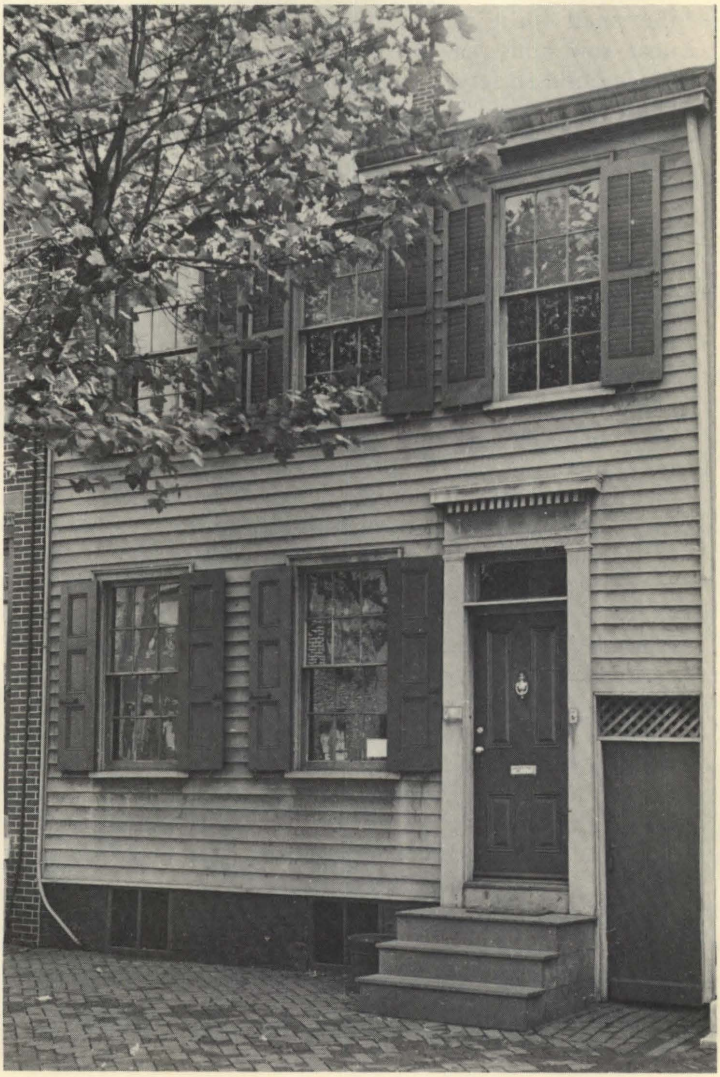


First Presbyterian Church, Basking Ridge. This characteristic Greek Revival church was built in 1839. As a symbol of "Liberty," Greek was a favorite style among denominations particularly cherishing a heritage of individual freedom—Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Unitarians.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Walt Whitman House, 330 Mickle Street, Camden. c. 1845. The architecture of this house, where Whitman lived out his last years, from 1884 to 1892, is very appropriate to its present function as a memorial museum to the poet. For it illustrates how by the 1840's the Greek Revival had become normal vernacular for even small city houses, influencing proportions, and evident in the simple pilasters and cornice framing its door. In such a setting Greek forms symbolized, as eloquently in their way as Whitman in his verse, that ideal of free opportunity for all to rise in life which was the poet's great theme.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development



Or again, while in Northern states Classical Revival architecture might symbolize the freedom of democratic opportunity of which Abraham Lincoln spoke so eloquently—a "free society" offering "the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else" and "better his condition," in the Southern states its associations were quite different. For Southern planters, Greek and Roman architecture was the symbol and assurance that a sound society could perfectly well combine ideals of liberty with the institution of slavery. As the small white temple of the Northern farmer or the neat row house of the Northern mechanic symbolized the mobile society of equal opportunity for all, so the Southern planter's columned mansion proclaimed his devotion to the rigidly hierarchical mores of a very different world of almost feudal privilege.

Already by 1842, when as influential a cultural figure as Andrew Jackson Downing could write in his *Cottage Residences,* "If we talk pure Greek, and build a Grecian temple for a dwelling, we shall be little understood, or perhaps only laughed at by our neighbors," it was clear that the Classical Revivals were losing their hold on Americans with pretensions to savoir-faire in matters aesthetic. Greek and Roman forms might still be the overwhelming choice of the masses, but they were being perpetuated now more by momentum than creative conviction. And this was not alone because of their increasingly obvious self-contradictions. Even more it was because in accepting the premise that architecture is an art to be read, to be composed in a literary manner, the Classical Revival builders had changed its nature fundamentally. They thought they were still working in the classical tradition, perhaps; but actually they had preserved nothing more than the outward shell of its forms.

Once abandon the premise that architecture is the art of building well, once abandon the idea that there is an absolute beauty independent of any particular forms, once value architecture not for what it is but for what it says, and you are not working in the classical tradition;

indeed, you are not practicing architecture in the old sense at all. Once argue that Greek is "good architecture" because it symbolizes freedom, or Roman because it inculcates virtue, and you have no answer for people who claim that Greek is "bad architecture" because the Greeks were pagans who tolerated all sorts of moral depravities, who argue that Gothic architecture is "better" because it is "Christian," or Egyptian because it is "more dignified." Having given up the old standards of commodity, firmness, and delight on which earlier architectural judgments had rested, Classical Revivalists had no grounds but personal preference for refuting people who announced that they preferred the associations of Hindu stupas, or Chinese pagodas, or whatever. The result was a "battle of the styles" which characterized the first, Early Victorian phase of nineteenth-century American architecture.

Contestants in the "Battle of the Styles"

"American Log Cabin, Farm House, English Cottage, Collegiate Gothic, Manor House, French Suburban, Switz Chalet, Switz Mansion, Lombard Italian, Tuscan from Pliny's Villa at Ostia, Ancient Etruscan, Suburban Greek, Oriental, Moorish, Round, Castellated . . ." it would seem, to judge from written sources like this list of styles Alexander Jackson Davis was prepared to supply clients wishing to build in Llewellyn Park, that the number of conflicting Early Victorian styles was almost limitless; that the principal consequence of the new Victorian attitude to art had been to transform a once coherent and meaningful American architectural scene into something like an arena, where past and present styles of every description battled inconclusively for popular acceptance. But appearances, especially literary ones, are deceptive. Though any number of exotic new styles were introduced on paper, most of them were represented by relatively few executed examples. For all the seeming diversity,

there were in fact only two styles of real consequence in the Early Victorian period: classical, and Gothic. What seems to be a third, the Tuscan or Italianate, is essentially a combination of these two; and all the rest turn out, one examination, to be basically variants of one or the other.

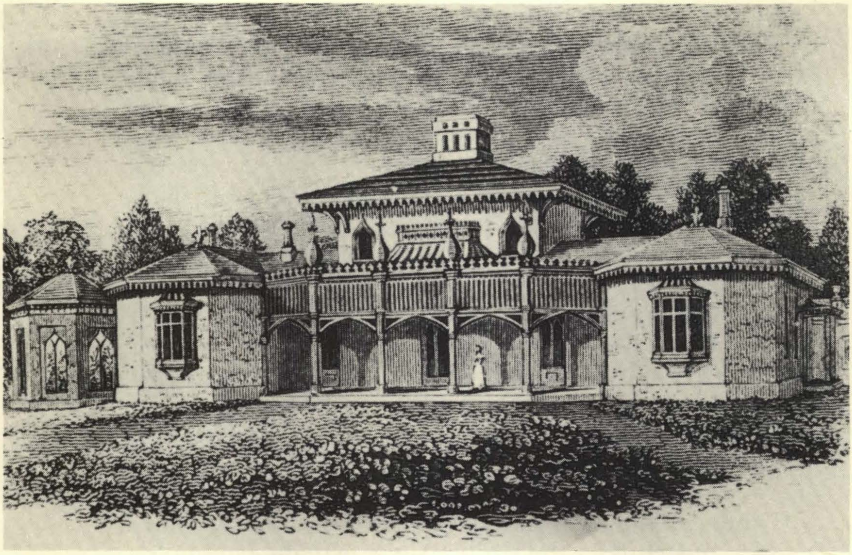
The Egyptian Revival, for instance, was essentially a quite rare variant of the dominant Greek and Roman modes. Originally inspired by Napoleon's 1798 campaign on the Nile, it came to America on the great wave of pro-French enthusiasm that followed the Revolution. But

A good representative of the Egyptian Revival in New Jersey was the old Essex County Courthouse in Newark, built 1836-1838, seen here with its Italianate Library, dating a decade later, beside it. Egyptian courthouses like this were comparative rarities on the American scene—all the more reason for regret that, despite attempts to preserve it, the old Courthouse was demolished soon after a new one, designed by Cass Gilbert in a pompous Roman manner typical of the Late Victorian age, was completed in 1906.

Newark Public Library

although a Library of Congress building in Egyptian style was proposed as early as 1808, and Egyptian buildings of various kinds appeared sporadically throughout the Early Victorian period, the Egyptian Revival never gained really widespread favor. While the Egyptian style seemed a better symbol of eternity or security than Greek Doric for cemetery gates or prisons (the old State Prison in Trenton, circa 1835, is an example in New Jersey), for most other kinds of buildings its general associations with death and despotism—"Ozymandias" sets its tone very well—were much too strong. Only occasionally was it used for churches or courthouses, the association in such cases being with Solomon's Temple (sometimes supposed to have been Egyptian in style) or with the wisdom of Solomon generally. The old Courthouse in Newark was, therefore, all the more interesting because of the comparative rarity of its style. The designer, John Haviland of Philadelphia was one of the great masters of Early Victorian styling in the United States, equally famous for Egyptian ("The Tombs" in New York City), for Gothic (Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia), and for Greek (the Philadelphia Mint).

Quite as obviously, other exotic styles were essentially variants of the Gothic mode. Nathan Dunn's "Chinese Cottage" at Mount Holly was probably New Jersey's most famous example of an "exotic" style precisely because it was so unusual; characteristically, too, it was based on the "English cottage" type of Gothic Revival house. Designed by John Notman of Philadelphia, a Scottish-born architect who executed many of his most important works in New Jersey, "Dunn's Chinese Cottage" in its day was one of the sights of the State. The 1844 *Historical Collections of The State of New Jersey* gave it one of the longest encomiums of any monument: "erected by the proprietor of the late Chinese Museum in Philadelphia [hence the choice of style] . . . a combination of the Chinese and English cottage style. The grounds are tastefully arranged, and the general effect of the whole is light, fanciful, and exceedingly picturesque."



"Mr. Dunn's unique, semi-oriental cottage," as Andrew Jackson Downing called it in his 1841 *Treatise on Landscape Gardening* (from which this illustration comes), still stands in Mount Holly, though in a much altered state.

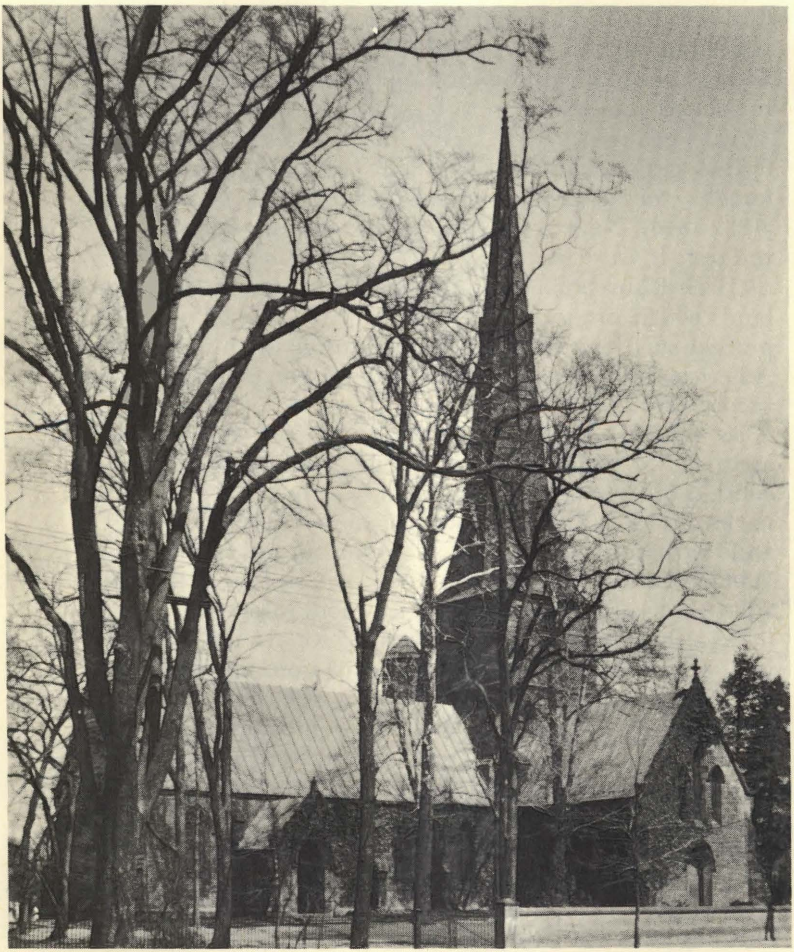
Gothic and Classical—these, then, were the only real rivals in the 1830's and 1840's. Not that Gothic ever competed with the Classical Revivals on anything like even terms. Throughout the Early Victorian period, Greek or Roman was the overwhelming choice of most Americans for houses and every other kind of building. Gothic, by contrast, always seemed to have something wilful or eccentric about it, to be vaguely foreign, undemocratic, and generally suspect. Its most solid credential was "Christian," as opposed to "pagan" Greek or Roman or Egyptian, associations. On this ground it was widely adopted by Episcopalians and Roman Catholics in order to display their claims to an historical heritage more substantial than their Evangelical rivals', and in New Jersey buildings of the 1830's and 1840's

you find Gothic most commonly used in this connection. New St. Mary's Church in Burlington is typical. On this building, two leading spirits of the Gothic Revival in America collaborated—George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey from 1833 to 1859, and English-born architect Richard Upjohn. Both admired Gothic for its associations with Christianity in general and the Catholic tradition in particular. As one of the foremost American champions of the High Church movement within the Anglican communion, Doane had earlier commissioned John Notman to build for his official residence "Riverside" circa 1837, with its elaborate Gothic interiors. Upjohn, an equally ardent High Churchman, was famous for designing Trinity Church in New York (1839-1846). New St. Mary's was thus of more than local interest; it attracted notice in *The Ecclesiologist,* "voice" of High Churchmanship and Gothic Revivalism in England, which pronounced the style "early First Pointed," praised such evidences of sophistication in the wilds of America, but complained of inconsistencies and incorrectness in detail.

By comparison with the forms of Greek and Roman architecture, familiar through four generations of eighteenth-century classical tradition, Gothic Revival pinnacles and crockets and pointed arches seemed strange and barbarous. And they were obviously faked, too. Whereas the structural principles of Greek and Roman architecture, having originated in wood, were self-evident to local builders everywhere, Gothic Revivalists, equally in the nature of things, produced obvious shams. Even if they had understood the principles of Gothic vaulting, for example, executing it in stone would have been far beyond their means; lath and plaster had to be the rule. For the same reason, Gothic ornament seemed much more affected and contrived than classical. Greek and Roman forms preserved enough of older eighteenth-century principles so that the artificiality of their revival was to some extent disguised; but nobody could look at a building like the Hillyer Parsonage and have any illu-

An outstanding example of the Gothic Revival in American church architecture was New St. Mary's Church in Burlington, begun 1846 and completed 1854, so called to distinguish it from the eighteenth-century St. Mary's (which is also still extant).

Courtesy Library of Congress
Historic American Buildings Survey



sions about its growing naturally out of American circumstances and traditions. Gothic ornament was far too unmistakably and entirely conceived as extraneous addition, a kind of costume to be put on or taken off association demanded.

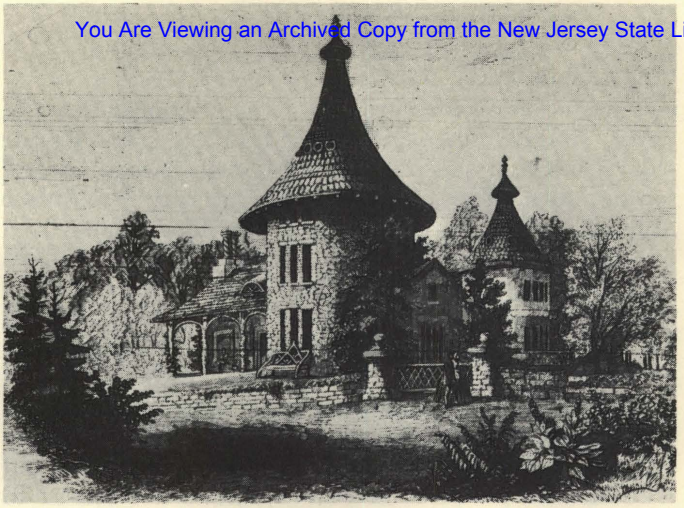
Under the circumstances, it was hardly remarkable that except for country cottages—which, especially as designed by competent practitioners like Alexander Jackson Davis, had some functional advantages (fewer drafts, more cupboard nooks, etc.) over temple-houses—completely Gothic houses remained comparative rarities.

Asa Hillyer Parsonage, Orange, c. 1840. Typical of the more naive kind of Early Victorian architectural symbolism is this simple house, basically classical in feeling, given a character appropriate to its occupant's profession by the application of pinnacles, pointed arches, fretwork, and other details with "Christian" associations. Gothic was an obvious and frequent choice of style for clergymen's houses; another New Jersey example is the parsonage built for the Rev. Cortland van Rensselaer at Burlington by William Strickland, in 1835.

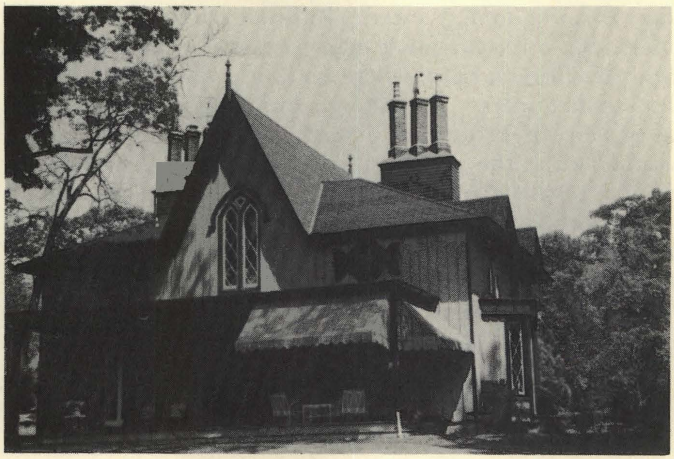
Courtesy Library of Congress
Historic American Buildings Survey

The remarkable thing is that there was a Gothic Revival in America at all, that it spread as widely as it did. For it proves how subtly and surely the old classical concept of the relation between man and nature on which the art of eighteenth-century America had been justified was breaking down. The Gothic Revival was the bridge by which American civilization passed from its Classical to its Victorian age.

If Gothic was on the whole a snobbish and pretentious expression, it was also on the whole an expression of the more serious "intellectual class" in American society. The best of the Gothic Revivalists understood consciously what the mass of Americans in the 1830's and 1840's were coming to sense only intuitively—that the intellectual and cultural basis of the old classical tradition was crumbling away under the pressures of urban growth, nation-wide industry and finance, complexity in every aspect of life. Greek and Roman Revival buildings with their crisp outlines, stark white walls, and geometric self-containment, represented a continuation—however tenuous—of the concept of Nature as something to be conquered, disciplined, shut out; of the old sharp separation between the reasoned works of man and the chaotic world of Nature around him. This concept was becoming increasingly outmoded. And in the picturesquely irregular outlines that their pinnacles and crockets and peaked gables and turrets created, in the artful integration of their architecture with natural plantings, the Gothic Revivalists intended to embody a new one. No longer regarded as something to be struggled against and conquered, and not yet (as it would be in the twentieth century) as a tool and extension of human powers, Nature for them existed in her own right, distinct and different from the world of men. For them Nature's appeal was that of something remote, a means of getting away from the humdrum, the complexities, the tensions of everyday life. Set a temple-house or classical church in the country, and you are in the world of men still; every line of them reminds you of



Two of the dozens of houses in many varieties of Gothic designed between 1853 and 1869 for Llewellyn Park, West Orange, by New York architect Alexander Jackson Davis: Eyrie Eagle Rock, home of the Park's founder, Llewellyn P. Haskell, as depicted by the *New York Illustrated News* in 1860 and a cottage built for landscape painter Edward W. Nicholls, later the boyhood home of architect Charles Follen McKim. Though of all the original buildings only a gatehouse and the Nicholls Cottage remain, Llewellyn Park is still a desirable suburb; the famous "Ramble"—a fifty-acre hillside strip serving as a common park—still exists, as do many romantically-conceived rustic bridges, statuary, lookouts, and arbors.



civic virtue, of Roman *gravitas,* or the responsibilities of Greek liberty. The castellated villa or rural Gothic church, by contrast, imperceptibly melts into a natural setting; so far from being the product of an existence ordered by inexorable reason, it provides escape from pressured life into unfettered realms of fancy.

That is why adherents of the Gothic Revival so often seemed undemocratic (in the egalitarian sense) individualists. That, too, is why the Gothic Revivalist tends to be a-political. Unlike the Jeffersonian classicist, he will take little pleasure in the thought of men moulding the world they live in; what he wants is to get away from the world of men. Horrified by the growing cities and their nascent slums as he may be, he is not moved to do anything positive about it; his instinct is to escape to a suburban villa.

Of this mood, Llewellyn Park is one of the first full-blown examples in the United States. A "development" in the Orange Mountains promoted, financed, and named after chemical manufacturer Llewellyn P. Haskell, Llewellyn Park and the kind of Gothic buildings in it were symptomatic of the profound changes being worked by increasing wealth, industrialization, and urbanization in mid-nineteenth-century American life. Haskell called his five-hundred-acre Park, only twelve miles from Fifth Avenue and easily accessible by the newly-laid Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad across the Jersey marshes, "a retreat for a man to exercise his own rights and privileges"; here, where no house was to be built on less than an acre of land, no building was to be used as a shop or factory, and no fences were allowed, men could escape the pressures and tensions of city life. For such a setting Gothic buildings were an obvious choice —not because of any Christian associations (a chapel outside the gates soon fell into disrepair and was abandoned), but because of their romantic qualities of picturesque remoteness. Llewellyn Park was the first "romantic suburb" in America and set a sociological and architectural pattern for hundreds to follow in the cen-

tury to come (Radburn in the 1920's was a particularly notable successor). With its "Ramble," its freely designed and generously plotted houses, it is an impressive manifestation of that same streak in American society represented in their several ways by Thoreau, by Bryant, by Thomas Cole and the Hudson River school of painters, by Washington Irving with his tales of happy innocence on the Hudson, and by the young Walt Whitman.

Picturesqueness in the Italianate Manner

In its own time, the third major style of the Early Victorian period went under a variety of names. In houses, it was most commonly known as "Tuscan" or "Italian villa"; in churches, as "Lombard," "Norman," or "Romanesque"; in public and commercial buildings, as "Round," "Italian," or "Renaissance"; in furniture as "Antique," or "Rococo." Retrospectively, we can best call it simply "the Italianate manner." By whatever name, however, it dominated American architecture from the middle of the 1840's through the 1850's.

As its diverse nomenclature suggests, the Italianate manner was not, properly speaking, a "revival" style like the Greek or Gothic or Egyptian at all. Its origins were complex, even contradictory, and so was its American development. As first introduced in England—John Nash had built an "Italian villa" at Cronkhill as early as 1802—it was conceived as a sophisticated variant of classical architecture, a composite of the architectural backgrounds of Italian Renaissance and Baroque paintings and actual contemporary buildings in Italy. But in America the Italianate manner appeared much later, and in quite a different context. Here it was conceived essentially as a variant of Gothic. Its earliest and greatest American examples were conspicuously the work of men generally known as Gothic Revivalists—Alexander Jackson Davis, who had exhibited drawings of an Italianate villas early as 1835; John Notman, whose "Riverside" of

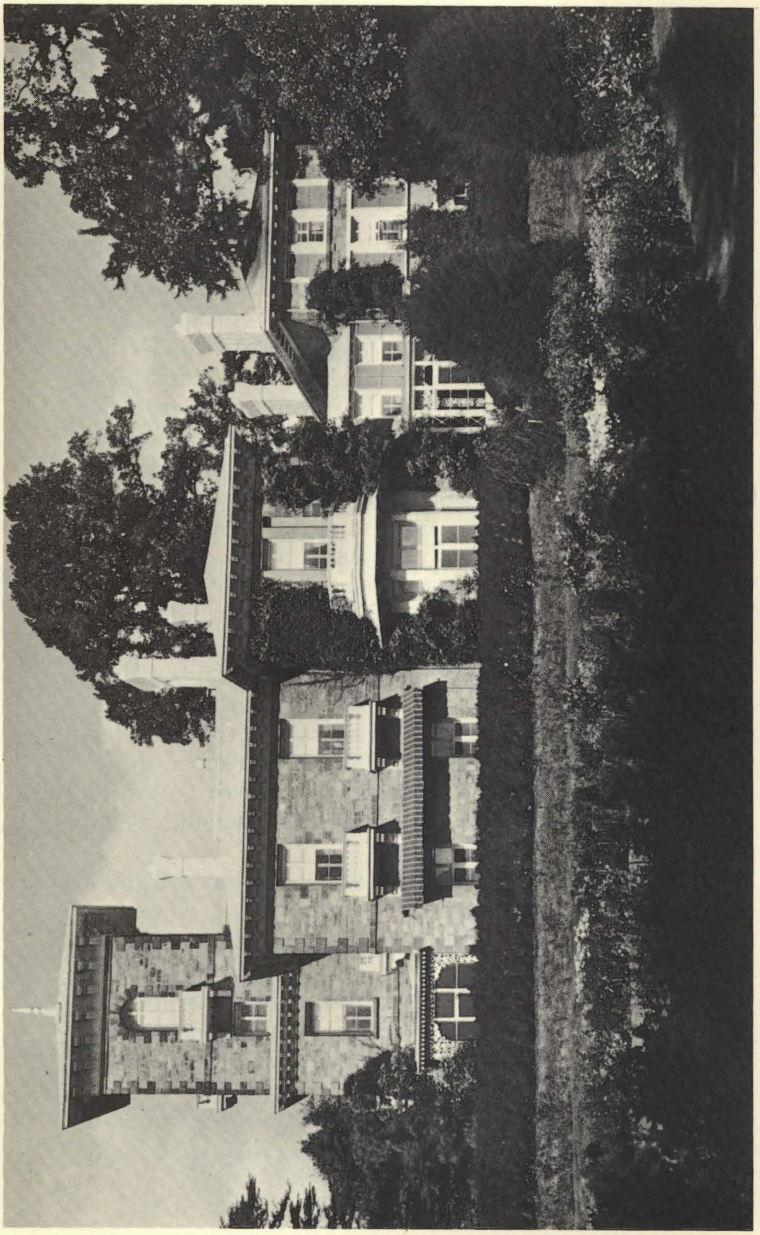
"Riverside," Burlington. One of the first, if not the first, appearances in America of the new Italianate style, which by the 1850's had superseded both Classical and Gothic Revival in popularity, was this residence of Bishop George Washington Doane, built by John Notman of Philadelphia, c.1837. That builder and owner alike conceived it as essentially a variant of Gothic was evident both in its elaborate Gothic interiors and the Gothic feeling of its bay window and other exterior detail. Despite campaigns to save it, as one of the few New Jersey buildings of national significance, "Riverside" was demolished in 1961.

Courtesy Library of Congress
Historic American Buildings Survey

circa 1837 was possibly the first one executed; Richard Upjohn, already using Romanesque for churches in the 1840's; James Renwick, commissioned to design the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in "Norman" style on the strength of a reputation made with Gothic churches in New York.

This difference between the development of Italianate in England and in the United States is easily explained. As long as it was merely a variant of the Classical Revival, the Italianate style had no particular point in America, where the roots of the classical tradition proper were so deep, and the symbolic associations with Greece and Rome almost a national cult. But considered as a variant of Gothic, it had immense appeal and usefulness: it provided a means of realizing the aesthetic qualities and cultural expression of the Gothic Revival in a manner acceptable to masses of people who could never accept what seemed the eccentric and foreign character of medieval forms as such. The very looseness of association and vagueness of form that made Italianate uninteresting in the earlier part of the century gave it a special and overwhelming appeal in the 1840's and 1850's. As Robert Dale Owen put it in *Hints on Public Architecture* (1850), "Norman [i.e., the style of the Smithsonian Institution which he is defending] has the same variety as Gothic, but its entire expression is less ostentatious, and if political character may be ascribed to Architecture, more republican." It was also, he added, more economical and more convenient.

Far and away the most flexible in conception and freest in execution of Early Victorian styles, the Italianate manner offered something for every taste and station in life. And nowhere is its variety seen better than in New Jersey. If you wanted to think of Italianate columns and gables and pediments in connection with classical Italy and, by extension, the great civic ideals of the Roman Republic, you could justify its use for town halls or railroad stations or post offices. But at the same time its towers, arches, and asymmetrical plans evoked the Early



Christian and Romanesque Middle Ages effectively enough that even the most doctrinaire High Anglicans and Roman Catholics could accept it for churches. Its associations made Italianate, in short, the perfect compromise between "patriotic" but "pagan" classical forms, and the "picturesque," "Christian," but "un-American" forms of the Gothic Revival.

"Tuscan villas," as the ones illustrated here show, might be anything from classical cubes with low pyramidal roofs, simply adorned with a few brackets and a nicely proportioned cupola (called variously an "observatory" or "belvedere") on top, to sprawling piles of assorted living units, towers, porches, columns, arches, gables, and flat roofs, embodying all the picturesque irregularity of the most elaborate Gothic Revival mansion. Their walls might be vertically boarded, stuccoed, plain or patterned brick, or variegated stone. Their ornament might vary from meticulously correct copies of Italian Renaissance columns, balustrades, cornices, and Palladian windows to balconies, brackets, and bay windows of vaguely medieval inspiration. And Italianate could be adapted to almost any situation—to city streets, in the familiar brownstone row-house fronts; to suburbs; to country estates.

(Facing Page)
"Prospect," Princeton. More fortunate than "Riverside" was this later and more elaborate Italianate villa built by Notman for Thomas F. Potter of Princeton in 1849; its preservation was assured when it became the official residence of presidents of Princeton University in 1878. Larger than "Riverside," "Prospect" also shows the increasingly picturesque treatment of Italianate villas toward mid-century—in its irregular and eye-catching outlines, its diverse assemblage of towers, arches, brackets, and chimneys, its freer flow of exterior and interior space, its mottled stonework, and its siting; originally "Prospect" stood at the head of a thirty-mile view extending almost to the sea.

Courtesy Princeton University
Department of Public Information

Everywhere, too, rural artisans trained in classical traditions and unwilling or unable to tackle Gothic intricacies found it easy to adapt their skills to Italianate arches or brackets. Most of all, perhaps, the Italianate manner was significant and useful to the leading theorists and tastemakers of the 1840's and 1850's—Downing, Upjohn, Davis, and their followers. For as none of the other more rigidly categorized styles could, Italianate offered them a chance to develop and experiment with what by this time was coming to be their main concern: the theory and practice of "the picturesque."

"Picturesqueness," as Victorian Americans used the term, is as hard to define as it is easy to recognize in their buildings. Explicitly, of course, it means "like a picture": a picturesque building was one that brought to mind a romantic, nostalgic image of the past—or more precisely, that suggested the passage of time. A ruined Greek temple would be picturesque, for instance, because it brought to mind a picture of time's inevitable destruction; so would an old broken-down, weather-beaten mill, showing the effects of years of sunshine and storm; but a bright new temple, or a tidily painted and smoothly running mill would not. The key quality was irregularity—broken, jagged, variegated outlines, contrasts of texture, free plantings around foundations, interrupted vistas, uneven landscape settings. Gothic had an inherent picturesqueness that classical architecture lacked, but there was a limit to the extent you could emphasize Gothic picturesqueness before you would be open to criticism on Early Victorian grounds of ill-informed departure from proper models. With Italianate there were no such limits. You could range anywhere from seventeenth-century Baroque to sixth-century Byzantine, because there was no general agreement on precisely what Italianate prototypes were. Thus, the more desirable picturesqueness came to be in the course of the nineteenth century, the more popular Italianate became.

In the careers of almost every leading architectural figure of the time, a significantly similar pattern is ap-

Italianate villa near Flemington, c.1850. Local builders everywhere found that the freedom of Italianate forms made the style extraordinarily adaptable both to old regional traditions and the new architectural problems posed by industrialization and urbanization in the 1840's and 1850's; New Jersey has unusually fine and numerous examples. A sprawling wooden villa like this at Flemington embodies all the picturesque irregularity and "remoteness" that made the Gothic Revival appealing; by contrast, the brick villa at Marlton, also illustrated here, shows how much classical feeling could be preserved in Italianate dress; and behind these forms again is something of the old regional building traditions of wood in Hunterdon County and South Jersey's long-lived predilection for building in brick. As for the bank shown here, it typifies that combination of Renaissance classical suggestions of civic enterprise with the new enthusiasm for picturesqueness which made Italianate the overwhelming choice of style for commercial and urban buildings everywhere throughout the 1850's.

Courtesy John Maass

Italianate villa near Marlton, in Burlington County, c.1850.
Courtesy John Maass

Contemporary lithograph of the First National (originally Mechanics & Traders) Bank, Jersey City.

parent. Beginning with a doctrinaire adherence to well-defined Revival styles chosen on considerations of function, structure, or commonly accepted symbolism, such men as Downing, Davis, Upjohn, Notman, Henry Austin, Ammi B. Young all developed an increasingly obvious preoccupation with overall picturesqueness of effect during the 1840's; and while still intending and largely managing to keep styles distinct, they found freer and freer versions of Italianate their favorite and most successful vehicle for achieving it in the 1850's. The development in John Notman's New Jersey work is typical—compare the tight stiffness of "Riverside" and its Gothic interiors, with the luxuriant spread of "Prospect" a dozen years later; or consider how much more picturesquely irregular Notman made the outline of Nassau Hall by adding a higher tower and corner turrets after the fire of 1855.

During the 1850's, the Italianate style became so popular that it was the closest thing to a national style the United States had had since the early days of the Greek Revival. Of all this efflorescence not too much remains. Lacking the sentimental and prestigious associations of Greek or Gothic, easily executed by local builders and for that reason often employed on more or less impermanent structures, and often, too, located in areas which demographic shifts have transformed from fashionable suburbs and commercial streets into slums and warehouse districts, Italianate buildings have suffered disproportionately with the passage of time. New Jersey is fortunate to have preserved so many. For they are in many ways the greatest creation and consummation of Early Victorian culture in America. Elegant and yet informal, simple in line yet lavish in decoration, classical in derivation yet picturesque in association and execution, the Italianate manner embodies at once something of the old aristocratic dignity of eighteenth-century American civilization as preserved in the person of a Daniel Webster or a Henry Clay or a Theodore Frelinghuysen, something of the earthy luxuriance of the still-expanding frontier that is Mark Twain's most enduring appeal, and something too of the subtle sophistication and erudition we think of in connection with Emerson or the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Picturesque Eclecticism: The High Victorian Age, 1860-1885.

Everyone living through the Civil War was aware that American life after it was fundamentally different. Not that the war itself had instituted so many changes, perhaps, but it had accelerated, emphasized, and encouraged new social and economic forces already developing more slowly and less obviously in the prewar decades. A new mood and spirit was abroad in the country, and nowhere was it more evident than in architecture. Architects in

the 1860's and 1870's were still very much interested in the past; they still talked of "Gothic" and "Renaissance" and "Roman" styles, and they still borrowed from them. But where Early Victorians had believed that each style had an appropriate set of associations which should not be confused, their High Victorian successors heaped up details from any and every historical style on the same building, blurring all effective distinctions between one "Revival" and another. Where Early Victorians had made a fairly rigid distinction between styles which allowed a spread-out plan (like Tuscan) and those (like Grecian) which did not, now all buildings seemed to sprawl indiscriminately. Four, five, six stories up they climbed, in a succession of tortuous shelves and towers; or they might spread sideways, rambling over the ground in waves of porches and annexes, or both. However additively the ornament of Early Victorian buildings was conceived, however unrelated to structure it may have been, it at least had the clearly understood purpose of making buildings meaningful in symbolic terms. But their successors seemed to consider lavish masses of decoration as an end in itself. They assembled such mighty heaps of it that in the end structure, plan, and proportions alike were buried beneath one great massy pile of niches, pinnacles, railings, staircases, brightly painted lattices and shutters, green and purple tiled roofs, verandahs, oriels in stained glass and finials in cast iron, balustrades, brackets, and bay windows. Most of all, where for Early Victorians "picturesqueness" had been only one possible effect among many, appropriate to some styles and occasions—Gothic, or landscaped estates, for instance—but not others, now it dominated everything. Offices, villas, chairs and tables, bandstands, and railroad stations, all displayed the same obsession with jagged silhouettes, endlessly varied shapes and angles, eye-catching contrasts of texture, decorative patterns, projections, deliberate asymmetry. All alike rejected the old principle of specific copyings from earlier styles as naïve and unimaginative. Instead, combinations of forms appear, drawn at whim

from the whole range of history, intended to set before mind and eye a tangible expression of the continuity of all human culture, past and present.

To create such an image, every form had a recognizable function. If High Victorian buildings characteristically rested on rugged foundations, it was to give them that suggestion of triumph over time which Victorians thought one of the greatest attractions of picturesqueness. If their rooflines were lavishly edged in cast-iron gingerbread, it was to break all sharp outlines, so that buildings would seem to trail off into infinite space in the same way their eclectic forms trailed back into indefinite time. In short, while all the forms of High Victorian architecture are eclectic—"borrowed from the best" in the past—they are now used in a way, and for an effect, peculiar to the High Victorian period alone. Every detail plays its part in producing a consistent visual and intellectual whole. This is a new style, with principles, predictable effects, and standards of its own. This is Picturesque Eclecticism, the characteristic art of the postwar, High Victorian age in America.

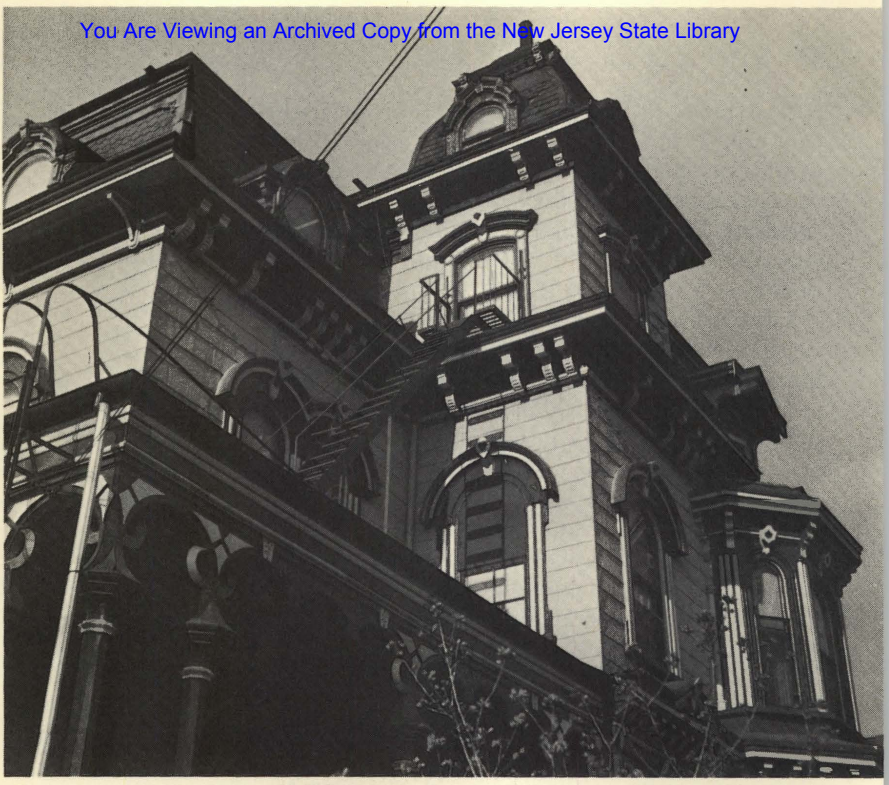
The architects of Picturesque Eclecticism saw ornament less as a symbolic language than as a means to a visual end. For them, the most important consideration in choosing forms was eye-catching pattern, textural contrasts, picturesque massing, rather than any consistent association of ideas. It follows that they not only saw nothing inherently wrong with mixing styles from different historical periods, they thought it a virtue. Mixing styles from many periods suggested the picturesquely nostalgic passage of time much more effectively than borrowing from only one, they thought; furthermore, in this way they hoped to achieve something distinctively "American." For now the Civil War had made "Americanism" the symbolic virtue to be sought above all; at the same time, increasingly scientific scholarship had made it harder and harder to maintain the Early Victorian conviction that Roman or Greek or any other specific

past style could be satisfactorily appropriated for American use. What they wanted was some composite that would be characteristic of their own time. And to a considerable extent they achieved it. Still today Picturesque Eclecticism is one of our best witnesses to the character of American civilization from the late 1860's into the 1880's.

Looking back on it a century later, Picturesque Eclecticism seems to us now the product of a world of astonishing vitality, variety, and individualism. It marked that moment in history when eighteenth-century social constraints had fallen away without the new monied power of nineteenth-century industry having yet matured enough to be widely felt, when the old apprenticeship system and its rules had collapsed without either the new corporate technology or the new scientific scholarship being yet developed enough to give artists any firm direction. The result was an individualism in life rampant as never before, an individualism in art so untrammeled that buildings like the ones illustrated here may provoke completely different sets of reactions.

Some people see in the buildings of this period merely an absence of all taste, all direction, all sense, comparable to what Lewis Mumford called the "dreadful caricatures of men" who dominated *The Brown Decades.* Any art, to be meaningful, needs some clearly defined rationale and guiding principles, so the argument runs; the age seemed to have none; therefore any question of "good" or "bad" High Victorian architecture is idle—it is all one wasteland of meaningless excrescence and empty elaboration. So the Federal Writers' Project *New Jersey: A Guide to Its Past and Present* of 1939 dismisses the entire period in a paragraph:

> From about 1850 to 1900 New Jersey suffered the ills of Victorian bad taste. The State has its share of fretwork, spindles, checkerboard panels and the mansard roofs of the period. Many a fine old house was ruined to conform with the taste of the time.



When most people think of High Victorian America, what comes to mind first is something like this house of the late 1860's or 1870's in Elizabeth, perhaps; every New Jersey town of any size has rows of them still. Their ancestry in Italianate villas of the 1840's and 1850's is plain; but plainly, too, they belong to another era and express a different spirit. All the Italianate features are exaggerated—porches flung farther out into space, and in all directions; decorative detail more prolific and less disciplined; plan and outline more deliberately irregular. Most significantly, perhaps, all pretensions to unity of style are gone. Forms of vaguely medieval, vaguely classical, vaguely Baroque, vaguely Rococo derivation are heaped together in an imposing pile which to our eyes seems by turns playful and sinister, exuberant and grotesque, charming and fantastic—a complex of moods which John Maass has captured perfectly in this photograph from his *Gingerbread Age.*

Courtesy John Maass

Builders in the years just after the Civil War loved to ring changes on ornamental detail; typical is this house on College Avenue in New Brunswick. Local legend has it that substitution of anchor chains for the commoner frilly bargeboards under the eaves signified an earlier owner's seafaring background; it may be. Or it may not; for sheer whimsy is a great characteristic of High Victorian architecture. Notice for instance, how none of the windows is quite the same size or shape.

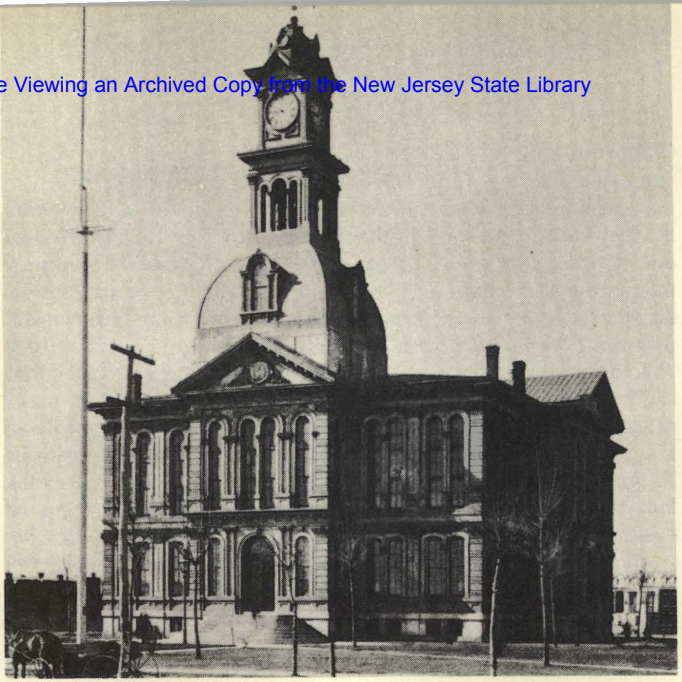
Photograph by C. C. Stover

In the so-called 'Stick Style," and its successor the "Shingle Style," High Victorian builders achieved perhaps the first distinctively American architectural expression in wood. The Emlen Physick House, built in 1877 on Washington Street in Cape May, is a good example. Clapboard, shingle, posts and brackets combine to create a distinctive visual pattern reinforcing the complex massing of porch roofs, gables, and dormers. Tradition, but as yet no documentary evidence, affirms that the architect was Frank Furness of Philadelphia, contemporary of H. H. Richardson and creator of an equally personal version of the prevailing picturesque eclectic manner.

Photograph by John J. Spencer
Courtesy Cape Island Historical Celebration Committee

Chalfonte Hotel, Cape May, built 1876. It was in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June, 1766, that Cape May was first advertised as a place "where numbers resort for health and bathing in the water," and from the 1820's into the 1920's this was one of the great resort towns of the United States. Its heyday fell in the fifty years between 1850 and 1900; so many and so distinctive are the buildings surviving from that half-century that proposals have been made to develop the town into a "Victorian Williamsburg." Typical of Cape May's architectural riches is this hotel, which luckily escaped the fate of many others destroyed in the fire of 1878. An excellent example of High Victorian picturesque eclecticism, its basically simple frame structure is encased in an envelope of springing arcades, lacy fretwork and brackets that present an endless variety of eye-catching patterns in light and shade and spatial intricacies.

Photograph by John J. Spencer
Courtesy Cape Island Historical Celebration Committee



The twentieth century has been as busily engaged destroying its High Victorian heritage as that era was in wiping out so many eighteenth-century landmarks. Such losses are not always to be regretted; Camden, for example, lost little when this old City Hall was torn down in the 1930's. It was erected 1874-1875, on the plans of Stephen D. Button (1813-1892), an early pioneer in commuting if not in architecture, who for nearly forty years lived on Mickle Street, Camden, next door to Walt Whitman, while doing most of his work in Philadelphia. A competent enough designer of commercial buildings and churches in the Italianate manner during the 1850's, Button, like many of his generation, never really captured the spirit of Picturesque Eclecticism; he mixed borrowed forms readily enough, but handled them stiffly and clumsily. In contrast to the splendors of its counterpart across the river, John McArthur's soaring and exuberant Philadelphia City Hall, Button's work made a poor showing; but perhaps it suited Camden well enough, for by comparison with the metropolis, Camden at that time was still a very small and provincial place. In this respect, the Camden City Hall was interesting as a cultural expression; and it is interesting in comparison with Cape May's buildings too, for it shows that, as in all historic styles, there was "bad" as well as "good" High Victorian architecture.

Photograph Courtesy Richard Webster

Others, while taking no higher view of High Victorian architecture as such, see it with affectionate nostalgia as part of bygone "good old days" when life was somehow fresher, more interesting, more fun than now. It evokes diverse images and moods of fantasy: the fiends of Charles Addams' cartoons, the reverie of Edward Hopper's canvases, idylls of carefree corruption in a simpler economic era when land and resources still abounded, jolly college pranks in the days before education got somehow mixed up with national survival and the Gross National Product. Or on a more elevated plane, they see Picturesque Eclecticism as the historic expression of unbridled business enterprise. For them, these panoramas of frivolous turrets and fretted window-frames, interminable towers and proliferating ironwork are the last tangible witness to a great age of rugged individualism, when everything was somehow brighter, louder, freer than in our time—when clothes were fancier, flowers bigger, meals heavier, drinks stronger, music brassier, speeches more pompous; when all life seemed pervaded by the contagious confidence, the enviable *joie de vivre,* the optimistic expansiveness of America's greatest age of material growth.

And certainly in this time before the era of Total Wars, public problems did cast a lighter shadow than now over private affairs. A man then might still, as Thomas Mellon reminded his sons, "be a patriot without risking his life or sacrificing his health," and, while great armies bled in the swamps of northern Virginia or the mountains of Tennessee, build huge new industries, pile up fortunes, found new First Families—all to a general approbation rooted in the conviction that, in Lord Macaulay's classic words,

> No ordinary misfortune, no ordinary misgovernment will do so much to make a nation wretched, as the constant progress of physical knowledge and the constant effort of every man to better himself will do to make a nation prosperous.

Partly in consequence of this rampant individualism, partly because of the country's unprecedented economic growth, High Victorian civilization in America had an exuberance which in retrospect seems infinitely appealing. We sense it in the gay panoramas of flags and turrets, bold projections and luxuriant arrays of arches and colonnettes that line the streets of cities in engraved views of the 1870's and 1880's. It informs the delight High Victorians took in the study of history, in appropriating for their use everything the past had to offer, and piling it on their buildings with abandon and elation. For the first time men felt they understood history fully enough to try and rise out of its stream, use its laws to mould their own future, become its movers instead of its manifestations. Americans particularly, in the late 1860's and 1870's, felt when they looked at their great new public buildings loaded with heterogeneous eclectic ornament that they understood (whether correctly or not, is beside the point) Whitman's exhortation:

Sail—sail thy best, ship of Democracy!
Of value is thy freight—'tis not the Present only,
The Past is also stored in thee!
Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone—not of thy western continent alone;
Earth's *résumé* entire floats on thy keel, O ship—is steadied by thy spars;
With thee Time voyages in trust—the antecedent nations sink or swim with thee;
With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics, wars, thou bear'st the other continents;
(From "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free")

But High Victorian architecture expressed another side to postwar American civilization, as well. If great High Victorian mansions speak of engagingly buoyant and naïve individualism, they also speak of social irresponsibility. They were the creation and expression of what Sinclair Lewis called "the heavy dignity of those Victorian financiers who ruled the generation [in the

Midwest] between the pioneers and the brisk 'sales engineers' and created a somber oligarchy by gaining control of banks, mills, land, railroads, mines," of what he called in *Babbitt* "that small, still, dry, polite, cruel . . . tiny hierarchy," for whom all others "unwittingly labor and insignificantly die." The same jostling irregularity that expresses the spirit of untrammeled competition in Victorian streetscapes also expressed all too often a jungle of greed fattening on squalid slums, polluted rivers, wrecked forests, and ruined hopes. And the same endless arrays of sawn curlicues and iron pilasters and plaster foliage that seem so delightfully original to people accustomed to living amid polished glass and prefabricated steel, had in their own day a very different significance; they marked the collapse of handicraft traditions, the triumph of impersonal machine-products, and consequently a major shift in the whole social structure of American civilization.

The traditional craftsman who worked directly with his material, personally carrying out each operation from raw wood or rock to polished table or carved cornice, was part and expression of a society which from the beginning of American civilization almost until the Civil War had always been distinguished by a close and direct relationship between men and the work they did. Pioneers on homesteads, merchants in counting-houses, circuit-riding politicians, aristocratic planters, volunteer militiamen, early factory-owners, even early canal and railroad promoters—all in their several ways could feel they knew what they were doing, personally understood how it was done. But as the nineteenth century progressed and the country grew bigger, its communications better and faster, its working capital larger, a subtle change set in. The Civil War brought it to a dramatic head. All at once, it seemed, the men who worked on and in farms and factories, banks and railroads, were losing control of them. Others, who as often as not knew nothing of their actual operation, were taking over. Men who made money in shipping began putting it into rail-

road stock, whether or not they knew anything about trains. A bank president who had never lived on a farm might take over mortgages on a dozen plantations and begin running them through agents. Land speculators might buy controlling interests in and preside over textile mills of whose workings they had not the faintest comprehension. Rocky Mountain mines might come under the direction of stock manipulators who never left the floor of the Exchange. In politics the same thing was going on; by means of political "machines" a man might come to office knowing nothing of his constituents, nor they of him. And it was no different in the arts. There what came between men and their work might be a tangible thing, a creation of wheels and cogs and levers—lathes, cameras, steam-driven saws; but the effect was the same. In every department of life, machines—whether consisting of stock certificates or political manipulation, or wheels and wire—made it possible as never before in history for goods, services, and art alike to be produced impersonally, by men not directly or ultimately involved in the actual work.

These machines were symptoms of a fundamental change in the ancient relationship between man and nature. Where once Americans had lived in a world where they felt in control of themselves and their destinies, and where consequently the precise and commensurable forms of classical art had seemed self-evidently right, now they felt themselves just as surely losing control of their lives and fortunes, pulled about by unseen strings and hidden forces. And in this world of vague malaise and indefinable insecurity, it was the indefinable, fleeting, and fluid forms of Picturesque Eclecticism that seemed self-evidently right instead. Through the freedom to pile on masses of bombastic decoration without rule or measure that Picturesque Eclecticism allowed them, such men could compensate at least outwardly for the inner uneasiness they felt. The virtuosity and enthusiastic lavishness of High Victorian ornament gave them a means of hiding from themselves the dissolution of old prin-

ciples and standards, just as it increasingly often disguised structures that had lost all systematic proportion, all certainty of symbolism, all real sense of form.

And this was why once the upheavals of the postwar period had begun to subside, and its new patterns of American life had been stabilized and accepted as irrevocable, the generation that matured in the 1880's came to look back on architecture of the Gilded Age with nothing short of horror; and, reacting to its inherent vagueness and flux, this generation brought about a third and final phase of Victorian art, Late Victorian "realism."

"Richardsonian Romanesque"

From the middle of the 1880's through the 1890's, and in lower-class and local pockets well into the twentieth century, the dominant architectural style in New Jersey, as elsewhere in the United States, was what was then and is still called "Richardsonian Romanesque." This way of building took its name from Henry Hobson Richardson, who had developed it during the 1870's, most notably at Trinity Church in Boston, and had by 1880 established himself not only as the leading architect of the United States, but as the first American architect of international reputation. While New Jersey has no works by Richardson himself, it has plenty of representatives of the style associated with his name—from collegiate buildings like Alexander Hall at Princeton, designed by William A. Potter in 1892, to the Pennsylvania Railroad Bridge over the Raritan at New Brunswick. Three of the most typical are the Peddie Memorial Church in Newark, an obvious descendant of Richardson's Trinity; the Prudential Insurance Company Buildings in Newark; and the Casino at Short Hills.

All three of these of these buildings illustrate the essential qualities of the Richardsonian style. They are massive in form—not as massive as Richardson's own work, to be sure, but still far more so than their imme-

Former Music Hall (Casino) in the "ideal" village of Short Hills, designed in 1882 by Stanford White. Probably the first appearance in New Jersey of what was then the advance-guard "Richardsonian" manner. White and his partner Charles Follen McKim, in the firm of McKim, Mead and White were trained in the Boston office of H. H. Richardson, and for some years after leaving it followed the distinctive manner Richardson had developed. This is one of three casinos their firm designed in its first five years which were obviously descendants of Richardson's "Shingle Style." Later they abandoned the Richardsonian style, and McKim especially (who has a New Jersey connection, in that he grew up in one of Davis' houses in Llewellyn Park) became the country's leading exponent of "Beaux-Arts" correctness.

Courtesy of Historic Sites Commission

Peddie (Baptist) Memorial Church, Newark. Named for philanthropist Thomas B. Peddie (founder of the Peddie School in Hightstown), it was completed in 1891 on the plans of local architect, W. Halsey Wood, a finalist in the competition to design the church of St. John the Divine in New York, whose promising career was cut short by early death.

Newark Public Library

Prudential Insurance Company Buildings, Newark, 1890-1892 (*left*) and 1910, built on the plans of George B. Post. The typical late Victorian largeness of scale can be seen in comparison with the smaller buildings on the block.
Newark Public Library

diate predecessors. By comparison with the solidity of the Short Hills Casino, or the heavy sheets of stonework on the Peddie Church, the High Victorian buildings of Cape May (Ills. 40 and 41) or Stephen Button's Camden City Hall (Ill. 42) seem thin and unsubstantial; as for the Prudential Insurance Company Buildings, when Prudential-founder John F. Dryden asked his architect for a building that would "give the impression of strength and stability," George B. Post responded with

such enthusiasm that, according to a doleful account of plans for demolishing the structures to make way for a new office building complex, announced in the *Newark Sunday News* for November 13, 1955, the walls were "from 5 to 14 feet thick, with heavy greystone blocks backed by brick . . . also a steel frame . . . the ordinary ball-and-crane method of knocking down stone walls will not work. It will be necessary to take down the heavy granite [sic] blocks one by one. . . ."

All three buildings illustrate the characteristic way of expressing the nature of materials—the "woodiness" of shingles on the Casino or of golden oak on the church interior, the "stoniness" of stone in the walls of the Peddie and Prudential Buildings—which was Richardson's great contribution to the "progressive" movement among early twentieth-century architects, and one of the roots of modern architecture in the United States. But, in contrast, all three buildings show, too, the same basically High Victorian character as Richardson's work in their emphasis on picturesqueness of outline. His characteristic asymmetry and variegated massing is more obvious in the earlier work—Stanford White's Casino—than in the later ones (Peddie Church shows its later date in greater slickness, being less vigorously variegated, more regular in plan and elevation generally than Richardson's own work was), but all of them are typically picturesque in composition nonetheless. And all three buildings are eclectic, too, in the picturesque Victorian sense rather than archaeologically. Peddie Church, which was called "Byzantine," has nothing like the strict archaeological correctness the next generation would demand, while in the Prudential Buildings archaeological considerations are clearly modified by Post's characteristic feeling for the expression of structure (by training an engineer, Post had been the first to introduce practicable elevators into commercial buildings).

Nowadays such buildings seem unpleasantly heavy and complicated, but historically it is easy to see why the

"Richardsonian Manner" was so popular. Few if any architectural styles have ever so perfectly embodied the spirit of their times.

"Richardsonian Romanesque" and the "Shingle Style" represented the most mature and sophisticated expression of the most appealing qualities of High Victorian picturesque eclecticism. These combinations of richly textured expanses of stone or shingle, cavelike arches, ponderous beams and columns building up to massive central cores sprayed with pinnacles and turrets, presented the eye with a rich complex of ever-shifting shapes and unexpected sequences of pattern that carried High Victorian picturesqueness to a point where all earlier buildings seemed somehow dry, tinny, unsubstantial, and gauche. These forms, reminiscent of diverse medieval epochs but distinctive of none but their own, brought to mind more consummately than ever before that image of vague and undefined "pastness" in general which was the High Victorian symbolic ideal.

The size, scale, and costly materials of "Richardsonian" buildings appealed to the characteristic pride of that age in America's unprecedented material growth, and, more broadly, to that same (and equally characteristic) pride in the great and obvious extensions of human powers being brought about by expanding science and deeper scholarship, which was so well expressed in the High Victorian penchant for forcing natural materials into odd and unnatural shapes—for fountains, fireworks, fretwork. And at the same time they appealed to the characteristic High Victorian obsession with images of stability arising from the waves of change in technology and ideas which unsettled old patterns and spread a pervasive uneasiness throughout society; in this respect "Richardsonian" massiveness and ponderosity were in a class with Old Oaken Buckets, Little Brown Churches in the Vale, Currier and Ives prints of "American Home Life", and John Rogers' statuary groups like "Checkers Down On The Farm" as symbols of that old sense of belonging, of continuity with the past, which seemed to

have slipped away with the War, and which High Victorian Americans so desperately wanted to recapture.

On the other hand, however, there were in "Richardsonian Romanesque" certain implicit attitudes towards the nature of architecture and the function of architects that anticipated a new and different era. Richardson's work had a new kind of personal quality; a foreign visitor summed it up in a famous remark when, looking from Richardson's great piles of massive arches and diversely textured stonework to their great bear of a creator—fat, bearded, hearty, given to florid waistcoats and enormous meals—he said, "My God, how he looks like his own buildings!" Furthermore, Richardson and his followers enjoyed high status in society, and conducted their practices in a manner unheard of in America. No artisans come up in the world, no gentlemen amateurs, men like Richardson, McKim, Stanford White, Bruce Price, and the rest were fundamentally artist-executives. They ran efficiently organized offices with dozens of subordinates in all capacities from designing partners to cabinet makers and masons, in the spirit of industrialists directing great corporations, or political bosses managing political machines. Businessmen among businessmen, tycoons among tycoons, they prospered materially as few artists in history have. Nothing about them of the starving genius in an attic, sacrificing present prospects for future fame; they belonged to the best clubs, they counted leading men all over the country among their friends, associates, and clients.

Even more significant was their new awareness of themselves as independent creative personalities. Like their contemporaries in French painting, Gustave Courbet and the Impressionists (and it is no accident that Paris was the place for aspiring American architects to study as early as the 1860's and 1870's), they conceived of themselves as something more than ordinary men—not so much in skills, as in perception, sensitivity, erudition, and intuition. Once upon a time artists were admired as technicians able to make the world a pleasanter and more

attractive place; not these men. They aspired to lead men towards fuller and richer lives in every sense. Once upon a time it had been assumed that artists by definition were people whose primary concern was with Beauty—noble forms, noble sentiments; no longer. Their concern was with Reality. Whatever the implicit symbolism of Richardsonian stonework and shingle, exposed beams and buttresses, architecturally they were justified as "real" architecture, in contrast to the preceding artificiality of jigwork, plaster, and applied ornament. And if these new architects could claim not only equality with but superiority to social and political leaders, it was because Art by their definition was a different kind of activity, with new goals and a role in society it never had before: to formulate and express the Real.

"Richardsonian Romanesque," then, belonged in two worlds. From one point of view, it was the great culmination of High Victorian architecture in America, the ultimate creation and expression of civilization in the United States after the Civil War. But from another, it marked the beginning both of Late Victorian "realism" and, by extension, of that totally new concept of the art of building on which what we call "modern" architecture was based. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising either that the vogue for Richardsonian Romanesque was so intense—or that it was so short. For it was inevitable that the rising generation of the 1890's, once having accepted Reality as an architectural goal, would find Richardsonian architecture inadequate. Richardson's kind of Reality was only implicit; his successors wanted something more. Their search for an eplicit statement of Reality is the theme of Late Victorian architecture in America.

Two Concepts of Late Victorian Reality: 1885-1930

By the time of Richardson's death in 1886, reaction against "Richardsonian Romanesque" was already set-

ting in. In the pervasive insecurity generated by High Victorian social and economic upheavals, its picturesque impressions of rugged stability had seemed irresistibly right; the originality his kind of eclecticism demanded had seemed satisfying compensation for the increasingly mechanical pattern of urbanized, industrialized life; his direct expression of materials, a welcome antidote to the increasingly dehumanized relationship between men and their work. But the rising generation, men born in the 1850's and coming to maturity in the 1880's, began to find these qualities no real cure for the basic malaise of the age. Indeed, they felt that in some ways the Richardsonian cure was worse than the disease. So far from checking the erosion of old standards, such an extravagant emphasis on originality could only accelerate it, they thought; precisely this sense of wandering in a jungle of competitive personal expressions, of shifting values determined by subjective associations, was what caused the uneasiness in the first place. Not more subjectivity, but an architecture based on "realistic" and rationally defensible foundations, was what the Late Victorian age demanded, and what the leading architects of the 1890's and early 1900's were above all determined to find.

That such fundamentals could be found, none of them doubted. For along with its malaise they had inherited the optimism of the High Victorian spirit—progress is inevitable. The only question was, which way is progress? In what do the real fundamentals of art and architecture consist? Do you go back: return to the past and rediscover old fundamentals there? Or do you forget the past and go forward to discover new fundamentals, or at least formulations of the old ones in terms meaningful to a new and technologically more advanced age? Both points of view were possible. Both could claim to be "realistic." And both could claim justification from Richardsonian precedent—one from the kind of direct and "honest" expression of materials and structure evidenced in the Short Hills Casino, the other from that tendency to borrow only from one style at a time, and with increasing

archaeological correctness, evident in the Peddie Church and the Prudential Buildings. But as they developed, they came to seem more and more irreconcilable. This antithesis is the main theme of Late Victorian architectural history.

It was not only in architecture that such a split developed, of course. Two comparable trends are evident in almost every phase of Late Victorian civilization in America. The reform movements, so characteristic of that age, are a very pertinent example. There are some reformers—a majority—who urge return to what they believe were the sounder, solider traditions of earlier times: prohibitionists who want to restore the mythical "good old days" of plain living and high thinking; social reformers and isolationists who want to revive the small and unentangled America to which Washington addressed his Farewell; political reformers like William Jennings Bryan and Robert La Follette and Woodrow Wilson whose ideal is the early nineteenth-century nation of limited and decentralized government, genuine competition, fluid social structure, truly free enterprise. And there is a minority who want to put society on new or very different foundations altogether: the "improper Bohemians" of Greenwich Village, with their "revolutionary" ideas on love, marriage, and war; socialists who want to try a new economic system, one they think corresponds better to the "real" needs of technologically advanced nations; founders of new religious sects replacing revelation with the "realities" of humanistic ethics, or technocracy, or whatever. But it is in architecture that these two characteristically Late Victorian points of view appear most obviously.

Conservative Realism: The "Revival of the Revivals"

Dominant in the Late Victorian age were those reformers who looked backward for salvation, who felt somehow that "reality" was to be found in past precedents, improved by present resources. In architecture this

meant in practice reproducing past styles as the Early Victorians had done, but with all the greater accuracy now possible and all the greater size and scale demanded by a half-century's accumulted wealth and scholarship. Since most of their leaders were trained in or dominated by the teachings of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, we can call them loosely and collectively the "academicians," the "Beaux-Arts" men. Such were Richard Morris Hunt; McKim, Mead and White; Cram and Ferguson; Carrère and Hastings. Their work and ideas made a natural appeal to men of means and conservative instincts; in consequence, they dominated most Late Victorian architecture of any pretensions. They are well represented in New Jersey, not only by such mansions in wealthy suburbs and resorts as Murry Guggenheim's at Long Branch, or by Cram's lavishly endowed chapel at Princeton, but also by the solid, spacious, more or less archaeologically correct homes of the middle and upper classes that burgeoned in every prosperous suburb.

Always a more "exclusive" resort than Cape May, Long Branch at the turn of the twentieth century was a kind of New Jersey Newport; though boasting nothing comparable in scale to Richard Morris Hunt's mansions like "The Breakers" or "Ochre Court," still its summer homes were palatial enough, as the Guggenheim Mansion demonstrates. It was built, 1903-1905, for one of Meyer Guggenheim's sons by the New York firm of J. M. Carrère and Thomas Hastings. Its large, studied, and precise renditions of Louis XVI forms were intended to make Early Victorian Classical Revival houses like the Gibbons Mansion p. 58 seem puny and naïve and High Victorian mansions like the Emlen Physick House p. 90 jumbled and ridiculous. Compared to such predecessors, architecture like this seemed to men at the time to represent a veritable "American Renaissance"—an escape from picturesque eclectic confusions of form and eccentricities of expression into the secure reality of fixed prototypes and sure rules, executed with impeccable scholarly truth.

The same could be said of the scholarly correctness of

Murry Guggenheim Mansion (now Murry and Leonie Guggenheim Memorial Library of Monmouth College), Long Branch.
Office of Public Relations, Monmouth College

Princeton's Graduate College and Chapel as built by Ralph Adams Cram, the famed neo-Gothicist who had "rescued" the cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York from the lingering picturesque Eclecticism of its original design and in 1907 redesigned its great nave in thirteenth-century purity. To revive Gothic architecture was for Cram, as it had been for Augustus Pugin, Upjohn, and other Early Victorians, not so much a question of architectural style as a means toward moral and social reform. His writings, his speeches, his buildings

Nave of Princeton University Chapel, built, 1925-1928, on the designs of Ralph Adams Cram of Boston.

Courtesy Princeton University Department of Public Information

were all parts of a crusade to restore "truth" and "beauty" to the world. For Cram, as for Plato and Palladio, these qualities were identical; where he differed from them, and from Early Victorians too, was in subsuming both in a concept of "Reality" which he believed was best embodied in the kind of honest structure and direct expression of materials to be found in High Gothic architecture. In designing monuments whose construction and function was to evoke and revive in a twentieth-century collegiate setting the cloistered and religion-centered atmosphere of education in medieval Oxford and Cambridge, Cram had dramatic visual and archaeological success, but he and his followers all too often (it sometimes seems now) ignored other kinds of reality—social, technological, even financial.

However, the best-known manifestation of the "Revival of the Revivals" in New Jersey is probably the "Dutch Colonial" house, built by thousands in burgeoning suburbs from 1890 through the 1920's. Its inspiration goes back to the Centennial of 1876, when Americans were whipped into a patriotic fervor over their heritage, and perspicacious architects began exploring the hinterland for some "truly American" style to revive. As early as 1877 J. Cleveland Cady was addressing an American Institute of Architects chapter in New York on the subject of "Dutch Farmhouses" in New Jersey which, he thought, being "never . . . ambitious or pretentious," would make admirable models for suburban houses: "The big chimneys, broad, well-lighted doorways and spreading roofs suggest hospitality and good cheer." Architects then and for decades to come had only the crudest notions about the actual historical development of their long-neglected native traditions; they used "Colonial," "Palladian," or "Georgian" collectively and indiscriminately to imply something old, picturesque, and desirably American. No matter; the spirit of the times found the idea of a "Colonial" or "Georgian" revival irresistible, and by 1920 such houses were standard dwellings for prosperous middle classes all over the

A typical "Dutch Colonial" house mixes suggestions of "Dutch" chimney, flaring eave, and gambrel roof with Philadelphia brickwork, New England shingles and overhang, as well as a "sleeping porch" of High Victorian villa ancestry.

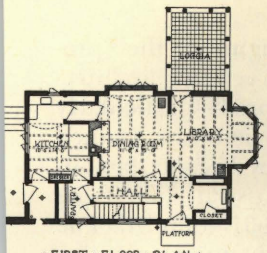
Courtesy New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

country. Sinclair Lewis wrote in 1922: "Babbitt's green and white Dutch Colonial house was one of three in that block . . . five years old. It was all . . . competent and glossy . . . It had the best of taste, the best of inexpensive rugs, a simple and laudable architecture, and the latest conveniences. Throughout, electricity took the place of candles and slatternly hearth-fires."

Progressive Realism: Intimations of Organic Architecture

Beside the dominant academic group there was in the Late Victorian period a minority who, starting with the proposition that the past is gone and will never return, saw "realism" in architecture as demanding new forms and principles appropriate to what they recognized as a new society and a new technology. They were (and are) known variously and collectively as "rebels," or "radicals," or the "Old Pioneers" (of a new architectural tradition). "Progressives" is perhaps the best general word for them. This second group is far from as well represented in New Jersey as the first. Their strength was in newer parts of the country. Chicago, rebuilding after the fire of 1871, generated a cluster of "progressives," working out the implications of Louis H. Sullivan's ideas and example; by 1900 it included Frank Lloyd Wright, Hugh Garden, Dwight Perkins, Walter Burley Griffin, George Elmslie, Purcell, Maher, Spencer, and many more. California was another center of the new architecture; there worked Bernard Maybeck, Irving Gill, the Greene brothers, Helen Lukens Gaut, among others. This movement was represented in New Jersey in more or less watered-down form; the work by Joy Wheeler Dow and Gustav Stickley illustrated here is typical.

It may seem strange to represent the "progressive" wing of early twentieth-century American architecture by something which looks so much like an ordinary "Period house" or any middle-class late Victorian work as a cottage by Joy Wheeler Dow. But in considering the Late Victorian period we must remember that what now seems in retrospect the sharp division between the "new," "organic" architecture of, say, Sullivan and Wright in Chicago or Gill and the Greens in California and the academic "Beaux-Arts" design was by no means so obvious at the time. For its time and place, a house like this was very modern. Here most of the principles of "organic" architecture are incorporated, however timidly—



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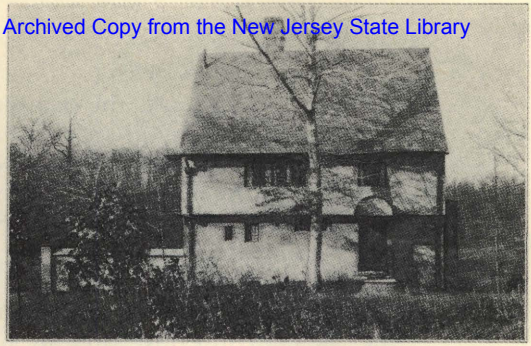
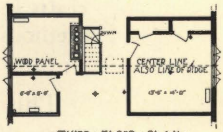




• THIRD • FLOOR • PLAN •

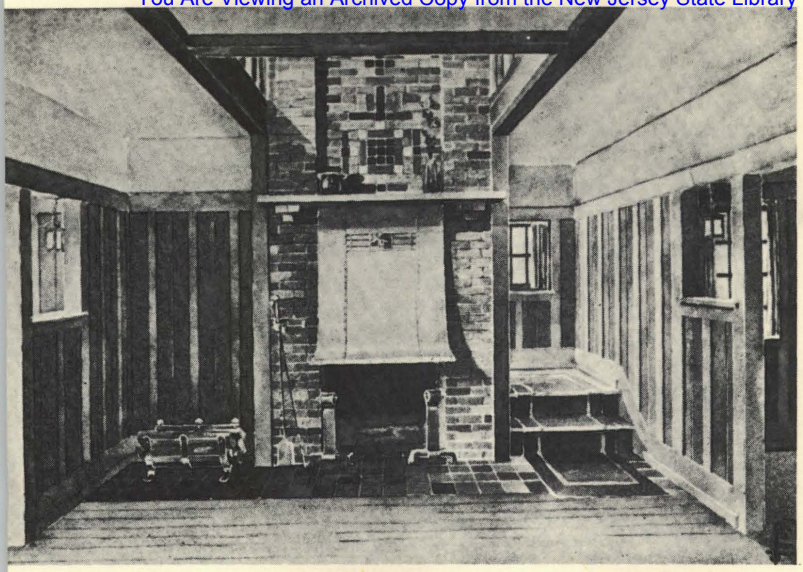
"A Wayside Modern Home with All the Charm of an Old English Cottage. Joy Wheeler Dow, Architect, Summit, New Jersey. . . . Built for Mrs. Elizabeth G. Dow . . . in 1910 at a cost of about $8500."

irregular plan nicely adjusted to nature through plantings, hillside setting, space-encompassing balcony, emphasis on frank expression of materials in the arts-and-crafts manner which so influenced "Progressives" from Chicago to California. There was nothing incongruous, then, about its publication in a book on *Modern American Homes* (Chicago, 1912) by the same H. V. von Holst to whom Frank Lloyd Wright left his practice when he went to Europe in 1909, or that it should appear alongside designs by Wright, the Greenes, Walter Burley Griffin, Maher, and Spencer.

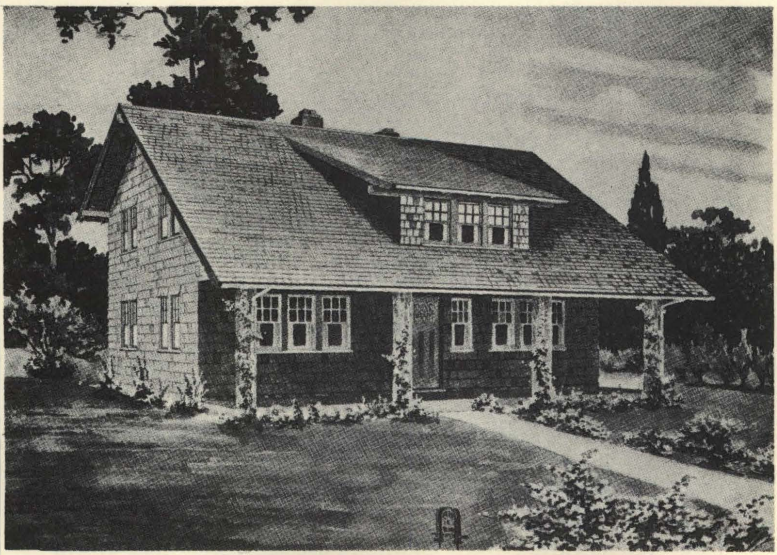
Gustav Stickley was the one major figure of the "progressive" movement in early twentieth-century architecture—albeit now rather unjustly ignored—particularly associated with New Jersey. Born in Wisconsin, trained in a Pennsylvania chair factory, Stickley became famous for "hand-crafted" reproductions of classical chair types in Binghamton, New York, and in 1901 founded *The Craftsman,* which soon became an influential voice for the "new architecture" and an antagonist of the Beaux-Arts "American Renaissance." *The Craftsman's* October, 1908, issue described:

> the house I am building at "Craftsman Farms," an estate I have recently purchased near Morris Plains, New Jersey, upon which I purpose to make my home and where I am preparing to establish a school for the definite working out of the theory I have so long held of reviving practical and profitable handicrafts in connection with small farming carried on by modern methods of intensive agriculture.

This house (which still stands) incorporated many features of "organic" architecture: "lines, proportions, and color . . . designed with a special view to the contours of the ground . . ."; "the stone walls of the first story rise directly from the ground and their connection with the soil is emphasized . . . ," interpenetration of exterior and interior space effected by pergolas (a California motif much admired by Stickley); an open-air fireplace in the living room (whose walls were broken out), wide balconies and eaves, and open floor plan; built-in furniture, much of it in what came to be called (though never by Stickley himself) the "mission style." Though it took some decades for Stickley's more "advanced" ideas to become widely popular, his "Craftsman Homes," appearing regularly in each of Craftsman issues were enormously influential. They were advanced enough so that even Wright evidently did not disdain to learn from them (as random comparisons with Prairie House interiors will show); at the same time, their descent from High Vic-



Interior and exterior designs for "Craftsman Homes" by Gustav Stickley.



torian "Shingle Style" was clear enough so that speculative builders found them readily acceptable to the great public (less such "craft" features as the verandah pillars in their natural tree-trunk shape). Nowhere were they more popular than in New Jersey; dedicated to improving the level of mass housing, appearing at precisely the moment when suburban developments were proliferating all over the State, "Craftsman" house-types were built by the hundreds, and can still be seen everywhere.

In sum, designers like Dow and Stickley are less emphatically concerned than their California or Chicago counterparts with "realistic" expression of structure and materials, much more influenced by the backward-looking element in the arts and crafts movement which, following the lead of its High Victorian instigators, John Ruskin and William Morris, sought salvation by trying to restore a lost tradition of virtuous handicrafts. Yet they do represent the basic principles of "realism," as the progressives understood it, well enough for us to make some comparisons with academic "realism," to see how the two groups differed, and why.

Academics vs. Progressives: Contrasts in Reality

Springing from the same origin in Richardsonian Romanesque, motivated by the same impulse towards "realism" in architecture, academicians and progressives essentially shared the same body of principles. Their difference was one of degree and emphasis. For example, both were "literate" as architects had never been before. Both were intensely concerned with the abstract theory of "realism" in architecture; both wrote prolifically about themselves and their work, and were written about, in books, technical journals and popular magazines. But whereas for academicians this meant careful study and exact copying of suitable monuments from past ages, the progressives attempted to recapture the "spirit" of past epochs rather than their precise forms. Where Cram

in the Princeton Chapel reproduces the forms and materials of thirteenth-century Gothic exactly, Joy Wheeler Dow's "Home with All the Charm of an Old English Cottage," is a typically vague "progressive" design.

Stickley tries to suggest the "feel" of Spanish colonial folk materials and techniques in his furnishings, without necessarily imitating specific types or forms, just as Bernard Maybeck, when he designed the First Church of Christ Scientist in Berkeley, tried "to put myself in the boots of a fellow in the 12th century." Consequently, where academicians' writings were polished expositions and commentaries on the prototypes which they proposed to follow—Cram, for instance, was a distinguished author in his own right—writing for the progressives meant rationalizations of what they had already done, attempts (necessarily, often stumbling in effect) to put into words concepts far better expressed in tangible architectural form.

"Honesty"—expressing the "realities" of structure and materials—was another common concern that academicians and progressives shared. The progressives considered "honesty" a merit in itself. When occasion demanded, they would readily depart from strict archaeological exactness to ensure it—as evidenced here in the looseness of historical allusion, and corresponding emphasis on expression of materials, in both Dow's English Cottage and Stickley's free mixing of Shingle Style, "mission", and California motifs. Furthermore, many progressives were willing to incorporate and express in their buildings when appropriate not only old materials but new ones: steel, glass, concrete. But to academicians, such free interpretations seemed only to result in perpetuating the chaotic and vulgar formlessness of Picturesque Eclecticism; so far from "modern," they found it retrogressive. They identified "honesty" with fidelity to historical models, which meant expressing realities of structure or materials only insofar as those models allowed. When they built in Gothic, for example, "honesty" was called for to a much greater degree than in the classical styles—

Cram tried to express structure and materials directly in the Princeton Chapel, while Carrère and Hastings in their Guggenheim Mansion did not, not necessarily because these men held different views on the matter, but because the styles they were using made different demands. "Be not honest overmuch" was the academians' general position; and most people agreed with them. The very large proportion of academic to progressive architecture built in New Jersey during the Late Victorian period is typical of the United States generally.

Living in an age of increasingly scientific scholarship as they did, both academicians and progressives were aware, as Early Victorians never could have been, that historic styles like Greek or Gothic were at least as much products of economic and social forces as vehicles for expressing intellectual ideas as such. When Cram called Gothic "Christian and Catholic," for instance, he meant not that it made specific and dogmatic statements in symbolic language (as Pugin or Upjohn might have claimed), but that in Gothic architecture as in Catholic Christianity there was to be found the highest embodiments of those universal principles of truth and beauty which constituted the good life generally. Similarly, whereas for Early Victorians the "American" connotations of classical architecture were precise and specific—Roman Republican virtue, Greek democratic liberty, and so on—Late Victorians understood the "American" implications of Imperial Roman railroad stations of Louis XVI mansions in a far more general way, as manifestations of the wealth, power, and cultural achievements possible under the American system of government. Describing the "residence of Charles Crocker" in San Francisco, for instance, W. M. Thayer wrote in the *Marvels of the New West* (1887):

> It is large enough and good enough for a king. Indeed, a king built it—one of the kings found among the sovereign people of America, where all are sovereigns. Outside, inside, and surroundings are as complete and near perfection as money could assure.

Late Victorian architects could see Americanism embodied impartially in such diverse forms as rough, rambling, shingled Cape Cod cottages, the plain brick walls and chaste rows of dormers on "Georgian" college campuses, or grandiose Roman porticoes and marble walls, because fifty years of scholarship since the Early Victorian period enabled them to see each of these styles in the perspective of given times and conditions in American history, understand them as general manifestations of the American past rather than specific statements about the American character.

But on this point again there was a difference of degree between academicians and progressives. Though they might interpret the significance of past styles more broadly than Early Victorians, Late Victorian academicians still maintained quite precise ideas about the differences between, say, "Dutch," "Georgian," or "Roman." Progressives, by contrast, often tended to ignore such nice distinctions altogether. Some of them—Sullivan is the great example—even went so far as to talk about the "American spirit" not being symbolized in historically recognizable forms at all, but in the way structure and ornament were handled. American liberty, it seemed to him, meant freedom from fixed models, a position which to academicians was simply one more proof that the progressives were perpetuating Picturesque Eclecticism in disguise, and to the public generally one more reason for considering the polished and correct work of Carrère and Hastings or Cram as infinitely superior to their rivals'.

Indeed, to conservative minds the progressives' position often seemed not merely confused, but downright subversive. What were solid citizens to think of people who could ask, like William L. Price, quoted in Gustav Stickley's *More Craftsman Homes* of 1912, how:

". . . we who have built up privileges and powers and potentates in the name of democracy . . . who have repudiated Jefferson's 'the earth belongs in usufruct to the living'—what should we know of the house of the democrat? We are fasten-

ing tighter the rule of the past in the name of education and taste . . . just as our 'Supreme Courts' are binding the hands of Tomorrow with the precedents of yesterday. . . . Our laws are like our houses, cluttered up with imitations of the outworn junk of other days. There is scarcely a moulding in your house that is not stupidly copied or perverted from some lost meaning expressed by men of other days in the building of temple or palace . . . no ornament that does not reek of the pride of place and power. . . . And however with our lips we have repudiated those shams, in our spirits we still glorify hereditary power . . . and we still copy so far as we can its vainglorious essays at expression. . . . Our furnishings . . . lick the feet of a pompous past, bow down in worship of a time that, at least, had the conviction of its sins, and openly elected to be lorded over by privileged classes."

It is in scale that Late Victorian architecture generally differs most obviously from the Early Victorian that it superficially resembles. Everything about Late Victorian is bigger. The country was bigger, too; that earlier America of small towns and tidy courthouses and simple citizen-farmers seemed very, very far away, and architecture shows it. Individually, buildings of every kind are bigger than comparable types fifty years before. Offices, hotels, city plans, railroad stations, even the ordinary city houses you see in middle- and lower-class districts are roomier, higher, airier, bulkier. But again, there were two kinds of Late Victorian bigness. Academicians tended to think of great scale and sheer physical size as practically the same thing. And they considered both scale and size as symbolically functional—the huge railroad station as symbolic of civic progress, the huge hotel as a sign of prosperity, grandiose buildings in general as embodying the "real character" of Late Victorian America with its megalopolises, giant corporations, expanding population, and increasingly cosmopolitan outlook. By contrast—though we cannot see it too well in New Jersey—progressives emphasized the principle of a new and larger module of scale as a means of coordinating architectural details with each other, and whole buildings

with their total environment. They tried to scale their environments intelligibly rather than merely grandiosely. They claimed to build for men, not giants.

Richness, too, is a common characteristic of all Late Victorian architecture. Maturing industrialism had created a society collectively wealthy as never before in history. Academic architects most commonly expressed this through dramatically conspicuous waste—imported ornament, exotic furnishings, unnecessarily expensive materials (gold faucets, hand-carved paneling or sculpture in an age of machines, etc.). They chose models that were ostentatiously uneconomic for their place and purpose (noblemen's palaces for summer cottages, Imperial Roman baths for railroad stations, a mighty cathedral for a college chapel). But for progressives, the new collective wealth of the Late Victorian world was evidence of an approaching consummation of the old "American dream" of a society with no poor and no peasants, where all men would have sufficient means to enjoy the life, liberty, and opportunity for happiness with which the Creator had endowed them. So whereas the characteristic "academic" building of the Late Victorian period is a Guggenheim Mansion, the skyscraper of a giant corporation all loaded with correct classical or Gothic ornament, or a soaring vault erected at enormous cost, the progressives characteristically produced designs that might be easily and economically copied. They offered to people everywhere houses of a comfort and luxury and elegance never imagined at the price before—Stickley's "Craftsman Homes" for a few thousand dollars, Wright's Prairie Houses for the masses published in the *Ladies' Home Journal,* von Holst's *Modern American Homes,* "simple yet elegant . . . that may be built for $900," "designs easily adaptable to any place or purse."

Among both academicians and progressives, finally, the architect appears as a fully independent personality, at long last entirely emancipated from any connection with the tradition-bound artisan. But in this respect the difference between them is perhaps most striking of all.

If the progressive is never widely or warmly welcomed by the great public during the Late Victorian period, that is the price he pays for maintaining individuality; he is truly a leader, ahead of his time. By contrast, the academician enjoys his commanding reputation and remuneration precisely because he has in fact abrogated his independence. And however intermittently, feebly, or vainly, all but the most insensitive academicians knew it. Their kind of realism so perfectly suited upper-class instincts and prejudices that it stultified all further development. Only the most unintelligent among them could fail to realize the real rationale of what they were doing—that their Roman palaces and Gothic cathedrals in fact represented little self-contained worlds insulated against the present, in whose remoteness wealthy men could escape all reminders of how, when, and by whom their fortunes had been accumulated. Quite as well as any socialist agitator, they could see the incongruity of coke kings and lumber barons posing on Renaissance thrones and Gothic cathedras. And if for us they created a great cultural expression of one aspect of a vanished age, that was no comfort to them. They knew that just as their patrons were not really Medicis or Sugers, so they were far indeed from being successors to Michaelangelo or Pierre de Montereau. That very insistence on rigid historical prototypes, on "reviving the Revivals," which had seemed to promise salvation from Picturesque Eclectic confusion, in the end proved a prison, stultifying originality and further development, leading only to a dead end. And in time that dead end came to be plain to everyone.

The Late Victorian Legacy in New Jersey

If you compare Cram's Princeton Chapel with Upjohn's New St. Mary's in Burlington, or the grandiose Roman imitations of Carrère and Hastings with the Early Victorian Greek Revival, you will see at once that these later

builders plainly and demonstrably knew more about the historical style they were using. Not only were the details copied more accurately, from specific prototypes known and studied thoroughly, but they understood the basic character of these historical styles—their structural principles, their proportions, their "feel." To all appearances (forgetting for the moment any hidden steel or concrete frames, modern plumbing, or increase in scale), these *are* Gothic or Louis XVI buildings. And that was emphatically not true of most Early Victorian buildings, let alone those from the High Victorian period. Nobody would mistake the Peddie Church for real Romanesque, or the Gibbons Mansion for a real Roman temple; furthermore, nobody was expected to. High Victorians called themselves eclectics and were proud of it. Like Mr. McGuffy advertising his *Eclectic Readers,* earlier Victorians quite honestly acknowledged that they were borrowing selected historical elements in order to make of them creations appropriate to their own age; they had no intention of reviving the architecture of specific historical epochs as such. Jefferson admired Roman not because it was Roman, but because it was, to his way of thinking, American. But these Late Victorian academic architects were different. They were not creating a style of their own. They were making quite deliberately recognizable versions of Gothic cathedrals and Georgian college buildings and Bourbon palaces. And they thereby raised a basic problem which High Victorians by their originality, and Early Victorians through their ignorance, had always been able to avoid. For if you know so much about the past that you can no longer believe in any simple interpretation of its forms as symbolizing ideas as such, useful in your own age; if what you build has no particular reference to your own times, but is simply a reproduction of some earlier building type, sooner or later you must ask: why? What is all this about? Why use historical styles at all? And there is no good answer. Once you come to the point of consciously and seriously beginning to wonder

if a thirteenth-century cathedral really is the best house of worship a twentieth-century university can build, if a great Georgian mansion really can accommodate the functions of a gymnasium, if an Imperial Roman bath really is the best setting for modern railroad or banking operations, then the whole eclectic game is over. You will recognize in this sort of thing—to use clichés appropriate to it—not a wave of the future, but the dead hand of the past.

Seeing historical forms perfectly reproduced at last, you realize that what was significant about them was not their forms at all, but the universal principles of "commodity, firmness, and delight" which are the basis of all great architecture. As for the forms themselves, they at last stand out starkly for what they are—nothing but shells, whose only value was to encase living principles, and which now can have at best no more than the dead and frigid beauty of flowers preserved in wax. All that Late Victorian academic architecture illustrates in the end is the principle that nothing fails like success.

And if its major monuments are lifeless, how much more so are the middle-class and mass-produced variants of Late Victorian academic architecture that still line so many streets in New Jersey cities! One glance at them is enough. Here Late Victorian academic principles are as yet so inadequately understood and inconsistently applied that "picturesqueness" is still very much in evidence—the old irregular outlines, the contrasts of shape and texture, the non-structural applied eclectic ornament, and the other hallmarks of High Victorian building, all persist. But academic rigidity "in the air" changes the old mood, kills the old enthusiasm. What was once a series of new and exciting visual experiences has become a monotonous rehearsing of worn-out formulas. Everything is toned down, restrained, decorous; the ornament less abundant, the contrasts less daring, the outlines more regular, the symbolism vaguer and unconvinced. Here two phases of Victorian art have canceled each other out—for "decorous picturesqueness" or

The Boardwalk, Atlantic City. Atlantic City was founded in 1852 on an island off a part of the Jersey coast protected from northeastern winter storms and warmed by the Gulf Stream. It was already well established by 1870, when the first boardwalk was built; but its great growth began with the "invention" of the amusement pier in 1882, so that the city's basic architectural character is Late Victorian (the present boardwalk dates from 1896, with continuous repairs over the years, of course). Dominating the background here for instance, is the Traymore Hotel, built in 1906 by William L. Price and M. Hawley McLanahan—a typical monument to Late Victorian opulence and bigness of scale.

Courtesy New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Street Scene, c.1950, in Perth Amboy—or New Brunswick, or Elizabeth, or Trenton; it hardly matters where. Still at mid-twentieth-century. New Jersey's legacy from the Late Victorian tradition in architecture was to be seen in cities and towns all over the State. And it was a poor one. The crowded, jostling collections of buildings created by and expressive of untrameled private enterprise; the applied decoration feebly symbolizing ideas associated with historic styles; the visual irregularity of outline—these formal characteristics of the Victorian tradition remained. But the spirit which animated them has long gone; there remain only ugly shells, aesthetic wreckage, the meaningless ruins of a style.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Late Victorian houses—again, they could be anywhere. Essentially, they are tidier versions of High Victorian houses. Late Victorian "realism" has made them a little more erudite, if that is the word; at least, the ornament is less lavish and generally confined to one style: the houses being more or less colonial, the school (or is it a factory?) vaguely Italianate (or could it be Classical?). It has simplified and regularized their basic outlines, but in so doing, it has paralyzed them. "Decorous picturesqueness" or "studied fantasy" are contradictions in terms. The very life of Picturesque Eclecticism depends upon imagination, lavishness, daring. Take those qualities away from it, without substituting either archaeological correctness or organic expression of structure and materials, and what have you left? Only a corpse, a tradition disintegrating into meaninglessness.

Courtesy of New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

"studied fantasy" are in fact contradictions in terms. Take away from Picturesque Eclecticism its imagination, its lavish abandon, its daring, and only meaningless jumble remains. And that is precisely the impression these Late Victorian streets have left us. Like beaches littered with crazy piles of débris from some great storm, their once complex patterns have disintegrated into simple chaos; their irregular outlines have become formless convolutions. Contrasts that once stimulated the eye now simply bewilder it with their aimlessness. Forms that once had symbolic meaning—medieval crenelations or Renaissance pilasters—have been simplified into incomprehensible excrescences. Daring projections have become series of haphazard bumps and angles. Nowhere in streets like these is there a patch of order or harmonious proportion on which the eye can rest. The disaster is total.

But this is not all the fault of Late Victorian designers. They had inherited a hopeless problem. The High Victorians bequeathed to their successors something much worse than a partially worn-out tradition; they left behind them an aesthetic vacuum. In earlier ages, when a tradition had outlived its usefulness, some positive residue had always been left—the universal, absolute principles of beauty and (in architecture) structure—on which a new style could be built. It was so, for instance, when Renaissance classicism superseded the medieval tradition. But Late Victorian academic eclecticism, with its total dependence on erudite imitation of past styles, completed the ruin of purely architectural principles that Early Victorian literary symbolism had begun. There was nothing left. On the Victorian tradition no new art could be built. If architecture were to be rejuvenated, it would have to be on different premises and with a different attitude toward building altogether.

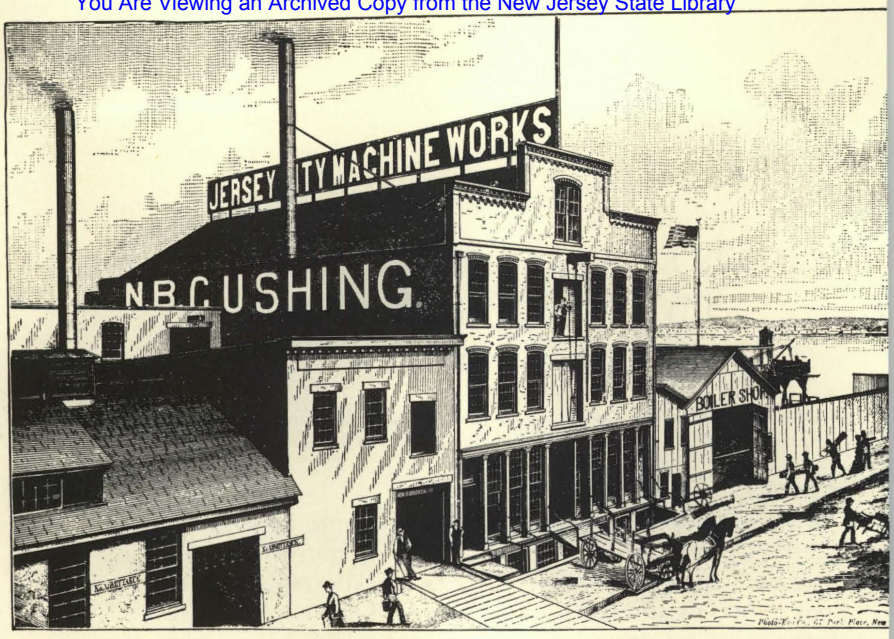
IV

ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW JERSEY

THE APPEARANCE of modern architecture in New Jersey (and in the United States generally, of course) was determined by three distinct factors: the development of new materials and techniques of building; the speculative theories of "progressive" architects worked out in the Late Victorian years, from the 1880's to the Great War; and a general repudiation of the fundamental premises of the Victorian mind, along with the attitudes towards art that grew out of them. Each of these factors was essential in creating the new tradition, but none of them could have brought it about alone.

FROM VICTORIAN TO MODERN

Earliest in evidence were the new materials and techniques. Façades of cast iron and at least one poured concrete building had appeared in the United States as early as the 1830's. By the 1850's, manufacturing of prefabricated iron buildings was a business large enough to support several competing New York firms, and concrete was being widely used for fireproof slabs and vaulting by famous architects and local contractor-builders alike. By the 1860's and 1870's examples of structural



Jersey City Machine Works, manufactory of engines, elevators, dredging, and mining machinery, built in 1876. This illustration is from a book by George H. Farrier, with the typically mid-Victorian title of *Memorial of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Paulus Hook, August 19th, 1879, with a history of the early settlement and present condition of Jersey City, N. J.* (Jersey City, 1879). In buildings like these the Victorian tradition appeared at its worst. It was not so much that the false front was any more divorced from structure, or the frosting of Italianate decorative brackets to suggest enterprise any more incongruous and artificial than usual, as that the frank use of new materials on the lower story made the fundamental dishonesty of Victorian building extraordinarily obvious. Above this row of iron columns with only glass between them, the rest of the brick wall appears as a non-weight-bearing screen—an inconsistency which rarely bothered High Victorians (any more than the inconsistency of casting these iron columns in vaguely classical forms), but which their successors, both academic and "progressive," found intolerable. In such humble buildings the seeds of a new approach to architecture were first sown.

Office Building of the Kimble Glass Factory, Vineland. Germinal centers of the new twentieth-century tradition in American architecture were outside the borders of New Jersey, as they had been for the classical and Victorian traditions earlier. But as before, New Jersey had early examples of work by some of its leading representatives. When William Lescaze (b. 1896) designed this office building in 1935, his work with co-architect George Howe on the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society Building in Philadelphia had already established him as one of the first leaders of the International Style, coming into America from Europe in the 1930's. Though much smaller, this is a good example of Lescaze's manner, with its emphasis on the new materials, concrete and glass brick, and with new techniques of steel construction allowing a suspended ceiling free of interior supports.

metal and (to a lesser extent) concrete block and poured concrete were to be seen in buildings all over the country. Yet, while most Victorian builders were perfectly well aware what new materials and techniques were available, and many used them freely, only a very few—most notably the "Chicago School" led by Adler, Sullivan, and Jenney—felt any urge to do more than incorporate them in their work incidentally or accidentally as occasion might suggest. The illustration here is typical. The Jersey City Machine Works has a good many features characteristic of "modern" building—exposed metal frame, a considerable expanse of glass, plain wall surfaces; yet nobody could conceivably claim that it is "modern" architecture, and its own age would have hardly called it architecture at all. What stylistic characteristics it has—the false front, the tags of Italianate

(Facing page) Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick. "After extensive study . . . ," so an official statement runs, "it was decided to depart from traditional Georgian lines so the [library] building would more efficiently serve its purpose." But in fact the new library did not depart as much as imagined from the "tradition" established twenty-odd years earlier of using eighteenth-century forms to symbolize "colonial (1766 and all that) institution." Its style was "chosen" in the late Victorian way by the successor-firm to York and Sawyer, with the collaboration of Anderson and Beckwith. And though dedicated in 1956, it looks more like a characteristic product of the 1930's—of that moment in American architecture when Victorian traditions had lost their hold, but the new International Style principles from Europe were still only imperfectly understood. It has a full repertoire of International Style cliches—flat-planed walls, picture windows, slab concrete supports; but the basic principles of the new style are not manifested. Though the frame is metal, the walls are still handled as if the brick bore weight, instead of being a mere curtain. The fenestration does not reveal the structure—indeed, it is almost as independent of structure as the upper windows of the Jersey City Machine Works. The scale remains confused between Georgian and typical twentieth-century modules.

Photograph by F. J. Higgins
Rutgers University Department of Public Relations

detail—are High Victorian, eclectic fragments assembled with a vague view to picturesque effect. Obviously, the mere invention of new materials and techniques would not in itself produce a new architecture; they had to be understood in a different context, made part of a whole new approach to the art of building.

Such a new theory and approach was, of course, inherent in the work of the "progressive" architects of the Late Victorian years—Gill in California, Sullivan and Wright in Chicago, and the rest. Their understanding of "realism" in architecture—as distinct from the academicians' understanding of it—was an essential prerequisite for the new tradition as it developed. But it did not develop in their time. For as long as the social and economic basis of Victorian architecture remained sound, such men were condemned to remain little more than social misfits, isolated rebels whose preaching had little practical effect on the great bulk of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century building. And no matter how obsolete Victorian picturesque visual effects or symbolic associations might have seemed to thoughtful architects of every persuasion by the 1890's and later, to their clients and the public at large the Victorian tradition appealed, if anything, more strongly than ever. Economic expansion was still going on; though corporations might be narrowing the range of opportunity, there was still plenty of chance for poor young men to make fortunes, and plenty of them were doing it—all of whom, when they reached "the top," still thought of a mansion or bank or office building in some symbolically allusive historical style as the ideal expression of their success. In short, the Victorian tradition remained a viable cultural expression long after it had become obsolete in every other way. It took a fundamental collapse of the whole Victorian social and economic structure to turn the early "progressives" ideas into something more than the cult of a coterie, to make them acceptable to the great mass of people everywhere, and to develop modern architecture into a genuine cultural expression on a broad popular basis, like the major traditions of the past.

That collapse occurred in two stages. First came the aftermath of the Great War of 1914-1919. In Europe, closest to the conflict and suffering from it as the United States never did, the fabric of nineteenth-century culture was strained beyond repair. The younger generation of Europeans, generally speaking could find no reason for confidence in the judgments of elders who, having blundered into such a catastrophe, could think of no way to end it but bloody attrition. Similarly, Victorian premises in all areas of thought were questioned, criticized, and rejected—and nowhere more decisively than in the arts. All of a sudden, what the older generation had said were irresponsible and excessive departures from architectural correctness now appeared a body of revealed truth, self-evidently condemning the whole concept of Victorian architecture forever. What Victorian leaders had called idle or visionary speculation about the possibilities of more "realistic" architectural expression now became the basis of a fervent new faith. The result was a new concept of form and function in architecture which, from its claim to be based on universal realities of the human condition everywhere, later came to be known as the "International Style."

In the course of the 1920's the International Style was formulated, perfected, and made a major architectural movement by daring and well-publicized young architects in Germany, France, Italy, and Britain. Nothing comparable happened in the United States, however. Here the War had meant not national ruin, but unprecedented prosperity and international power. Here "normalcy" reigned. "Radicals" of all kinds were deported, immigrants shut out, and "foreign ideas" with them. Those relatively few intellectuals who thought the old order unsupportable, found it almost mandatory to live abroad. The promising "progressive" movements of architecture in the 1890's and early 1900's were stultified; the "progressives" themselves fell into despair, disrepute, and with a few exceptions, an oblivion that lasted until the depression following 1929. Then, finally, came the second and decisive phase in the collapse of Victorian

America. The Depression completed the revolution. The Victorian social and economic world abruptly disintegrated; its leaders were discredited, its promises distrusted, its premises ridiculed. Now the times were ripe for a new architectural tradition. But, except for a few hardy survivors, the old "progressivess" could not take advantage of it; most of them were ill, old, dead, or gone. So it was that when "modern" became the dominant mood in American architecture, it was from the International Style of the 1920's in Europe rather than from its own "Old Pioneers" that its dominant inspiration was drawn. This we can see in the examples here; and here too we can see how well International Style principles suited the emotional and intellectual climate of the United States in the 1930's.

The really driving incentive behind the "International Style" as it developed in Europe during the 1920's was simply revulsion against all things and ideas Victorian. So strong was it, that International Style leaders often appeared to feel in a general way that "good" architecture could be achieved simply by doing the opposite of whatever was characteristic of Victorian building. They took the High Victorian age as their horrible example and created a kind of negative image of it. If High Victorian buildings were characterized by complexity, colorful texture, lavish ornament, materials manipulated in bizarre ways, picturesquely irregular outlines, theirs would be simple in composition, plain-surfaced, iconoclastically bare, with materials left as nearly as possible in their natural state. Where Victorians disguised the structure of buildings, they would go out of their way to expose it, deliberately use stone and wood as non-structural, ornamental sheaths—even if this involved denying the primary nature of the material. Where Victorians deliberately emphasized the roughness and solidity of materials to create an effect of monumental bulk, they with equal deliberation would emphasize reflective surfaces—glass and polished stone and steel—which dissolved the solid mass of the building and made it melt into its surroundings.

Of course, advocates of the "New Tradition" could point to positive superiorities, too—economy, fitness to function, and so on. But essentially, like all major cultural movements, modern architecture took form less in response to reasoned argument than to an intuitive and emotional sense of "rightness." When old-fashioned people complained about the rawness of great expanses of concrete or glass, or the lack of any apparent distinction between churches and factories and office buildings, or that glass walls were not necessarily ideal solutions to architectural problems in all times and places, the stock reply was usually that "architecture ought to be created in the spirit of its times." This, the claim went, was justification enough for an International Style architecture in the United States during the 1930's; and in retrospect we can see that, however controversially subjective the principle, in practical fact International Style architecture did indeed suit the prevailing cultural climate of those years to a remarkable degree.

In International Style architecture was expressed the same pervasively negative morality that marked so many other movements characteristic of those years. Flourishing religious cults, based on the general idea that good is the absence of evil, and vice versa. "Progressive education" proposing to fit children for life by never thwarting them. Prohibition, to make society moral by default. Disarmament and pacificism, proposing to make nations peace loving by taking away their means to fight. Socialism, teaching that once wicked capitalist institutions were destroyed, goodness and mercy must abound.

Then again, the few and simple basic universal principles on which International Style architecture purported to rest represent an equally characteristic phenomenon of the period—its love of simplified systems, evident alike in magazine advertisements promising to produce virtuoso pianists or fascinating conversationalists or accomplished boxers in ten easy lessons, or, more ominously, in political parties and platforms claiming to cure all social ills by a few simple measures, like getting rid of

Jews, or kulaks, or radicals. In International Style architecture was expressed, too, that passion of the 1930's for equality in preference to liberty which sparked so many socialistic movements; in place of the old Victorian individualists (or even early modern ones, like Sullivan and Wright), it offered the disciplined "school," the team, a common creed to unify the faithful everywhere. In its emphasis on physical functionalism, it satisfied the need of this age to explain everything in terms of economic determinism—art, International Style spokesmen proclaimed, is above all a product of community life, and artists must always keep it so. Finally, in its rejection of ornament and everything else manifestly derived from the past, in its insistence on completely new premises for building, International Style theory was characteristic of an age whose intellectuals used their scientific and historical knowledge of the past not to identify with it, but to free themselves from it—whether in democratic speculation on brave new worlds, or totalitarian rewriting of history to fit Nazi or Soviet moulds.

By the 1940's such responses to the psychological needs of post-Depression American life had made the International Style dominant in American architectural schools. By the 1950's it became evident that the change was permanent. The United States was the world center of a modern architecture based on International Style principles which, as Henry-Russell Hitchcock put it, "for good or ill has come to seem almost synonymous with American architecture." It remains to analyze—insofar as any historian can properly attempt to analyze any contemporary scene—what the modern architecture of postwar America may tell us about the basic nature of mid-twentieth-century American life.

Mid-20th-century New Jersey Architecture as Cultural Expression

Most obviously, perhaps, American architecture as it matured in the 1950's was an expression of power—power of a kind and on a scale unprecedented. In this period the United States was unquestionably the greatest national power in the world, with no apparent limit to its wealth, resources, and technology. Its new buildings manifested this power in scale and numbers—one gigantic skyscraper after another, thousands of stores and multiple dwellings, hotels by the hundreds, shopping centers by the score, whole cities of new development houses. Power was manifest, too, in the new materials and new techniques they used. Besides being able to import traditional stone or wood from exotic places, or cast traditional brick in unusual forms, architects now had at their command a whole spate of unprecedented resources—cinder and glass blocks; imitation stone and brick; cork, rubber, asphalt, acoustical tiles; aluminum, fiberglass, tempered glass, lucite, corrugated and striated glass; laminates, plastics, insulation board. Besides traditional structural techniques, they had prefabricated aluminum and steel windows, steel and plywood trusses, concrete slab construction of all kinds, sandwich walls, T beams and lally columns. And this power was displayed in new architectural forms that literally played with these new materials—huge glass towers, heavy as pyramids, seemingly fragile as water; great domes hung in space like children's toys; buildings in a fantastic variety of sculptural shapes, from spheres and cubes to free-form sculpture.

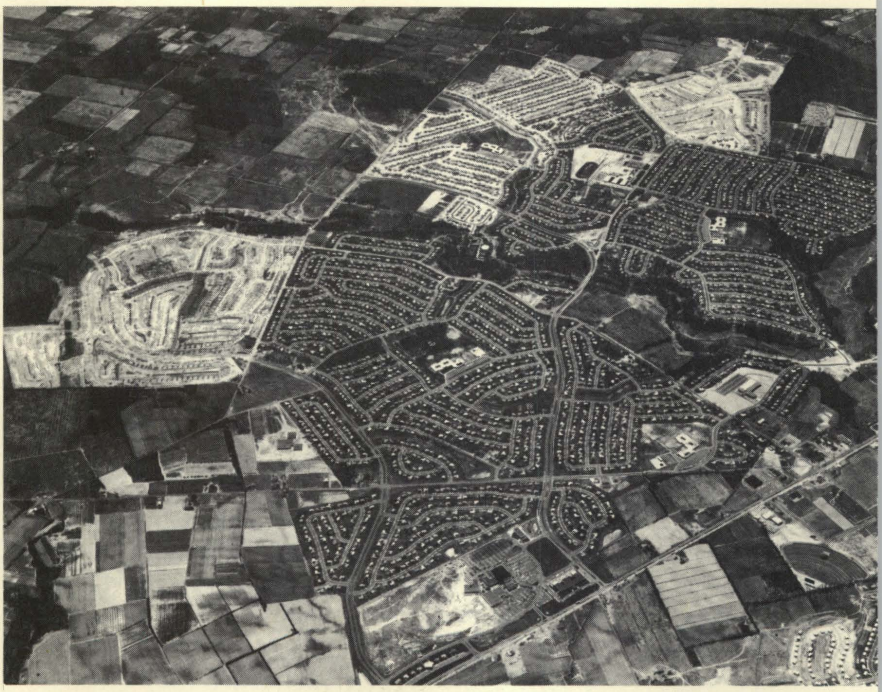
Even more dramatically, perhaps, power was manifest in a new concept of spatial composition. On it all contending schools of modern architectural thought, "progressive" inheritors of the "organic" principles of early twentieth-century building and International Stylists alike, were agreed; for in it, more decisively than in any other way, was embodied a change in the conception of

man's proper relationship to Nature which was one of the fundamental premises of twentieth-century life. In eighteen-century America, Nature had been considered a hostile and chaotic force, whose conquest was to be celebrated in the precisely outlined and self-contained forms of classical architecture; it was so no longer. Neither was Nature any more an exotic place of retreat from industrialized society, as romantic Early Victorians had conceived it, nor the Darwinian jungle of unrestrained individual competition of later Victorian times. Now man's control of Nature was complete; applied science seemed to have made it a tool for him to use, an extension of himself. In that spirit, buildings were opened out to embrace nature. Glass walls, deep insets, patios, balconies, and stilts combined to dissolve all distinction between interior and exterior space—often to the extent of injuring careless people who walked into invisible barriers. Conversely, nature was brought into architecture by means of indoor plantings, patios, reflecting pools, and the like. Where even the Victorians—to say nothing of eighteenth-century classical designers—had taken care when composing interiors to surround pictures and doorways and windows with heavy frames of gilt or wooden mouldings or curtains, modern "interior decoration" was conceived in the spirit of paintings by Cézanne, as a series of continuously receding planes. Such concepts seemed to be the ideal manifestation of man riding in triumph over all natural limitations, lord of all he surveyed, whose control over Nature stretched from the walk at his feet to the farthest planets.

Or on a more prosaic plane, there was the sheer display of wealth inherent in the mid-twentieth century architectural scene. No one coming to the United States as an adult can fail to be moved by the panorama it presents; and New Jersey's northern metropolitan area is part of one of its greatest displays. Here in a few minutes the train will take a visitor to the United States through areas where more people live than in the whole of his country. Here he can see in a few miles more

tangible wealth and evidences of technological power than his nation has amassed throughout history.

But such scenes have another side to them. Beside these dazzling displays of collective wealth and power, there are also depressing intimations of individual and personal futility. In these endless villages of little clapboard boxes, these jail-like blocks of row houses, and the majestic spaces that envelope these glittering new buildings, people seem reduced to scuttling ants, hopeless and insignificant figures. This is a second characteristic of modern American architecture, and it strikes visitors not born to it quite as forcibly as the first. It seems an enormous paradox. The same command over Nature which modern architecture manifests so dramatically in forms and materials is available to city planners, surely; why have they been apparently unable to make use of it? Throughout most of human history—indeed, roughly up to the middle of the twentieth century—where and how people live was largely determined by elementary natural forces. Farmers lived where there was soil and rainfall; cities grew up by rivers or seacoast harbors, on defensible hilltops or convenient crossroads. When soils were exhausted or eroded, farmers moved away; when patterns of trade or transportation shifted, cities died. That was always inevitable; but it is so no longer. Just as chemistry can cure sick soil and agrotechny check erosion, so telephones and automobiles and rapid transit of all sorts make enormous city concentrations unnecessary—the superhighway system of the United States is in itself a symbol of the technological power that makes it now much easier to bring materials to a site than to locate people near natural resources. Theoretically, cities could now flourish anywhere but in the middle of the ocean. It is possible now, as it never was in Jefferson's own time, to realize his American dream of every man on his own land, within easy reach of his work. Instead, thirty-two million Americans are crowded into one narrow coastal Atlantic strip, and all that remains of the Jeffersonian dream are pathetically



Vast urban growth, in northern New Jersey particularly, and demand for better housing after World War II found many sorts of response; most typical were the commercially-sponsored "developments" carved out of countryside on the perimeters of built-up areas, of which Levittown near Camden is perhaps the best known. The rationale of such developments has deep roots in American life. Its inspiration can be traced from as far back as Jefferson's ideal of a republic of self-reliant citizens each proudly independent on his own slice of American land, through the mid-nineteenth-century writings of landscape-gardener A. J. Downing who first urged Americans to forsake city streets and build on winding roads amid rolling woodlands, to the "Usonian" theories of Frank Lloyd Wright in the 1930's.

Courtesy Skyphotos, Stratford, New Jersey

The architectural style of typical "development houses," like these in the South River area, was likewise generally intended to suggest deep roots in American history, through allusions in plan and detail to "colonial" and eighteenth-century house-types. Protagonists of the modern movement often deplore such persistent "traditionalism," pointing out (correctly enough) that the idea of "choosing" a style for associational values was as obvious a perpetuation of Victorian architectural attitudes as the "colonial-style" furniture and "pretty" pictures with which development houses were so commonly furnished. But if we consider that the essence of "modern" architecture is not to be found in any particular forms, but in the principle of meeting functional and structural problems in direct architectural terms, we find that such houses are more "modern" than they seem. Free-flowing space, free-standing stairs, curtain walls and the like may provide admirable philosophical expressions of the twentieth-century relationship between man and nature, but for practical family living they have severe drawbacks. Fill a house with romping children, and you will soon find that the traditional kind of one-family dwelling is not so outmoded after all; that windows which open and doors which shut and stairs with railings are no more and no less functional than they were centuries ago. In a word—people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones—or have children.

Courtesy New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Outwardly, row housing like this characteristic patch in Perth Amboy makes the same brave and retardataire effort to establish continuity with the past as the suburban development: shutters, front steps, quasi-pent eaves suggest some resemblance to classical eighteen-century streets of Delaware Valley towns. But here the twentieth century intrudes much more decisively. These stark brick cubes, with metal-framed windows punched harshly through them, are typical manifestations of the mass-production of an advanced machine age. And the apartment house next them, even harsher and starker, with no pretense to decoration, shows obvious derivation from International Style principles of the 1920's, however badly applied and misunderstood. In both cases, of course, the motivation is more economy than taste.

Courtesy New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

Belonging entirely to the twentieth century is the Essex Heights Renewal Project in Newark. It is typical of its age—in the technological powers it demands and displays, requiring an entire area to be demolished and rebuilt, so that only the Essex County Courthouse *(left center)* remains from the past; in the scientific human land use—park space is created by concentrating housing in a few superblocks rather than, as in the suburban development, sprawling over many acres; in the cold sociology of the living space it provides—individual tenants have, of course, no say in the design, planners providing everything from stair railings to lighting fixtures for them. Here is illustrated, too, the great social paradox that underlies mid-twentieth century architecture: as human powers collectively increase, the area of individual expression narrows.

From New Jersey: Land of Amazing Industrial Advantages
Courtesy Public Service Electric & Gas Company, Newark

Industrial Park, Pennsauken, north of Camden. Comparable to high-rise urban renewal housing projects as embodiments of the scientific organization and spatial concepts characteristic of twentieth-century life are industrial parks like this one built in the late 1940's. In contrast to earlier factories—The Jersey City Machine Works illustrated on page 130 is an example—these are conceived in integral relationship to their surroundings, the expression of a culture in which man thinks of nature as the extension and tangible expression of himself and his technological powers.

Courtesy New Jersey Department of Conservation & Economic Development

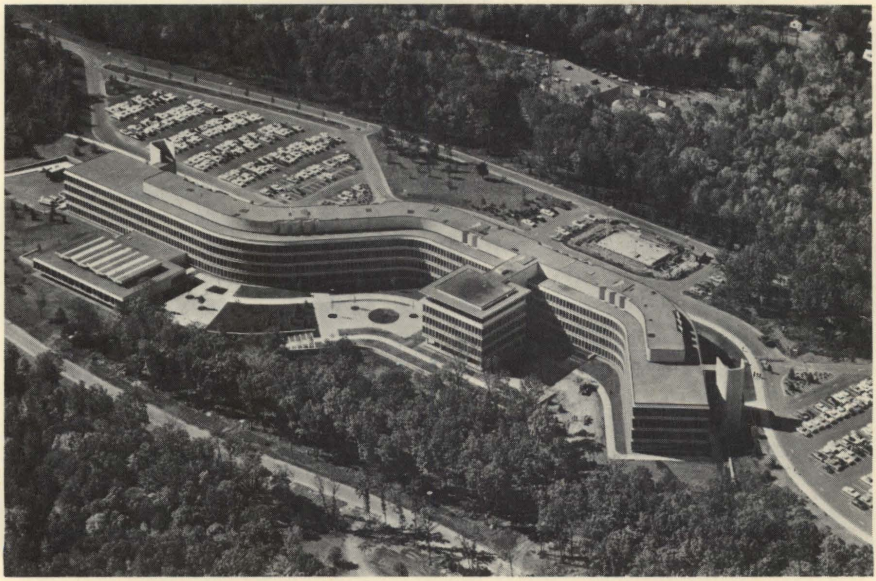
The Student and Administration Center of Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, opened 1962, is typical of mid-twentieth-century building in many ways. In (unfortunately) standing on the site of a fine and famous example of earlier architecture, demolished to make room for it ("Stevens Castle," one of the great Italianate villas of New Jersey, (built 1853, demolished 1959). In the kinds of materials used, manifesting the speed and ease of mid-twentieth-century transportation and the increasingly commonplace application of assembly-line techniques of prefabrication to architecture—it is a structure of metal cage and glass, with curtain walls of white granite from Sweden, trimmed in stainless steel. And in the fact that the architect, John McNamara, no longer works independently, like Upjohn or Notman or Richardson; now he is part of a team, a small machine in itself: the firm of Voorhees, Walker, Smith, Smith and Haines.

Courtesy Joseph B. Devlin
Publicity, Stevens Institute of Technology

Typical of twentieth-century building in other ways is this familiar landmark to drivers on the New Jersey Turnpike, the Radar Building near Moorestown, built by the architecture-engineering firm of Burns and Roe for the Defense Electronic Products Division of Radio Corporation of America, as a prototype to study design, construction, operation, and maintenance procedures used on SPADATS (Space Detection and Tracking System) forward sites at Thule in Greenland, Clear in Alaska, and Fylingdales in England. This is an architecture of pure form, reminiscent of nothing so much, perhaps, as the pyramids of Egypt, and raising much the same kind of questions—as pure form, should it be called architecture or sculpture? Or indeed, designed to serve purely utilitarian ends, can it be called art at all?
Courtesy of William W. Pleasants, Manager
Construction and Emplacement, Radio Corporation of America

Executive and Administrative Center, American Cyanamid Company, Wayne, northwest of Totowa. Opened in 1962, designed by Philadelphia architect Vincent J. Kling. Total integration of the works of man with nature could hardly be better stated than in the Company's official description of its new building: "designed to marry the building, earth, and site into one unified, overall environment. . . . The serpentine shape of the administrative building was inspired by the natural contours of the site. . . . The narrow plan places every office within view of the outdoors. The curvilinear form provides an endless variety of vistas . . . not only out over the surrounding valleys and hills but also of other portions of the building itself, thereby giving employees a sense of relation and feeling of belonging to a whole. Transition between the modern office building and the rustic site is softened by the use of materials which blend with the natural surroundings —natural stone retaining walls, brick-paved terrace, warm sepia-bronze tinted glass and precast spandrels with exposed quartz aggregate. . . . Preservation of the natural terrain and existing trees was a primary concern. . . . Those areas that were disturbed during construction were extensively landscaped afterwards with 31,009 plants and 296 trees."

Courtesy Harry C. Levin, Manager
Community Relations Depatrment,
American Cyanamid Company



crude vestigial remnants of classical forms on city row houses and apartment blocks, faint suggestions of colonial shingle and clapboard on the wooden boxes that house suburbia.

Or again, however dramatically the total integration of man's works into nature achieved by modern architectural space suggests man's collective command over nature, it can also be interpreted as the end of man's traditional concept of himself as a special sort of being, different from the rest of creation. For while even the Victorian theory of evolution conformed to this age-old assumption—with its picture of the "tree of life" supported by a mass of amoebae at the bottom and a high-domed, bearded Caucasian professor on the topmost bough—the twentieth-century interpretation of it was different. Instead of confirming man as the judge and crown of Nature, it seemed merely to prove him no more than another product of her impartial workings. In place of the "tree of life," it presented the image of parallel roads whereon each species perfects itself according to its kind—elms and eels being as perfect triumphs of the evolutionary process in their ways as man in his. And so, if making exterior and interior space indistinguishable manifests a concept of Nature as the conquered and wholly pliable tool of mankind, it also manifests the possibility that Nature has or will soon have in fact reduced mankind to insignificance, to a being of the same order and subject to the same laws as suns and seas, dogs and dodos.

Finally and most obviously, of course, over all the panorama of power in mid-twentieth-century America hung the threat of total destruction in nuclear war. To say that mankind for the first time in history is in a position to destroy itself has become almost too trite a commonplace to repeat. Yet it is perhaps worth saying again, for it is the background to what is perhaps the greatest of all paradoxes expressed in twentieth-century architecture—its manifestations of aspirations towards a new and literally Godlike status for the race.

Sometimes tentatively, sometimes explicitly, sometimes in science-fiction allegory, leaders of thought and action in every field of mid-twentieth-century culture were puting forth visions extravagant beyond anything earlier generations had imagined—yet, in view of past performance, not entirely incredible. Biologists, psychologists, medicine men, physicists, psychic researchers, sociologists, novelists—all in their several ways were intimating that mankind was on the verge of a great evolutionary leap forward towards divine perfection. They could foresee man as a being of infinite powers. Scientific genetics would endow him with a perfect body. Psychological adjustment would assure him that "peace of soul" once sought by mystics in prayer. Medical science would make him immortal; already, it had conquered most causes of earlier death. Physicists would devise vehicles to people what used to be called the Heavens with an earthly host. Psychic research would enable him to order his material world through extrasensory powers of perception. Instinctive other-directedness would at last bring in the day of perfect brotherhood, with freedom and justice for all. Practitioners of that peculiarly twentieth-century form of allegory, science-fiction, summed up the new vision ecstatically: they spun tales of coming times when men would have "discovered all the secrets of their nervous system," when they would have "mental control of nucleonic, nuclear, and gravitonic energies," be able to "travel through space at will" by nucleonically reassembling their molecular structures, achieve not only personal immortality but the ability to bring the dead from past ages back to life by reconstructing bodies as they chose. In one sense this was the old dream of Icarus and Herakles, the Garden of Eden, and Faust, that men might somehow attain to godlike powers; but in another it was new, for these people saw it not in the past but in the future, and the near future at that. They believed they had the means to do it—to turn men into actual gods, beings above good and evil, making their own

destinies in the most literal sense. In the pure geometric forms of architecture in the middle of the 1950's—comes, spheres, cubes, ovoids, we catch some glimpse of the kind of world godlike beings might be expected to create. But beyond these mere accidental foretastes, there were theoreticians already acting the part of godlike creators. They called themselves something more than architects now—Creative Designers, sometimes, or Universal Architects, or Human Engineers. Ignoring practical difficulties of finance, climate, or present social patterns, they spun visions of geodesic environmental control, of houses carried about by airships, heated by sun-machines; of ideal Cities on Mesas; of Endless Houses; of skyscrapers miles high. They behaved, indeed, as if they already possessed the powers their colleagues in other fields were promising; and to many people, seeing what powers architecture already expressed, their claims were not altogether fantastic.

Whether or not such prophecies will come to pass no one can say. But, for all their inherent paradox, few in 1964 discounted them entirely; and the reason, perhaps, was that tradition of idealism which is so peculiarly American. Apparently ludicrous visions have been consummated in this country often enough to command respect. Once upon a time the idea that a great nation, or any kind of nation, could be planted in North America seemed nonsense: yet it was done. Once upon a time, too, it seemed nonsense to imagine that any state could be governed without divinely appointed kings or a caste born to rule; yet this too happened. To be sure, precedents establish no historical laws. Because some fantastic visions come true is no reason to suppose all of them must. This time the vision may really be nonsense. But the spirit of experimentation with ideas and free minds, the search for utopias, has from the beginning been the peculiar promise of American civilization. It is a spirit still manifest in American architecture today.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

IT WILL PERHAPS be some indication of the difficulties facing a writer on New Jersey architecture to note that in Hugh Morrison's excellent *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), which remains the standard reference for basic data about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American architecture generally, the patterned brick houses of South Jersey are no more than mentioned, Salem County being in fact located in Delaware (presumably through a typographical error, 517); of eighteenth-century classical types in New Jersey only an ancient print of Nassau Hall appears; and while several "Dutch Colonial" examples from North Jersey are cited, they are interpreted as "Flemish" in inspiration, following the somewhat dubious lead of T. J. Wertenbaker on this point in his deservedly admired and still extraordinarily valuable study of *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938).

My *Images of American Living* (Philadelphia, 1964) is broader in scope than this book, as its subtitle—*Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression*—implies, and the reader is referred to it for fuller treatment of some of the ideas necessarily summarized here, as well as bibliographical data on particular architects working in New Jersey. On Stephen Button, see the unpublished Master's thesis by Richard J. Webster, "Stephen D. Button, Italianate Stylist" (University

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For the rest, I have relied generally on my own researches over the years; in this respect I should like to

acknowledge what I have learned from New Jersey students, who have at various times taken architectural history courses with me at the University of Delaware and elected to write papers on various buildings in their native State—among them, Eleanor G. Kauffman, Joe Valinsky, Margie de Wilde, Terrance F. Haskins, and Marilynn Johnson.

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