

Redesign of "The Grange" by John Hubbard Sturgis, 1862-1866

MARGARET HENDERSON FLOYD

I

Not only are the histories of many great Colonial and Federal houses in New England genealogically intertwined, but their architectural motifs echo one another. In particular, a comparatively short period of intense building activity in the late 1730s produced for the Boston area an unprecedented number of domestic designs of a fully developed High Georgian style which are interestingly interrelated. The second building campaign between 1732 and 1739 at the Royall house in Medford, for example, brought that earlier seventeenth-century establishment to the form we know today.¹ The Vassall family, with whom Dr. Charles Russell fled to Antigua at the time of the Revolution, was related to the Royalls, who had also made their fortune in the West Indies.²

The house of Thomas Hancock on Beacon Hill (1737-1740) was unusual for the Boston area in that it was constructed of stone. It was of great prominence by virtue both of its location overlooking Boston Common and its later historical associations with the signer of the Declaration of Independence. The Hancock House was legendary for the sophistication of its exterior ornamental detail, executed in carved stone imported from the Connecticut River Valley, and the elaboration of its interior carving.³ At the same time, the wooden Boylston House in Brookline, Massachusetts, a seventeenth-century structure, was enlarged to create an L-shaped country house with equally fine ornamental paneling.⁴ The Russell house in Lincoln was erected in 1739-1741. Its plan and the surviving paneling in the southeast

parlor are comparable in elaboration and in importance to these other contemporaneous structures, which are among the finest remaining domestic designs of the period.

The great house of early eighteenth-century America, in the cases of the Royalls and Thomas Hancock, was an emulation of smaller contemporary English country residences by the wealthy provincial. For Ogden Codman, Sr. (fig. 93), the reacquisition of the Codman House in 1862 appears to have been a symbolic gesture. The new appellation "The Grange" only serves to underscore Ogden's vision of his role as one of the landed gentry. Peer houses west of Boston would then have included "The Vale" of Theodore Lyman, whose family had been established in that American Palladian house in Waltham (designed by Samuel McIntire of Salem) since 1793.⁵ In the same town, Governor and Mrs. Christopher Gore had also built an elaborate domicile, "Gore Place," in 1804, spurred on no doubt by the interest Mrs. Gore had taken in John Codman's campaign of 1797 and 1798 in Lincoln. All these were landscaped country seats, based on English models.⁶ (See Emmet, this issue.)

Margaret Henderson Floyd, an assistant professor in the Department of Fine Arts, Tufts University, has indexed and researched the Sturgis Papers under grants from Wellesley College and the Radcliffe Institute, Harvard. She completed her doctorate in Art and Architectural History in the American and New England Studies Program, Boston University, and is now writing a monograph on the work of John Hubbard Sturgis.

Already in the 1850s there was arising a renewed interest in eighteenth-century architecture, evidenced in Boston in the design of the Arlington Street Church (1858), modeled on eighteenth-century English and American prototypes.⁷ A specific debt to Peter Harrison's King's Chapel, Boston (1749), was voiced by Arthur Gilman, architect of the Arlington Street Church, who also led a movement in the late 1850s for education of the public on the virtues of eighteenth-century design. Gilman, a charismatic writer and lecturer, was a major intellectual force in mid-nineteenth-century Boston architecture.⁸ His concern for the preservation of the Hancock House produced several articles on that subject, raising contemporary esteem for eighteenth-century design.⁹

The unusual family situation of the three surviving Codman children (Frances Anne or Fanny, born in 1837; Ogden, born in 1839; and Richard, born in 1841, four years

before the death of his mother) would appear to have enhanced the genealogical symbolism of "The Grange." When their father, Charles Russell Codman, died in 1851, none of the orphaned children had attained majority.¹⁰ The loneliness of Richard, only ten at the time and ward of his half-brother, Charles Russell Codman, is a theme in his reminiscences.¹¹ At age fifteen, he was grateful when Charles and his new wife made a home for him following their marriage. Possessing neither mother nor father, Ogden Codman, Sr. (fig. 86) appears to have viewed "The Grange" as symbolic of family continuity and permanence, as did Ogden, Jr. (fig. 102).¹² This proclivity is also evident in Frances Anne Codman (fig. 81), who, in 1856, at the wedding of their half-brother Charles Russell to Lucy Lyman Paine Sturgis in England, met Lucy's brother John Hubbard Sturgis (fig. 27), the architect, whom she married in 1858, thereby making the Codman and Sturgis children of the next generation double cousins.¹³

By the 1850s an international frame of reference characterized both the Codman and the Sturgis families. Charles Russell Codman, father of Fanny, Ogden, and Richard, had been orphaned at nineteen and spent the first half of his life in Europe, collecting the paintings, furnishings, and art objects which ornamented his Bulfinch-designed home at 29 Chestnut Street (fig. 70), which was established at the time of his marriage in 1836 to Sarah Ogden of New York. Richard, according to his own account, was greatly influenced by contact with that home and credited his father's art collection with creating the interests which later led him to a career as an interior decorator of some importance from the 1870s onward.¹⁴

Although Richard was the only Codman sibling of the three who revealed artistic sensitivities, Fanny's marriage to John Hubbard Sturgis in New York in 1858 brought an architectural affiliation into the

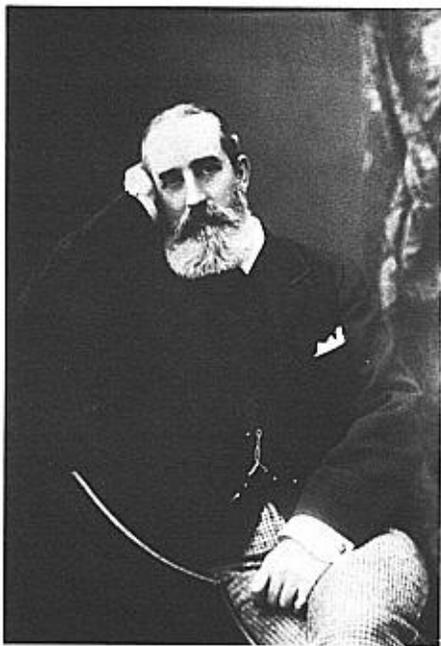


FIG. 27. JOHN HUBBARD STURGIS (ca. 1880). H.S. Mendelssohn, London, photographer. (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers.)



FIG. 28. "THE GRANGE," LINCOLN, MASSACHUSETTS (ca. 1866). (SPNEA Archives.)



FIG. 29. THE BOYLSTON HOUSE, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS (1737), ca. 1860, showing the family of Henry Lee in the foreground. (Photograph courtesy of Dr. and Mrs. E.P. Richardson.)

family. It would appear that John's interests and his European background may well have been a force behind Richard's ultimate move into the related field of interior decoration, following the devastating loss of the family fortunes in 1872 at the time of the Boston Fire.¹⁵

Ogden Codman returned from a trip to India in 1862, four years after the wedding of his sister Fanny, to acquire the Codman family homestead in Lincoln. He moved quickly toward putting down roots there with his own marriage in 1861 to Sarah Bradlee of Boston. Already internationally based, Ogden's life, as Fanny's, was also to incorporate extended periods of travel. Not only were the years following the Civil War spent in Europe, but after his own losses in the Boston Fire, he took his family to live at Dinard, an American resort colony in France, from 1875 to 1884, where his son Ogden, Jr. grew up essentially an expatriate.¹⁶ Ogden, Jr., in his turn, was later one of a group of expatriate Boston intellectuals of the 1890s, many of whom were related to the Sturgis family and the Codmans.¹⁷ Yet even at the end of his life, in isolation in France in the twentieth century, Ogden, Jr. continued to be absorbed in his studies of local Massachusetts town histories. His interest and lengthy correspondence concerning early Boston buildings, which in the 1880s he had begun to admire and depict with measured drawings and photographs, continued to provide him roots while in exile.¹⁸ (See Metcalf, this issue.)

The lives of Fanny and her husband John Hubbard Sturgis also developed on a transatlantic basis over the thirty years of their marriage until John's untimely death in England in 1888. Their first three years were spent in Surrey, where John attempted to establish himself in architectural practice, and terminated with the tragic death of their first child, Julia, in January of 1861. In the fall of that year, they made a decision to return to Boston. John then went into partnership with the largest

architectural firm in Boston, Bryant and Gilman.¹⁹ The firm was swamped with commissions, specifically for the completion of the Arlington Street Church, the Boston City Hall, and a series of elaborate mansions along Arlington Street and Commonwealth Avenue in the developing Back Bay, which itself had been designed by Gilman.²⁰

With the return of John and Fanny, the families turned out *en masse* to create domestic commissions which would establish John professionally as quickly as possible. During this time he worked not only with Bryant and Gilman but also on his own, providing designs for a fine series of seaside cottages for members of the family and others. Beginning with "Sunnywaters" in Manchester-by-the-Sea, Massachusetts, for his older brother Russell in 1862, he also designed a home in Cotuit, Massachusetts, for the Charles Russell Codmans, and a seaside house, "Land's End," on Ledge Road, Newport, Rhode Island, for Sam Ward, his father's business associate.²¹ This last house was later to be acquired by Edith Wharton, a cousin through the New York Newbolds, and completely reworked by her and Ogden Codman, Jr., as the demonstration piece for their book, *The Decoration of Houses*.²²

The redesign of "The Grange" for Ogden Codman, Sr., however, was the largest and most important of John's early commissions (fig. 28). It was clear that Ogden was soliciting additional clients for his brother-in-law during this period, for in letters from the early 1860s, Thomas Newbold petulantly expressed desire for plans for a house and his admiration of John's architectural abilities, although doubting that he could have one himself.²³ "The Grange" was, in addition to its significance as a country seat for Ogden, envisioned as the showpiece for John Hubbard Sturgis, an architect trained in England whose background could not have been more suitable.²⁴ Aesthetic responsibility for "The

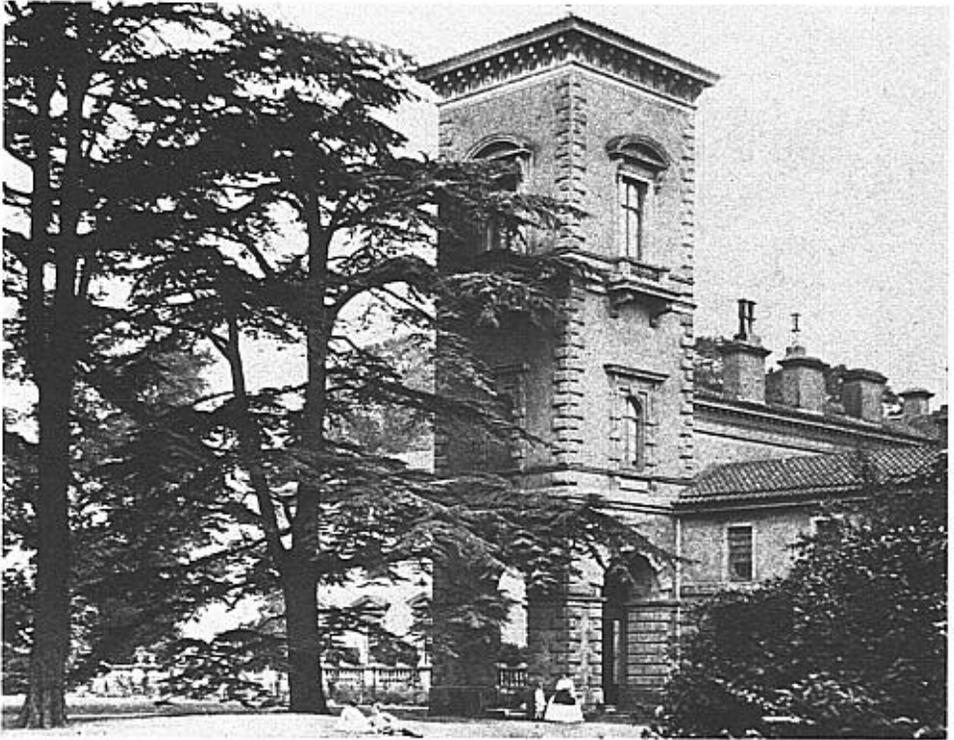


FIG. 30. "MOUNT FELIX," WALTON-ON-THAMES, SURREY, ENGLAND (1836) BY SIR CHARLES BARRY. (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers.)

Grange" was a collaboration between Ogden and John, yet its significance in light of John's later architectural career clarifies its pivotal influence in the development of his own skills and self-image as an architect, and served as the model for later redesigns of the Boylston House in Brookline (fig. 29) which he and Fanny rented from 1870 to 1888, and for many other original designs in the nineteenth century.

II

The delicate Federal-period cornice of "The Grange" and the "Ionick" capitals carved by the talented John and Simeon Skillin for its portico must have looked fairly sparse to the eyes of Ogden Codman and John Hubbard Sturgis as they set to work in 1862. The mid-century decades in America had evidenced a reawakening of

interest in the three-dimensional and baroque ornament of the eighteenth century. Much of its wide appeal lay in the proportional similarity to the highly plastic Italianate style which had been popularized in England during the previous quarter century by Sir Charles Barry.²⁵ One such work of Italian derivation was "Mount Felix," the great villa at Walton-on-Thames in Surrey, south of London, which he remodeled for Lord Tankerville in 1836 and which from 1849 onward served as the country home of John's father, Russell Sturgis (fig. 30).²⁶ Visited by all members of the family in their European travels, "Mount Felix" is generally considered to have been one of Barry's finest works and was the model for Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, built for Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1849 by Lewis Cubitt.²⁷

This house in turn inspired American progeny. Henry Austin's Morse-Libby House in Portland, Maine (1858-1862), only recently completed at the time that work began at "The Grange," is considered to be one of the classic examples of this mode.²⁸ How much more acceptable, then, were the vigorously sculptural forms of the late 1730s from the Russell era than the delicate and restrained detail of the Federal period executed for John Codman. Approaching the problem of the exterior, Sturgis, like most English architects, envisioned himself as remodeler and adapter, a point of view uncommon for an American architect. He changed deliberately and successfully both the elevation and plan of Codman House, the ornamental detail of the façade, and the relationship of the building to its site in an effort to attain aesthetic qualities attractive to the mid-nineteenth century.

The elevation he addressed was imposing in its height and impressive on a rising site with sweeping drive, but was simple

and rigidly symmetrical, precisely and distinctly separated from the landscape (frontispiece). Concerned with enhancing its potential for the picturesque, Sturgis avoided disturbing the integrity of the main block while expanding the rigidly rectangular plan to both east and west on the ground floor. A rectangular bay (echoing that of the 1797 "Hall" of John Codman to the northwest) and a porch running the depth of the eastern flank were counterbalanced with an extension of the southwest parlor along the western flank (fig. 24). This diagonal placement of two extensions beyond the vertical enclosing walls of the structure created a more flowing and larger space within. The rectangular modules produced by the porch in the east and the southwestern bay, both one story in height and of similar scale, maintained the intrinsic symmetry of the main elevation, while also serving as transition between the three-story walls and the site. This relationship was then further enhanced through placement of a terrace balustrade



FIG. 31. "THE GRANGE," AFTER 1880. (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection.)

parallel to the south façade, the low and massive proportions of which accentuated the verticality of the house, one of its more attractive features to nineteenth-century eyes accustomed to the excessive height of the contemporary Italianate style.²⁹

The plan of "The Grange," already unusually open for a late eighteenth-century plan owing to the double staircase introduced in 1797-1798, was thus augmented diagonally to the southwest and northeast with Sturgis's bays. The rear ell, containing the kitchen, was apparently left undisturbed during the first building campaign of 1862-1866 (fig. 28) while its gambrel-roofed extension (fig. 31) was erected later.³⁰

The façade was embellished with three-dimensional ornament, revealing that penchant for the sculptural which runs as well through Sturgis's designs of the interior, and successfully transformed the Federal character of the Codman House of 1797-1798 to its present form. The great height of the structure was accented by Sturgis at the corners with heavy, chamfered quoins. These, which are so often used in the work of Barry and which were prominent at "Mount Felix," run the full height from sill to eaves, recalling the precedents of the 1730 to 1775 period of the Russells as well.³¹ The intricately carved capitals of the portico were "improved" upon in the columns supporting the eastern porch. The distribution of the windows of the two lower floors derives from the fenestration of the original Russell mansion of the 1730s, while the smaller openings above from 1797-1798 create an illusion of that scaled proportion of the fenestration which might have been expected in the Federal period. The identical window openings of these lower two floors lent themselves well to the recreation of their Georgian origins, which Sturgis attempted to enhance with the addition of three-dimensional pedimented lintels on the first floor. The raised lintels of the lateral windows on the second floor increase

their importance, while allowing a dominant position for the larger central opening with its curved baroque pediment above the portico.³²

The relationship between building and site, already strengthened through the manipulation of the eastern and western extensions, is further enhanced by means of floor-length windows introduced in these projections. The terrace balustrade unites structure and site, and echoes the similarly-proportioned low parapet on the great hipped roof. From the interior, the occupants of "The Grange" could look outward upon the sweeping lawns and vistas of the gardens in a fully nineteenth-century fashion³³ without disruption of the rigorous fenestration of the Federal building's design, while the space of the public rooms of the house was enlarged to reflect that edifying configuration considered desirable for late nineteenth-century living.³⁴



FIG. 32. ENTRANCE HALL OF "THE GRANGE" AS REMODELED BY STURGIS. (SPNEA Archives, photograph by Richard Cheek.)

III

John Hubbard Sturgis approached the challenge of the interior from essentially the same point of view, looking to the three-dimensional paneling of the 1739-1741 southeast parlor as his thematic point of departure for a stylistic reorganization of the space (fig. 16). Just as baroque elements were introduced on the façade, so throughout the first floor he created an amalgam of early eighteenth- and later nineteenth-century taste. His sense of identity as a manipulator of space, a creator of additions, and an adapter of older buildings was formulated during the execution of this earliest and most flamboyant of his American commissions from the 1860s.³⁵

The staircase hall (fig. 32) which bisected the house from front to back remained spatially unchanged as its core, while the rooms to the southwest and northeast were enlarged for an expanded diagonal axis (fig. 24). A precedent for such extensions already existed in the three-sided bay of the "Hall" to the northwest, a room which was



FIG. 33. UPPER STAIRCASE AS REBUILT BY STURGIS, CODMAN HOUSE. (SPNEA Archives, photograph by Richard Cheek.)

repainted rather than changed in the 1860s.³⁶ In the stair hall, repairs were necessary and an arch was removed. The landing was reinforced with a metal beam for strength.³⁷ The hall's earlier similarity to the hallway of the Royall House (which also incorporates a lateral arch) thus was sacrificed. The boxed treads of the upper staircase, however, have that sculptural quality reminiscent of the bolection moldings which comprise the paneling of the north wall in the southeast parlor (fig. 16), and which provide visual unity with the most obvious remains of the eighteenth-century Russell mansion.³⁸

The hallway was already unusual for a Federal house. The 1797-1798 double staircase (fig. 33), while rare, was not an unknown form; it is, however, spatially far closer to the staircases of the later nineteenth century, of which Sturgis was to become the master in the following decades.³⁹ Although the space was not



FIG. 34. INTERIOR OF ENTRANCE DOORWAY AT "THE GRANGE." (SPNEA Archives.)

changed, the arch was removed and heavy cornice moldings which also appear to be of his design were added. The railing, balusters, and newel posts of the staircase (fig. 34) are of problematical authorship.⁴⁰ The newel post and balusters of the front stair at "The Grange," with their distinctive turnings, resemble closely those of the Hancock House (fig. 35). In 1863, when that Beacon Hill house was demolished, Sturgis produced the first set of measured drawings to have been made of an American house and acquired the staircase at an auction held at the time.⁴¹ While the spiral newel, a generic component of great houses of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, has in "The Grange" version become taller and more elongated in its configuration, the alternating turnings of balusters of three different types on each step are clearly similar.⁴² The Hancock House staircase motif appeared again and again in the later work of Sturgis, most notably at his Arthur Astor Carey House in Cambridge of 1882, where a literal copy from the Hancock drawing is reproduced.⁴³

The risers of the stairs at "The Grange" may have been lowered, for this is another Sturgis characteristic which makes ascent seem effortless yet monumental. The boxed ends of the treads are more sculptural than those of the Hancock House, a fact which again suggests a nineteenth-century spirit of creative improvement upon a given model. The Hancock House theme becomes later one of the most important for nineteenth-century design.⁴⁴

The sidelights of the door were lowered by replacement of earlier wooden panels with two additional panes of glass at either side. Reflecting here the floor-length windows of his extensions, the architect again succeeded in breaking down the distinction between interior and exterior space at the entrance. The enlarged windows served also to illuminate the colored tile floor of the hall, composed of mosaic pavement,

which may well have been the first example of this treatment in the Boston area, although in England by 1862 tile floors were already highly popular.⁴⁵ The encaustic tile process in which clays of two or more colors are incorporated in a single tile before firing (such as those used in the guilloche border which surrounds the hall) was a technique which had been lost since medieval times.⁴⁶ Minton and Company in England, with others, had developed a new process around 1840 with the incentive of producing tile floors for the Houses of Parliament, but this new decoration was not common in America by the early 1860s. Sturgis's early interest in architectural ceramics, like his interest in eighteenth-century architecture, foreshadowed his later career as an architectural designer. His reputation was established after he won the competition for the design of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1870), the ornamental detail for which was executed in imported English terra cotta.⁴⁷ Indeed, Sturgis's concept of a transatlantic architectural practice in which he imported building components such as wrought iron,



FIG. 35. THE HANCOCK HOUSE STAIRCASE, "SHARKSMOUTH," G.S. CURTIS HOUSE, MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA, MASSACHUSETTS. (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers, photograph by J.N. Pearlman.)

glass, and tile from England to Boston was already evident here at "The Grange" in 1862.⁴⁸

The southwest front parlor was remodeled into a billiard room (fig. 46). Having extended the west wall, Sturgis achieved horizontal expansion sufficient to provide a new nineteenth-century scale for this room, necessarily confined in its height to the ceiling level of 1739-1741. The architect's introduction of a monumental mantel, fully two-thirds of the wall height, and low paneling surrounding the room provided a solution. Its restrained classical configuration, clearly designed for this particular context (fig. 36), is visually united with the style and proportions of both the stair hall and the southeastern parlor, then

reconstituted as a library.⁴⁹ The encaustic guilloche border which appears in the hall floor is repeated in the billiard room in the fireplace surround, while the three-dimensional, paired pilasters are in their own way as impressive as the more highly ornamental ones from the eighteenth century in the southeast parlor. No attempt to copy or duplicate a model has been made here, but a fully nineteenth-century design is created which works well. The monumentality of the mantel and the lateral extension of the space give the billiard room a distinctly grand scale, and despite the limitations of ceiling height, the low paneling serves as an effective interface between height and width. The mantel is heavy, yet sparsely ornamented, with



FIG. 36. BILLIARD ROOM MANTEL, CODMAN HOUSE (1863-1864). (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers, photograph by J.N. Pearlman.)

components which are clearly machine made. Finely scaled, classical moldings form capitals for the pilasters and are proportioned to maximize the effect of the glowing color and grain of the wood. The single entablatures of these paired lateral pilasters simplify the composition, while their common bases match the dado on the walls of the room. The unornamented flat surfaces of the mantel typify those contrasts which are signatures of Sturgis designs.⁵⁰ Full impact of the ceramic tile is achieved, while avoiding that over-ornamented, congested visual effect characteristic of much late-nineteenth-century design.

The natural finish of the billiard room contrasts with the white paint of the staircase hall and southeast parlor. The dark green striped wallpaper, of a tonal value similar to the wood, simplified the compositional effect of the whole. Even Ogden Codman, Jr. loved the room despite his penchant for white paint.⁵¹ Although his Uncle John clearly had been a strong influence in his life and Ogden had learned much from him, he rarely wished to admit it.⁵² Uncertain of his profession in youth, Ogden was given the opportunity to live with the Sturgises for several years before his own family returned from Dinard. Not only were John Hubbard Sturgis and Ogden Codman, Jr. the two Boston architects most identified with the art of measured drawings by the mid-1880s, but through the acquisition of this skill, Ogden later made one of his greatest contributions to New England architectural history. He provided us not only with reconstructural analyses of "The Grange" (figs. 20-23) but also made sketches of the most important Colonial and Federal houses in the Boston area, many of which are no longer standing.⁵³ (See Metcalf, this issue.) Ogden's interest in the decorated interior from an architectural point of view was already a characteristic of Sturgis as early as the 1860s, and of his uncle Richard Codman beginning in the 1870s. But when Ogden

wrote *The Decoration of Houses* in 1895 with Edith Wharton, style and taste had changed. The heavy, dark designs of the Civil War decades had been superseded by light, pale colors and the gilt and satin which Ogden and others began to use so extensively in the 1890s. Yet Ogden, despite his disparagement of the earlier taste, was able to distinguish good from bad design within that idiom. In a letter to his friend Herbert Browne, sent from France in the twentieth century,⁵⁴ he favored the work of a skilled Boston firm of the 1860s such as Snell and Gregerson as compared with that of Andrews, Jacques and Rantoul, with whom he was briefly affiliated in the 1880s.⁵⁵

The classicizing affinities of Ogden's generation and the expected pendulum swing in taste, rather than specific dislike for Sturgis's work, would appear to have sparked the younger man's criticisms. The archaeological approach to the Colonial and Federal periods, so characteristic of the 1890s and of Ogden's generation, differed from the more creative and original approach of the 1860s and 1870s when freedom in historical allusion was considered an architectural challenge.⁵⁶ A sense of proportion, an ability to handle scale, and an innate power of design enabled John Hubbard Sturgis to outdistance his less discriminating contemporaries, who, working without the rules and regulations imposed by canons of classicism, often fell into aesthetic confusion.⁵⁷ In the billiard room at "The Grange" he designed a carefully arranged reflection of the years between 1741 and 1862, rather than the customary late-nineteenth-century excess.

The details of the dining room (fig. 37) reveal aesthetic premises similar to those which appear in the billiard room. A square bay with portieres extends the room which would otherwise be confined to rectangular form, providing both a vista to the landscape and a grander spatial proportion.⁵⁸ Less held to eighteenth-century themes, Sturgis's color continues dark and rich, but

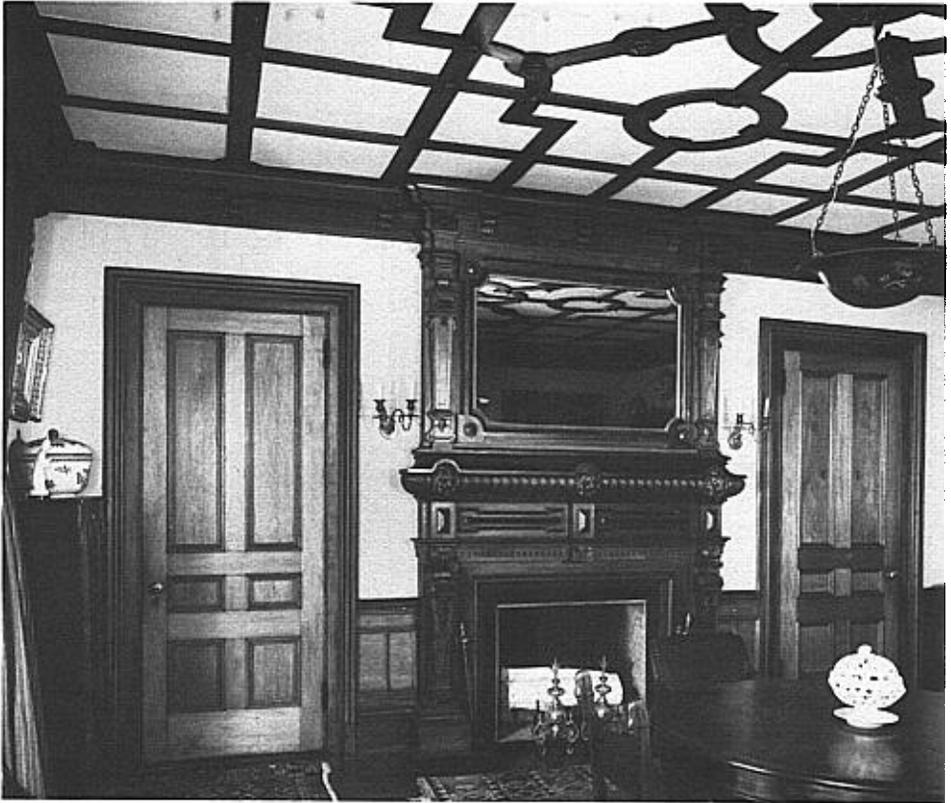


FIG. 37. SOUTH WALL OF THE DINING ROOM, "THE GRANGE" (1863-1864). (SPNEA Archives, photograph by Richard Cheek.)

without classical allusions in the furniture and woodwork. The dark strapwork which presently adorns the ceiling and which also appears in other contemporaneous work of Sturgis was installed.⁵⁹ Woodwork in general had darkened fully by the late 1850s, as in E. C. Cabot's Gibson House at 137 Beacon Street, but full paneling and strapwork ceilings did not become prevalent until after the Civil War. In Sturgis's work, based on designs common in England, strapwork ceilings and the tile floor appear exceptionally early.⁶⁰

Architectural furniture such as the built-in sideboard and paneling from floor to ceiling was only beginning to appear in the early 1860s, so once again "The Grange" is unusual insofar as the elaboration of its

dining room mantel is concerned. Sturgis's house in Newport for his friend Frederick Rhineland (1862) was being executed contemporaneously with his work at "The Grange" and incorporates similar features.⁶¹ Both the Sturgises and the Ogden Codmans summered in Newport and during this 1862-1866 period Sturgis was much in contact with his lifelong friend, Richard Morris Hunt, both in Rhode Island and New York, and their designs share similar forms.⁶² In 1862, for example, in the Griswold House in Newport (now the Newport Art Association), Hunt utilized full paneling in the library. Particularly in woodwork such as that in the staircase hall at the Griswold House, however, an uneven quality of execution exists. The more simple

components of the paneling were assembled from standard moldings and apparently installed with local labor. Incorporated into the final structure were key elements ordered especially from New York or from abroad, and often hand carved.

This same uneven quality is evident in the great mantel in the dining room at "The Grange," where the strapwork and estípite-shaped pilasters are machine made of different types of wood, while hand-carved lion's head grotesques are of different workmanship, strongly resembling the griffin which forms the newel post at the Griswold House.⁶³ Yet the Elizabethan lozenge shapes and other details in Lincoln are both powerful and well integrated compared to those in the library of the Lockwood-Matthews Mansion in Norwalk, Connecticut. This design, also executed by the same maker, Leon Marcotte, in 1867, was presumably for the New York architect, Detlef Lienau, who, like Hunt, had trained at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris in the 1840s. The Connecticut mantel is more flamboyant and less discriminating than that at "The Grange" both in iconography and in execution.⁶⁴ Sturgis and Ogden Codman made several trips together to New York in the early 1860s, and the dining room scheme, the "Swan" pattern chairs, and the design of the low sideboard were apparently all provided by Sturgis (fig. 54).⁶⁵ The design of the "Swan" chairs, while not unique, was rare in this country, being derived directly from designs of the Englishman, Dr. Christopher Dresser, who had been affiliated with the South Kensington Museum and Schools in London when Sturgis was there in the late 1850s. Chairs of this same pattern are in the Lawrence Homestead in Groton, Massachusetts, which was redesigned and extended by Sturgis in 1874.⁶⁶

Sturgis's role as a designer of woodwork was not new in 1862. Working in 1858 on Nantclwyd Hall in Wales with his teacher, the British architect James K. Colling,⁶⁷ to remodel that seventeenth-century hunting

lodge, he described details of the woodwork to his bride, then resident at "Mount Felix." During this period he also produced a number of designs for furniture, sketches of woodwork, and fireplace designs.⁶⁸ Later in 1870, at the Lawrence Room in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, he assembled bits and pieces of old English paneling which had been purchased in London to create a fully paneled room, complete with a fireplace of his own design.⁶⁹

At "The Grange," the low paneling around the dining room closely resembles that of the billiard room. Bills confirm that a design was furnished to Marcotte for the sideboard which has on it channeling not dissimilar to the fireplace in the billiard room. The components of the built-in mirror above the mantel in the dining room are of an Elizabethan vocabulary which is repeated in varied form in the room, incorporating also the incised Neo-Grec detailing which adorns the "Swan" chairs.⁷⁰ That to the left (fig. 37) reveals a distilled, flattened Greek anthemion, so characteristic of the many designs and publications of Dresser.⁷¹ The walls of this room were originally a darker color and would have produced a more integrated decorative effect in combination with the glow of the butter-nut woodwork. The strapwork of the ceiling, also derived from Elizabethan precedents, unifies the composition of the room.⁷² Yet it is light enough to give scale without placing a visual lid on the space which, if designed new in 1862, would have had a much higher ceiling.

The dining room was the most complete of all the interior contributions by Sturgis to "The Grange."⁷³ Except insofar as continuity of color and style in a Georgian or Federal house is expected, the differentiation of style introduced by Sturgis in the various rooms in Lincoln is successful. Here is an antecedent of the later nineteenth-century approach to interior decoration, where, by the 1880s, great public rooms in the homes of the wealthy were executed in a wide range of differing colors



FIG. 38. STAIRCASE OF THE BOYLSTON HOUSE AS REMODELED BY STURGIS (1878). (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers, photograph by J.N. Pearlman.)

and styles. Ogden Codman, Jr., for example, provided single rooms for several later Newport mansions which Richard Morris Hunt designed in this way.⁷⁴

IV

Definitive study of the specific development of Colonial Revival architecture in Massachusetts is needed. The number and influence of early buildings were greater here than elsewhere in the country, and the development of the Colonial Revival would appear to have been a much more specific sequential matter than has heretofore been realized.⁷⁵ The close chronological relationship of several major Massachusetts mansions of the late 1730s has been noted above, but the motifs of double-arched

paneling and staircases also are direct precedents for many nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings.

After his work at "The Grange," Sturgis continued to incorporate Colonial elements in his own new work.⁷⁶ Most notable are his Hooper and Carey houses in Cambridge, Massachusetts, of 1872 and 1882 respectively, where specific details of the Hancock House appear. A gambrel roof and other Colonial details can be identified in the Hooper House, while the later Carey House is a complex synthesis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century forms, with both a Palladian window, a "Hancock House" gambrel roof and balcony on the façade, and an overhanging upper story and leanto at the side and rear.⁷⁷ Elements of the Hancock House from Sturgis's measured drawings were utilized by Robert Peabody as the basis for the Massachusetts State Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, making it the prototypical Colonial house for the ensuing quarter-century.⁷⁸

A more specific relationship can be traced between Sturgis's redesign of "The Grange" and the later history of the Boylston House in Brookline (1737), rented between 1870 and 1888 by Sturgis and his wife from Colonel Henry Lee (fig. 29). The heavy proportions of the classical, pedimented doorway and the five-part symmetrical configuration of the fenestration reflect the 1730s Georgian addition to the original seventeenth-century portion. The Boylston House had no large-scale extension in the Federal period to parallel John Codman III's enlargement of "The Grange," and its façade in the nineteenth century must have resembled the original appearance of the earlier Russell Mansion. In 1878, having occupied the house for eighteen years, Fanny and John Sturgis added to it substantially.⁷⁹ To the northwest, a library was inserted into the corner of the ell in a position identical to that of the Federal "Hall" at Codman House. Breaking through the arched window of the staircase

landing at the Boylston House, Sturgis created a double staircase mounting into this northwestern addition with much the same virtuoso spatial result as had been achieved in 1797 at "The Grange" (fig. 38). Finally, the parlor fireplace in the Boylston House repeated the characteristic eighteenth-century form of the paneling of the parlor at "The Grange," the Royall House, and the Hancock House (fig. 39).⁸⁰ This arched fireplace wall appeared repeatedly in other new designs by Sturgis, most notably in the Lawrence Homestead in Groton which he extended in 1874, with a large addition incorporating this same motif (fig. 40).⁸¹

The redesign of "The Grange" in 1862 initiated central stylistic themes and many fundamental perceptions which run through the later designs of Sturgis and incorporate reflections of the Colonial style

well ahead of the full-scale surfacing of the Colonial Revival in American architecture following the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. More significant, perhaps, was Sturgis's perception of his role as a remodeler, which started at "The Grange" and peaked in his great designs for Mrs. Jack Gardner at 152-154 Beacon Street and for Frederick Ames at 306 Dartmouth Street, Boston, both executed in 1882, the latter generally considered to be his masterpiece.⁸² At Dartmouth Street, the integration of multiple stylistic essays into a single great composition on the main floor and staircase is a culmination of concepts which Sturgis had delineated initially in the billiard room, the dining room, and hall at "The Grange."

Not only was it Sturgis, moreover, who conceptually and stylistically pursued the eighteenth century, for Ogden Codman's

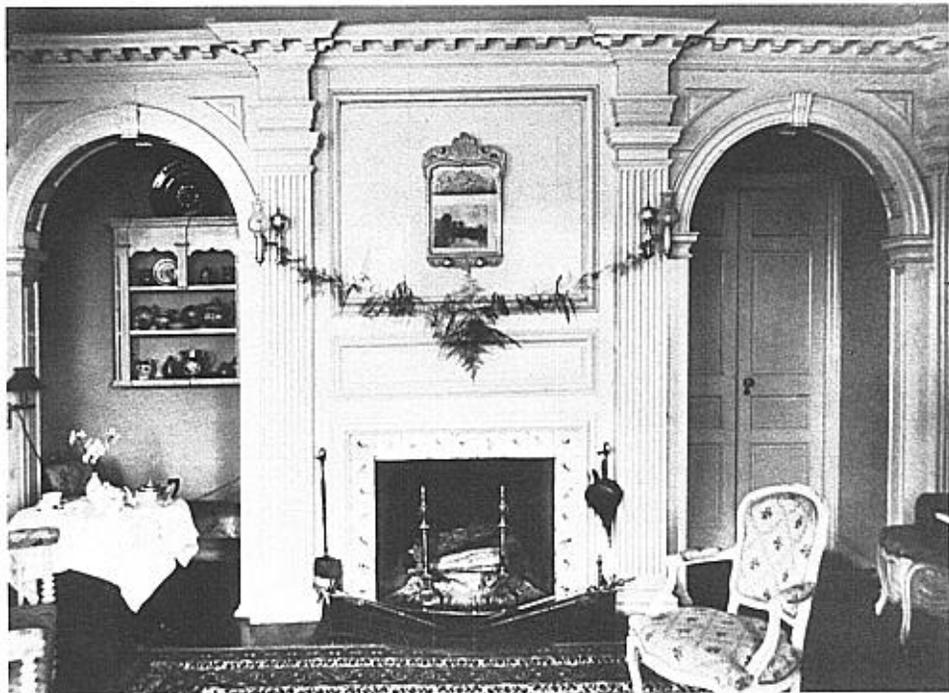


FIG. 39. PARLOR OF THE BOYLSTON HOUSE, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS (1737). (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers.)

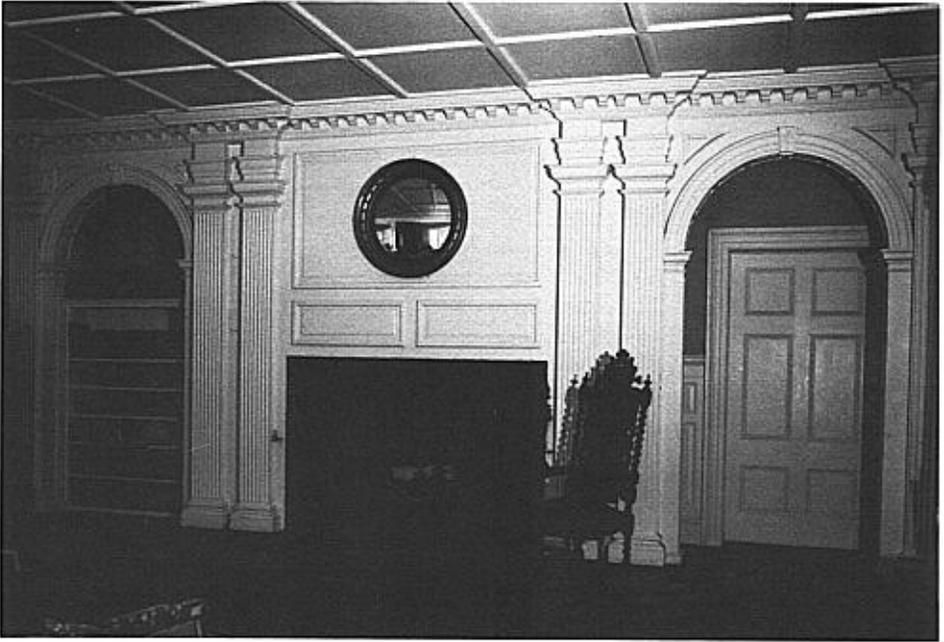


FIG. 40. PARLOR OF THE LAWRENCE HOMESTEAD, GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS, BY STURGIS (1875). (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers, photograph by J.N. Pearlman.)



FIG. 41. PARLOR AT "ROOKWOOD," MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA, MASSACHUSETTS, BY R. CLIPSTON STURGIS FOR MRS. FANNY CODMAN STURGIS (1896). (Boston Athenaeum, Sturgis Papers; Sturgis family photograph.)

country home was a vision for Fanny Sturgis as well. Following the untimely death of John Hubbard Sturgis in England in 1888, R. Clipston Sturgis, his nephew and successor, designed "Rookwood" at Manchester-by-the-Sea for his widowed aunt in 1896.⁸³ The interior contained a staircase hall derived from the Boylston House and a parlor with an arched and

paneled fireplace wall duplicating that of both the Boylston and Codman houses (fig. 41). In her later years, then, the memories, surroundings, and reminiscences of Frances Anne Codman Sturgis still echoed the Boylston House and the eighteenth-century forms of "The Grange" in Lincoln.

NOTES

1. Arthur L. Finney, "The Royall House in Medford: A Reevaluation of the Structural and Documentary Evidence," Abbott L. Cummings, ed., *Architecture in Colonial Massachusetts*, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 51 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), pp. 23-41.

2. See Chapin, this issue.

3. Walter Kendall Watkins, "The Hancock House and its Builder," *Old-Time New England* 17 (July 1926), pp. 3-19.

4. Harriet F. Woods, *Historical Sketches of Brookline* (Boston, 1874).

5. For information on "The Vale," see Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 166, 189, 204, 241, 245; figs. 162, 200. Ogden Codman, Jr. includes a drawing of "The Vale" in his "Notebooks," Codman Papers, Boston Athenaeum.

6. The most complete discussion of the landscaped country estate is found in Charles A. Hammond, "Where the Arts and the Virtues Meet: Country Life Near Boston, 1630-1862" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress, 1981, Boston University.)

7. Damrell V. Moore and George Coolidge, *Boston Almanac* (Boston, 1860); William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and NeoClassical Styles I* (New York: Doubleday, 1967). Early descriptions of the Arlington Street Church are given by the Almanac, which stresses its Italian models, while Pierson discusses their transition to America through the English publications of

Gibbs and his designs for St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London (1721-1726).

8. *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, Adolf K. Placzek, ed. (New York: Macmillan-Free Press, 1982), s.v. "Gilman, Arthur," by Margaret Henderson Floyd.

9. Arthur Gilman, "The Hancock House and Its Founder," *Atlantic Monthly* 11 (1863), pp. 692-707.

10. See Howie, this issue.

11. Richard Codman, *Reminiscences of Richard Codman* (Boston: North Bennet Street Industrial School, 1923).

12. See Metcalf, this issue.

13. Richard Codman, *Reminiscences*, pp. 42-44. A description of the wedding of John and Fanny is given by her brother. For the complex genealogical connections of the two families see Frances Shaw Sturgis, Esther Mary Sturgis and John Hubbard Sturgis, Jr., *The Descendants of Nathaniel Russell Sturgis* (Boston: By the Author, 1925).

14. Richard Codman, *Reminiscences*. In chapter one, description of the house by Bulfinch at No. 29, his father's art collection and life on Chestnut Street are given. Richard's later work, is notable and well illustrated in, for example, G.W. Sheldon, *Artistic Country Seats*, 2 vols. (New York: D Appleton, 1887), 2: 185-187. Here are discussed Richard's decorations for "Vinland" by Peabody and Stearns in Newport, Rhode Island, with its mural paintings by Walter Crane.

15. Richard Codman, *Reminiscences*, pp. 18-21, 28.

16. See Howie and Metcalf, this issue.
17. Martin Green, *The Problem of Boston* (New York: Norton, 1966), pp. 142-163.
18. Ogden Codman, Jr., "Notebooks," Codman Papers, Boston Athenaeum.
19. Margaret Henderson Floyd, "A Terra Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1870-1876, by Sturgis and Brigham," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 32 (May 1973), pp. 83-103.
20. Bainbridge Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), *passim*. The development of the Back Bay and the impact of Bryant and Gilman are discussed here.
21. Floyd, "Museum of Fine Arts," *passim*.
22. See Metcalf, this issue.
23. Codman Family Manuscripts Collection (hereafter referred to as CFMC), Thomas H. Newbold to Ogden Codman, Sr., 14 January 1860, 3 April 1860, box 35, folder 799. The year which is written on these letters in another hand is a later error, since John was not working in this country until the fall of 1861. They probably date from 1863.
24. Floyd, "Museum of Fine Arts," *passim*. See also Sturgis Papers, Boston Athenaeum.
25. For Barry, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture, 19th and 20th Centuries* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1958), and A. Barry, *The Life and Works of Sir C. Barry* (London, 1867).
26. "Mount Felix," also known as Walton House, has been much documented, most recently by John Archer Stonebanks, *Mount Felix, Walton-on-Thames*, (Walton and Weybridge Local Historical Society Paper No. 17, 1978). See also Royal Institute of British Architects *Drawings Catalogue* (Farnborough: D. C. Heath, 1977), p. 48.; A. Barry, *Barry*, pp. 107-109.
27. A picture of the Sturgis family in residence at "Mount Felix" is given in Julian Sturgis, *From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.). Prince Albert, an amateur architect, was much involved with the Osborne House design himself and knew Barry well, although they were not close. Cubitt acted generally as contractor rather than designer.
28. Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Henry Austin and the Italian Villa," *The Art Bulletin* 30 (June 1940), pp. 145 ff.
29. The 1850s are generally characterized by excessive height in domestic design, an aesthetic reflection in both masonry and wood of the new potentiality of balloon-frame construction, then available for the first time in the east. The use of very low balusters, newels, railings and dados in structures of this period was a ubiquitous device for enhancing the eighteen to twenty-three foot ceiling heights which were also common.
30. The ell of "The Grange" is probably a design by Ogden Codman, Jr., although further study of his drawings and the collection is needed to fully document its evolution.
31. See Chapin, this issue. Bills for the work done during the late 1790s in Lincoln do not specify quoins, although the other components of the structure are all mentioned. Large, three-dimensional blocks of this sort were common during the eighteenth century, but fell into disfavor after 1790 with the advent of the attenuated and delicate style of Bulfinch.
32. Comparison of these lintels with those of "Mount Felix" suggests a derivative relationship.
33. A.J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1858). The rise of landscape architecture, primarily under the impetus of Downing's theories in the 1840s, encouraged domestic design which, for the first time, was oriented from the interior outwards.
34. Vincent Scully, *The Shingle Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), discusses at length the evolution of the house in the nineteenth century from a box-like configuration to an open plan.
35. *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, Placzek, ed., s.v. "Sturgis, John Hubbard," by Margaret Henderson Floyd.
36. CFMC, John Hubbard Sturgis to Ogden Codman, Sr., 11 September 1863, box 35, folder 799. This letter makes clear that John was heavily involved with the interior decoration, in addition to the structural changes at "The Grange." Although the mantel in the "Hall" dates from 1797/1798, a number of the upstairs mantels were moved by both John and then Ogden, Jr., and documentation is not clear on the sequence.
37. The existence of this beam was discovered by SPNEA when "The Grange" was acquired. It was put in by Sturgis, who also partially rebuilt the staircase. The documentation beyond this point is only visual.

38. The boxing of the treads is unusual, and skillfully done. Its style is more complex than most comparable staircases from the eighteenth century, but not found elsewhere in other stairs by Sturgis. Without further structural documentation the date is problematical.
39. Margaret Henderson Floyd, "John Hubbard Sturgis of Boston and the English Architectural Image" (Typewritten manuscript, 1981).
40. David Hart, "X-Ray Investigation of Buildings," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 5 (No. 1, 1973), pp. 9-21. The dado on the wall of the staircase has been determined by Hart to have been original, while balusters and newel of the front part of the stair are probably also from the 1741 building program. Richard Codman (*Reminiscences*, pp. 9-10) erroneously says that balusters and newel were imported. He was, however, on the site during the period of Sturgis's redesign, and would have known if an entire new staircase had been installed.
41. Margaret Henderson Floyd, "Measured Drawings of the Hancock House by John Hubbard Sturgis: A Legacy to the Colonial Revival," *Architecture in Colonial Massachusetts*, pp. 87-111. Sturgis's drawing of the stair is reproduced in the above volume as fig. 31. The drawing is now located in the SPNEA Archives, along with most of the other drawings of the Hancock House.
42. The alternating turnings of balusters, though differing in proportion (those at the Royall House, for example, are very slender), are generic in great American pre-revolutionary houses.
43. In Floyd, "Measured Drawings of the Hancock House," figs. 37, 38, 40-42 illustrate the Carey House, including the newel.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-111.
45. Sturgis used encaustic tile for the large central hallway at "Greenvale Farm," a seaside cottage designed in Newport, Rhode Island, for John Barstow in 1864, and continued to incorporate this material in his later designs.
46. The critical technological issue here is the inlaid clay which enables the encaustic tile to be used for flooring where wear would be high. Ordinary decorated or painted tile can be used only for vertical and wall surfaces.
47. Floyd, "Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." pp. 83-103.
48. The chronological place of "The Grange" in Sturgis's oeuvre gives it particular importance.
49. See Nylander, this issue. Bookcases were placed in the southeastern parlor in the 1860s, and these were purchased from Marcotte. Later they were moved to the billiard room, where they presently are located.
50. The doorway of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1870) and the unornamented brick exterior of the apse of the Church of the Advent, Boston (1875) are but two examples of this quality of contrast seen in Sturgis's other work.
51. See Metcalf, this issue.
52. CFMC, John Hubbard Sturgis to Ogden Codman, Sr., 20 November 1880, box 35, folder 799. In this letter John urges Ogden, Sr. to allow Ogden, Jr. to return to Boston and reside with him at the Boylston House.
53. See Metcalf, this issue; Ogden Codman, Jr., "Notebooks," Codman Papers, Boston Athenaeum; Floyd, "Measured Drawings of the Hancock House."
54. Ogden Codman, Jr. to Herbert-Whielden-Cotton Browne, 21 April 1936, Codman Papers, Boston Athenaeum. This letter effectively reveals Ogden's attitude toward Sturgis's generation and its work.
55. Bunting (*Back Bay*, pp. 179-185) discusses Snell and Gregerson's Endicott House, 165 Marlborough Street, Boston, referred to by Ogden, Jr. in his letter. Andrews, Jacques and Rantoul were a well-known later Boston firm, contemporaneous with Ogden, Jr. Jacques had been in the office of H.H. Richardson and had accompanied him on a trip to Europe in 1882.
56. *Ibid.* Chapters six and seven differentiate this sequence within late-nineteenth-century design.
57. The aesthetic difficulties confronting the American architect in producing such designs is discussed by Montgomery Schuyler, "Concerning Queen Anne," *American Architecture and Other Writings*, William Jordy and Ralph Coe, eds., 2 vols., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961) 2: 453-487.
58. See Nylander, this issue. Examination of the bills for the portieres in the dining room enabled Richard Nylander to clarify that the rectangular bay was not initially planned by Sturgis, but added after the draperies had been ordered.
59. See Chapin, this issue. Lion's heads by Daniel Raynerd have been identified in frag-

ments from the dining room fireplace, salvaged after Sturgis's remodeling.

60. Bunting (*Back Bay*, pp. 139-153) gives examples of more usual woodwork and mantels of the 1860s.

61. Floyd, "John Hubbard Sturgis of Boston." The Sturgis Papers at the Boston Athenaeum contain many references to Rhinelander, an old personal friend of Sturgis. For information on the Rhinelander house, see Historic Building Data Sheet, Rhode Island Statewide Survey, Phase 1, Newport, Plat 25, Lot 71. The dining room fireplace here is faced also with encaustic tiles.

62. Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), pp. 132-137.

63. The Elizabethan style of woodwork, most closely identified in the work of William Burn in England, is not apparent on any wide scale in Boston until later in the 1860s. See David Walker, "William Burn: The country house in transition," Jane Fawcett, ed., *Seven Victorian Architects* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 8-31.

64. Mary E. Adams, ed., *The Lockwood-Matthews Mansion* (Norwalk: Lockwood-Matthews Mansion Museum, 1969). The library by Marcotte is illustrated on p. 18 of this book.

65. See Nylander, this issue.

66. See Christopher Dresser, *The Art of Decorative Design* (London: Day & Son, 1862), passim and plates 4, 26.

67. Floyd, "Museum of Fine Arts," pp. 86-88.

68. John Hubbard Sturgis, Ruthin, to Fanny Codman Sturgis, "Three Letters," 28 September 1859, Sturgis Papers, Boston Athenaeum.

69. The Lawrence Room, the only portion of the Copley Square building to have been moved to the present museum location on Huntington Avenue, is illustrated in *American Architect and Building News* 8 (October 1880). It was also of combined Elizabethan and Jacobean style.

70. The built-in mirror, which becomes prevalent in the work of late-nineteenth-century architects, is an ideal device for extending and faceting interior space.

Neo-Grec design forms, derived ultimately from classical ornamental sources, aimed to reduce these models to patterns which could be executed by the machine, thus creating a New

Classical style (the correct translation). Widely published in French work of the day, the writings of Viollet-le-Duc and Cesar Daly's periodicals, its first impact was felt in America in the 1860s. Channeling would be the equivalent of fluting.

71. The stylized anthemion is comparable, decoratively, to the channeling discussed above in that it derives from classical precedent, but is executed by machine.

72. See Nylander, this issue. In reviewing the bills for the wallpaper for the dining room, Richard Nylander has established that the ceiling may well have also been papered with the stylized geometrical wallpaper used on the walls, which is also closely derived from Dresser examples. If this were the case, the aspect of the room would have been even more cohesive.

73. Floyd, "Museum of Fine Arts," pp. 85-88. Since Sturgis was in England from the fall of 1866 to that of 1870, Ogden Codman, Sr. coped alone with the furnishing of the billiard room, the woodwork of which had been completed. The paper is clearly a Sturgis selection, along with his suggestion for the painted monogram on the ceiling. CFMC, John Hubbard Sturgis to Ogden Codman, Sr., 11 September 1863, box 35, file 799.

74. Examples of Codman's work in Hunt's Newport mansions are best known at "Chateau-sur-Mer" and "The Breakers."

75. Floyd, "Measured Drawings of the Hancock House," pp. 102-111.

76. *Ibid.*, figs. 35-42.

77. The Carey House is one of the earliest known examples of the archaeological phase of the Colonial Revival.

78. Floyd, "Measured Drawings of the Hancock House." Robert Peabody, an early spokesman for the Colonial Revival in the 1870s, was primarily responsible for the popularizing of the Hancock House after 1893. In 1928 R. Clipston Sturgis, successor to John's practice, used the drawings once again to produce an exact replica of the Hancock House in Ticonderoga, New York, which is much more archaeologically correct in its interpretation of the original.

79. Frances Rollins Morse, *Henry and Mary Lee: Letters and Journals with other Family Letters, 1802-1860* (Boston: By the Author, 1926); Colonel Henry Lee, Beverly Farms, to Colonel Marshall P. Wilder, (1881), Lee Family Papers;

made available through the kindness of Mrs. E.P. Richardson, of Brookline, Mass. The continued existence of the seventeenth-century frame was established by the author and Abbott L. Cummings on site. Ogden Codman, Jr., "Notebooks," Codman Papers, Boston Athenaeum; Frances Anne Codman Sturgis, "Diary of 1890," Sturgis Papers, Boston Athenaeum.

80. See stereopticon views of the Hancock House interior (SPNEA Archives) published by Watkins, "The Hancock House and its Builder," p. 16.

81. The exterior of the Lawrence Homestead (1874) is far more related to Queen Anne Revival design than to Colonial precedents. The detail of this interior segment, however, is Colonial.

82. For the Gardner house see *Artistic Houses* (New York, D. Appleton, 1884). For the Ames House see Bunting, *Back Bay*, pp. 260-265. The latter is Jacobethan, a stylistic extension of the dining room at "The Grange."

83. Old photographs and guest books from "Rookwood" are in the Sturgis Papers, Boston Athenaeum.