

H. H. Richardson's House for Reverend Browne, Rediscovered

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In 1882 Henry Hobson Richardson completed a modest shingled cottage in the town of Marion, overlooking Sippican Harbor on the southern coast of Massachusetts (Figure 1). Even though he had only seen it in a sadly diminished, altered state and shrouded in vines, in 1936 historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock would nevertheless proclaim, on the walls of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, that the structure was “perhaps the most successful house ever inspired by the Colonial vernacular.”¹ The alterations made shortly after the death of its first owner in 1901 obscured the exceptional qualities that marked the house as one of Richardson’s most thoughtful works; they also caused it to be misunderstood—in some ways even by its champion Hitchcock—and then generally underappreciated by subsequent scholars. A graphic reconstruction of the Browne house as it was originally designed and built, along with a reevaluation of its place in the historical narrative of American architecture, strengthen the case for its preservation and restoration. The reconstruction gives us in effect a new Richardson building to consider—a personal, intimate work that lets us see the rest of his buildings with fresh eyes.²

In the late 1940s Vincent Scully composed his dissertation “The Cottage Style” (published in 1955 as *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*), closely surveying ground that had been paced off by Lewis Mumford and Hitchcock.³ Scully identified and named the Shingle Style, outlined its basis in nineteenth-century design theory, and charted its

flowering, brief maturity, and dissemination as a new American vernacular. To abbreviate Scully’s formulation, the Shingle Style was a fusion of imported strains of the English Queen Anne and Old English movements with a concurrent revival of interest in the seventeenth-century colonial building tradition in wood shingles, a tradition that survived at that time in humble construction up and down the New England seaboard. The Queen Anne and Old English were both characterized by picturesque massing, the elision of the distinction between roof and wall through the use of terra-cotta “Kent tile” shingles on both, the liberal use of glass, and dynamic planning that engaged functionally complex houses with their landscapes. American observers conflated these styles, distinct to the British eye, into a single broader conceptual frame. This imported “Queen Anne” developed in parallel with a nativist project (led by Richardson’s first protégé Charles Follen McKim) to preserve and learn from, if not precisely reproduce, the sturdy shingled vernacular of the colonial New England house. Architects also took advantage of new structural opportunities inherent in the invention of balloon framing with slender wood studs and designed houses with a spatial freedom alien to the spirit of the colonial architecture they admired. During the period Mumford called “the Brown Decades,” the red English Queen Anne was first recast in weathering gray or stained wood, and then subsumed in revived colonial vernacular forms that lent holiday houses in resort locations an air of abstemious Yankee rectitude.⁴

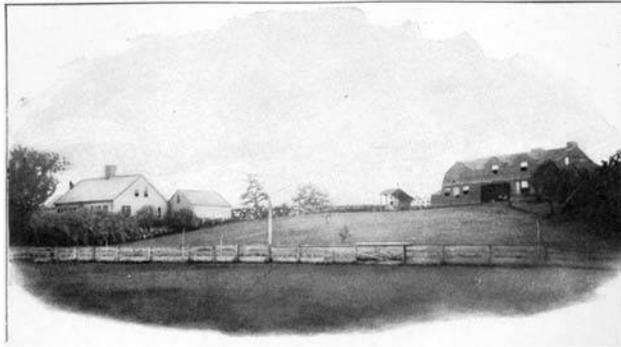


Figure 1 Henry Hobson Richardson, Reverend Percy Browne house, Marion, Mass., 1881–82, with the Richard Watson Gilder house (at left). Photographed ca. 1890

Richardson had done much to establish the Queen Anne in America with his design for the William Watts Sherman house (1874–76, Newport, Rhode Island). He and his young assistant Stanford White were directly inspired by published drawings of the Old English country houses of Norman Shaw.⁵ Seven years later Richardson drew on different sources of inspiration for the Browne house. He reimagined and transformed the New England colonial vernacular and produced a building that would be perceived in the 1930s as protomodern. Richardson was not simple or naive—even when his source material was—but he could be direct, pragmatic, lucid, and plain, and he could make poetry out of these ascribed American traits. This, perhaps along with his disinclination to speak or write much about his art, accounts for at least some of his appeal to the bare-knuckle industrialists and politicians of his time.⁶

Working to advance his practice as a designer of monumental buildings while guarding the privacy of his wealthy residential clients, Richardson allowed few of his houses to be published. Yet Richardson’s residential work did influence his colleagues and the culture at large. Since even the most revolutionary house must be seen before it can influence anyone, how could Reverend Browne’s cottage have changed anyone’s mind about what a dwelling should be or, more broadly, about how to build in America? The dictum of the real estate investor—“location, location, location”—gives a hint. Richardson’s best work was imbued with animate power, and seen in situ it was not forgotten.

Reverend Percy Browne

Richardson’s client, the Reverend Mr. [William] Percy Browne, was born on 29 March 1838 in Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, Ireland, to Dr. Daniel Henderson

Browne and Margaret (Corbet) Browne (Figure 2).⁷ His father practiced in Dublin.⁸ The widowed Mrs. Browne “emigrated to this country with her young children, in order to give them a greater opportunity” in the time of the Great Famine.⁹ Browne was educated at Kenyon Preparatory School and Kenyon College in Ohio—alongside John Cotton Brooks, the youngest brother of Phillips Brooks—and at the Philadelphia Divinity School.¹⁰ He made “a record for himself in Kenyon College as a fine scholar . . . especially distinguished for his mastery of literature and for his style as a writer of beautiful English, which impressed his fellow students as a rare gift.”¹¹ While he was still a student, although it is not clear exactly when, Browne was engaged as a summer tutor for the four sons of Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Wetherill and met their daughter Katharine.¹² As relatives of the Revolutionary War figure and disowned Quaker Samuel Wetherill, theirs was a fam-



Figure 2 Reverend Percy Browne. Photographed ca. 1890

ily of some distinction.¹³ They are said to have disapproved of the match.¹⁴ Browne was ordained and named rector of St. Philips's Church in Philadelphia in 1866, and married Kate later that year.¹⁵ In 1872 Browne became rector of St. James's Church, Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he served for the rest of his life.¹⁶ Census records show that in 1880 his daughter Katherine was nine, that little Percy Jr. was one year old, and that the family was prosperous enough to live with two domestic servants.¹⁷ Browne led the Boston clergymen who met monthly as the Clericus Club, where papers were read and discussed.¹⁸ He died on 1 October 1901, esteemed by his colleagues for his contemplative nature, his persuasiveness in the pulpit, and his elegant writing. His clerical eulogists presented him as a poet and aesthete. He was a sensitive, intelligent man worthy of Richardson's respect, and the fresh imaginative energy Richardson invested in the design of Browne's house may attest to the architect's esteem for his middle-class client as well as to the free hand we may assume Browne gave his architect.

During his years as a student and a young priest in Philadelphia, Browne had forged a professional alliance and close friendship with the somewhat older Reverend (later Bishop) Phillips Brooks.¹⁹ In 1869 Brooks became rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and over the next few years he found appointments nearby for Browne and four other clergymen whom he had known in Philadelphia.²⁰ In 1872 the Trinity congregation engaged Richardson to design their new building, and this began a working relationship and friendship between Richardson and Brooks that lasted until the architect's death, establishing a personal connection that could have brought Richardson and Browne together and induced the architect to commit his professional resources to an unremunerative commission for a modest dwelling. Browne was also one of the first members of the St. Botolph Club (founded in 1880 and modeled after the Century Association in New York City), and Richardson was a member of both the Century and St. Botolph clubs.²¹ Given this club affiliation, Browne's close friendship with Brooks, and Brooks's long association with Richardson, it is probable that Richardson and Browne were acquaintances at least by the time that Browne wagered that the architect could not build him a house for twenty-five hundred dollars.²² Perhaps that bet, in which Richardson placed his fee at hazard, was offered and accepted at the St. Botolph Club in September 1881, after the close of the summer season. Or perhaps the wager is merely a local legend. In any event, Richardson accepted a tiny commission from a man of relatively modest means who knew the value of a great architect's work and yet was bold enough to ask for it. By 10

November 1881 Richardson's draftsmen were making final refinements to the drawings.²³

Marion, and Browne's Neighbors

In the late 1870s Marion was one of many coastal towns that became seasonal havens for the families of the professionals and businessmen of Boston and New York. Visitors also came from Philadelphia, Washington, and later as far away as Chicago. A small train station just north of the village connected Marion to the metropolitan centers.²⁴ Front Street ran along the shore and linked the depot to the village center. In his novel *The Bostonians* Henry James described the town (although he gave it a fictional name) as sleepy and a little down-at-heels. James's narrative was originally published as a serial in *The Century Magazine*.²⁵ Under the guidance of its editor Richard Watson Gilder, *The Century* enjoyed a level of prestige analogous to that of *The New Yorker* today, and with a similar editorial profile: discursive investigative journalism, coverage of the visual and performing arts, book reviews, travelogues, fiction, verse, and long critical essays on American architecture. Gilder and his wife Helena de Kay Gilder began summering in Marion in 1880 or 1881, established a permanent summer residence there in 1882, and attracted a host of prominent writers, actors, artists, and politicians to Marion as residents and visitors.²⁶ They were extraordinarily well connected to an artistic community that included Richardson's collaborators Augustus Saint-Gaudens, John La Farge, and Richardson's protégé White.²⁷

Browne probably discovered Marion by 1879, when his Kenyon classmate John Cotton Brooks rented a cottage at the south end of town.²⁸ During the summer of 1881 both Browne and Gilder selected Bartlett's Hill, midway between the village and the train depot, for their summer homes—Browne determined to build a new house on top of the hill, while Gilder took the old house on Front Street at its foot. Close by but farther inland White (who had designed renovations to Gilder's house in New York City a few years before) helped Gilder rehabilitate an old stone industrial building for use as his wife's studio, where for ten years they would entertain friends, write and read, paint, and stage theatricals.²⁹ At this time White and his partners were in loose collaboration with Richardson on a connected pair of town houses (the Whittier and Higginson houses, 1881–83) on Beacon Street in Boston. Richardson had the Higginson commission, while McKim, Mead and White had the Whittier.³⁰ Although a record of his trips to visit Richardson has not been found, White may have seen the Browne house on the boards at Brookline in fall 1881, might have been

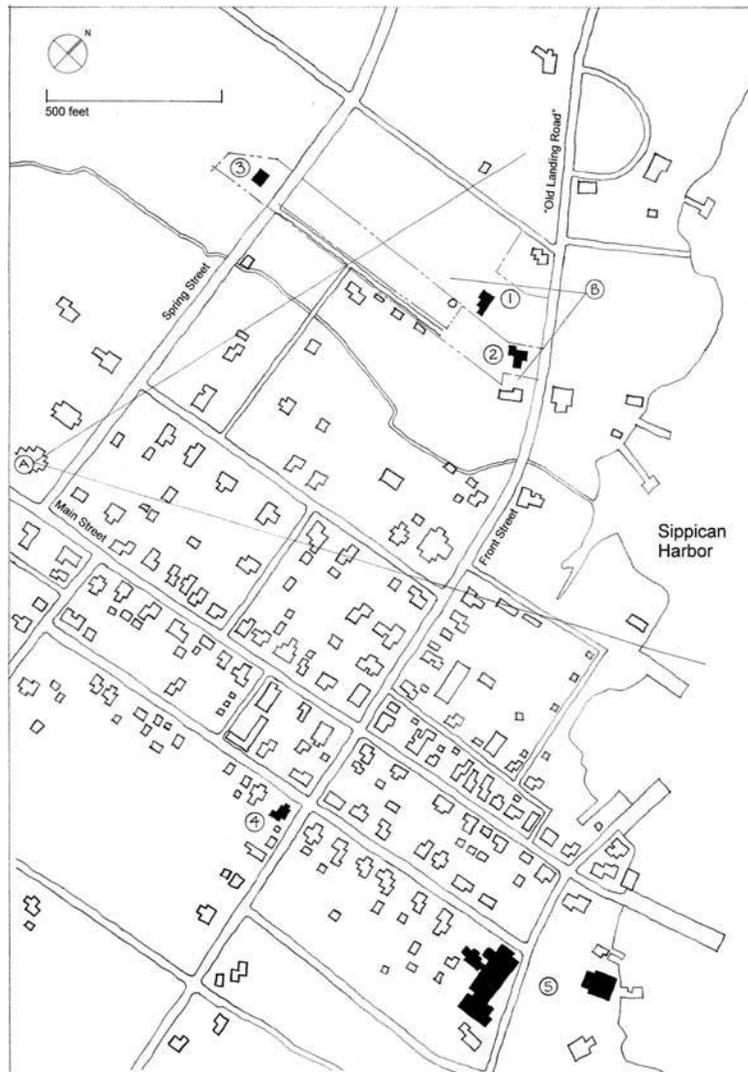


Figure 3 Map of Marion, Mass., ca. 1900: 1. Reverend Browne's house; 2. R. W. Gilder's house; 3. Gilder's "Old Stone Studio"; 4. St. Gabriel's Episcopal chapel; 5. Sippican Hotel and Casino; A. Point of view of Fig. 18; B. Point of view of Fig. 2

among Gilder's callers at his new summer house in 1882, and in either case would have admired the Browne house with a keen critical eye.

Gilder's house was a gable-ended structure typical of Marion's older dwellings, and the contrast between the homely vernacular type and Richardson's new work of art could scarcely have been more extreme (Figure 3; see Figure 1). Visitors were brought by carriage from the train depot south along Front Street to the hotel near the foot of Main Street in the center of town.³¹ The Browne house was a landmark along this route. From summer 1882 on, every visitor being driven into Marion could see and remark upon

a novel house by the nation's most famous architect. Every artist, writer, architect, journalist, actor, and politician calling at Gilder's summer salon would have had their elite tastes gratified, or their mundane preferences challenged, by Richardson's radical little building.³²

Richardson's American Primitivism

Although Browne was a respected clergyman, he was not in the class of wealthy industrialists and politicians for whom Richardson and his staff produced great masonry houses. When Browne commissioned his cottage in 1881, he had lit-



Figure 4 Richardson, Dr. John Bryant house, Cohasset, Mass., 1880–81

tle to spend. If his new house was to be inexpensive, it had to be of wood, and if it was to be of wood, it would be shingled. Richardson had recently completed another house on the Massachusetts shore, also in wood and shingles, and likewise for a somewhat younger man associated with a friend—Dr. John Bryant, the son-in-law of his frequent collaborator, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (Figure 4). The Bryant house (1880–81, Cohasset, Massachusetts) was Richardson’s first executed shingled building since the Watts Sherman house. Assisted by White, who commuted from New York to confer with Richardson at his home/office in Brookline, Richardson had continued to design houses in the muscular, decorative Shavian mode of Watts Sherman through 1878, although none were built.³³ With the Bryant house Richardson changed course, embracing a rugged and elemental vision of dwelling on the Atlantic coast.

Bryant’s house was a casually composed wooden structure that bridged a void and reached up to cling, as if by fingernails in a gale, to the copstones of its rubble chimneys—a detail Richardson may have cribbed from a photograph in his reference collection (Figure 5). Abandoning the shaped shingles, patterned surfaces, and polychromy of his earlier houses, Richardson clad the Bryant house in shingles of the most utilitarian form. Other New England architects, notably McKim and the Boston architect William Ralph Emerson, had been building shingled houses during the previous few years, using shaped shingles to achieve decorative effects much as Richardson had done at the Watts Sherman house. In these houses, patterned and colored shingles provided a picturesque emphasis to various elements of a design, or suggested larger expressive discontinuities within an otherwise unified composition. In

either instance, the decorative intent is apparent (Figure 6). None of their work to that date had shown anything like the primitivism of the Bryant house.

Richardson and his staff had another, similarly primitivist, residential building under construction at the time, the sumptuous guesthouse known as the F. L. Ames Gate Lodge (1880–81, North Easton, Massachusetts; Figure 7). In contrast to the Bryant cottage, the Ames Gate Lodge is a heavy masonry structure of boulders and terra-cotta roof tile heaved up out of the land “like a great glacial moraine roofed and made habitable.”³⁴ Its semicircular arch spans the narrow estate road and deforms the hipped roof that drapes over the whole pile.³⁵ Yet what seems at first to be a workout in rude, archaic masonry rewards sustained contemplation. The battered walls swell in noticeably curved profiles, the unworked but thoughtfully selected and judiciously placed stones subjected to something very like entasis. Isolated episodes of delicate carving by Saint-Gaudens enrich the side facing inward to the Ames’ estate. The interior is bold and lush, with positively elephantine stair newels, dark turned and paneled woodwork set against broad fields of unadorned plaster, a red stone fireplace carved all over by Saint-Gaudens with what might almost be Masonic (or even Mithraic) graffiti, and intensely colored Tiffany tiles. The upper Bachelor’s Hall is perhaps the ultimate smoke-filled room—a space for powerful men and quiet understandings.³⁶ In his most extravagant gesture Richardson physically incorporated a preexisting well, playfully equipping his clients to withstand siege. That Richardson, under Olmsted’s influence, was attempting a more or less direct evocation of natural form has been the standard interpretation of the Ames Gate Lodge since it was built.

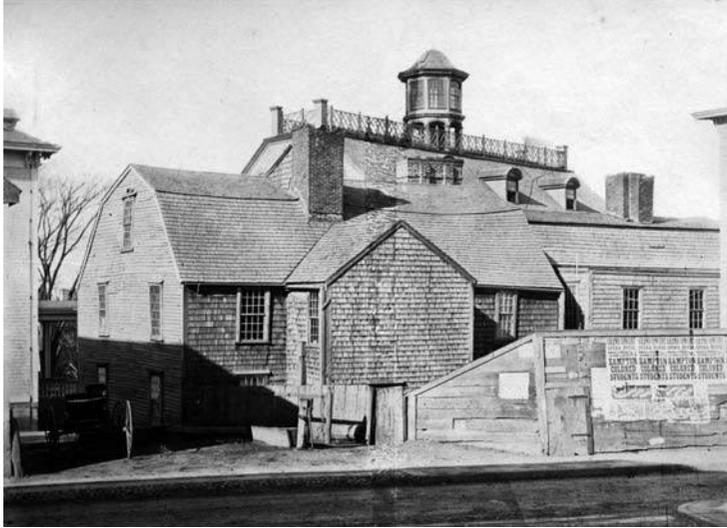


Figure 5 Eighteenth-century gambrelled dwelling, Newport, R.I. (demolished), held in Richardson's office reference collection. Photographed ca. 1870

Figure 6 William Ralph Emerson, Charles J. Morrill house, Bar Harbor, Maine, 1879–80



Figure 7 Richardson, F. L. Ames Gate Lodge, North Easton, Mass., 1880–81



Figure 8 Richardson, Ames Monument, Sherman, Wyo., 1879–82

Van Rensselaer, in her 1888 biography of Richardson, seemed somewhat stymied by it, although not quite at a loss for words:

Considered in themselves these walls would be brutal if they were not so amusing. . . . It is too eccentric a building to be judged by the standards we apply to Richardson's other works. Individual taste will always play a larger part than reasoned criticism in deciding upon its merits. The public has found it peculiarly attractive. Many architects have praised it in strong terms. Others have called it interesting but not beautiful. Others, again, pronounce it a mere architectural extravaganza of a semi-humorous sort, acknowledging, however, that only a vigorous mind could have been whimsical in such titanic fashion.³⁷

Van Rensselaer seems to have felt bound to disapprove, but could not quite put her finger on what troubled her. She concluded her discussion of the building with the observation that “the most serious reproach which can be brought against it is of an extrinsic character. It seems to announce the entrance to a vast park and a massive chateau, rather than to an American country home.”³⁸ Hitchcock judged that Richardson had abandoned the medieval architectural sources that had been his guide in monumental work and “seemed to be seeking his inspiration back in the time before architecture took form.”³⁹

The catalyst for this rugged, naturalistic, primitivist direction in Richardson's work was a commission in November 1879 for a monument to commemorate Oakes

Ames and Oliver Ames II on the Laramie plateau of eastern Wyoming (Figure 8). Richardson, who was bedridden at the time the project came to his office and who never traveled west of Chicago, was forced to rely on information about the site supplied to him by his clients for both inspiration and basic data.⁴⁰ Van Rensselaer's critical standards were as confounded by the Ames Monument as they were by the Ames gatehouse: “There is no law, it seems, so binding but that it may permit exceptions; even the imitation of a work of nature may occasionally produce a good result in art.”⁴¹ She assumed that her readers would, naturally, recognize that the “law” Richardson had transgressed was the secure boundary of sound taste.

James F. O'Gorman argued that for Richardson and his contemporaries the Ames Monument derived its significance from “imposing a geometrical order upon revealed natural form.”⁴² He suggested that Richardson drew his inspiration from *The Great West Illustrated*, a photographic portfolio of the landscape and works along the tracks of the Union Pacific Railroad, the leg of the transcontinental railroad line the Ames brothers had, by hook and (it was said) by crook, financed and completed.⁴³ Four of these photographs were taken within a mile or two of the site of the monument. Among them was a photograph of Skull Rock, which is typical of the Laramie plateau and Vedauwoo buttes: enormous, weather-eroded, fissured granite monoliths that seem to have coherent Cyclopean form. Another such butte, Reed's Rock, rises beside the track bed nine hundred yards west of and somewhat below the elevated monument site; a rubble-fall at its foot served as a quarry for the Ames Monument, but the main mass remains intact and impressive today.⁴⁴ The photographs capture some of the uncanny sense of supernatural purpose with which these formations confront the visitor. It is easy to see in them (once O'Gorman made the connection) the genesis first of the Ames Monument, and then of the Ames Gate Lodge and much else in Richardson's late work. The Ames pyramid is the fulcrum on which Richardson's work pivots—before and after.

There are other landforms represented in this photographic portfolio besides those O'Gorman cited.⁴⁵ West of Laramie the Union Pacific line begins to cut through sedimentary formations of sandstone and shale. These cliffs and cuts are horizontally stratified, banded, and belted with varied textures and hues, the iconic characteristics of the arid Wild West of popular imagination. Russell describes the stone's color variations in his accompanying text, although they are suppressed in the black-and-white images. The cliffs are sometimes eroded with shadowy pits and hollows that might have evoked a Syrian hermitage to a nineteenth-



Figure 9 Castle Rock, Green River Valley, Wyo., detail of albumen print, 1869. Photographed by Andrew J. Russell

century man with a romantic turn of mind. The textured rock faces are finely grained and sharply drawn by the sun, and the bands of bright and dark leap from promontory to promontory, visually linking irregular masses across open space. If the eroded granitic buttes of Reed's Rock and Skull Rock could serve as an inspiration to Richardson, it is fair to speculate that these stratified sedimentary formations might have been equally suggestive. They resemble the simplified, horizontally banded, nearly monochromatic designs that Richardson created as his work matured. The Browne house was one of these stratigraphic compositions, its layers rendered increasingly vivid over time by the controlled weathering of its variously textured shingle surfaces.

Margaret Henderson Floyd identified French medieval examples of polychrome stonework in Richardson's collection of reference photographs.⁴⁶ However, in the Union Pacific pictures of Burning Rock Cut, or of Castle Rock—a stratified butte that towered over the Green River Valley—Richardson might have seen a way through and past these cherished medieval sources toward something new and American (Figure 9). During a time when other architects used patterned shingles and applied color to create decorative discontinuities and accent such traditional architectural elements as gables and aediculae, Richardson all but purged his language of ornamental conventions to experiment with the expressive potential of weathering shingles, exploiting a natural process of superficial decay in the service of a new romantic unity that may have been inspired by the land forms of the continental interior.



Figure 10 Richardson, privy, Browne house, relocated and altered. Photographed 2007

An indication that the Ames Monument and the western landscape as Richardson knew it were on his mind while he was designing the Browne cottage stands in plain sight today: the thirteen-foot-tall multiseat outhouse, somewhat altered over time (Figure 10).⁴⁷ Although Richardson might have given it almost any shape, he made its sloped pyramidal walls and hip roof echo the Ames Monument in miniature. Perhaps this equation of a proud pyramid with a parson's privy was the architect's private jest. If the privy is the Ames Monument writ small, then the great, cleft gran-

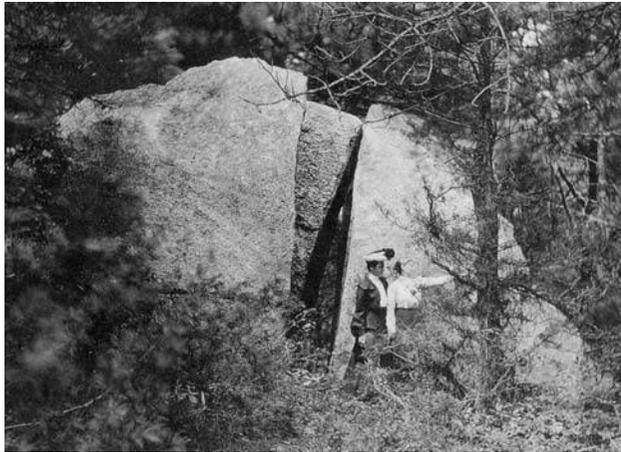


Figure 11 Split boulder behind the Browne house. Photographed ca. 1890

ite boulder visible from the west-facing porch of the Browne house corresponds to Reed's Rock, and we can understand Browne's back meadow as an analogical garden—a little "Wild West Show" in a New England pasture (Figures 11, 12). What a splendid place it must have been for Browne's young son and daughter to play with their enormous Irish wolfhound Bruce!⁴⁸

After his imaginative confrontation with the harsh landscapes of the western United States, a new primitivism began to permeate Richardson's work at all scales and in all materials. This sensibility was manifest in the imperious visual rhetoric of the Marshall Field Warehouse in Chicago and the Allegheny County Courthouse and Jail in Pittsburgh. It inheres in the compressed massing, supple profiles, and rigorously controlled brick surfaces of the underappreciated Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh, Union Station in New London, and Isaac Lionberger house in St. Louis. The elemental construction in rubble stone that he devised for the Ames Gate Lodge again found expression in country houses for Robert Treat Paine Jr. and Ephraim Gurney. Richardson's marvelous libraries grew progressively more compact, monochromatic, and abstract, culminating in his superb unbuilt project for the Hoyt Public Library in East Saginaw, Michigan.⁴⁹

Richardson Revives the Gambrel

Another departure at the Browne cottage was Richardson's use of the gambrel roof. The gambrel never left the New England carpenters' vernacular, but it had fallen from fash-

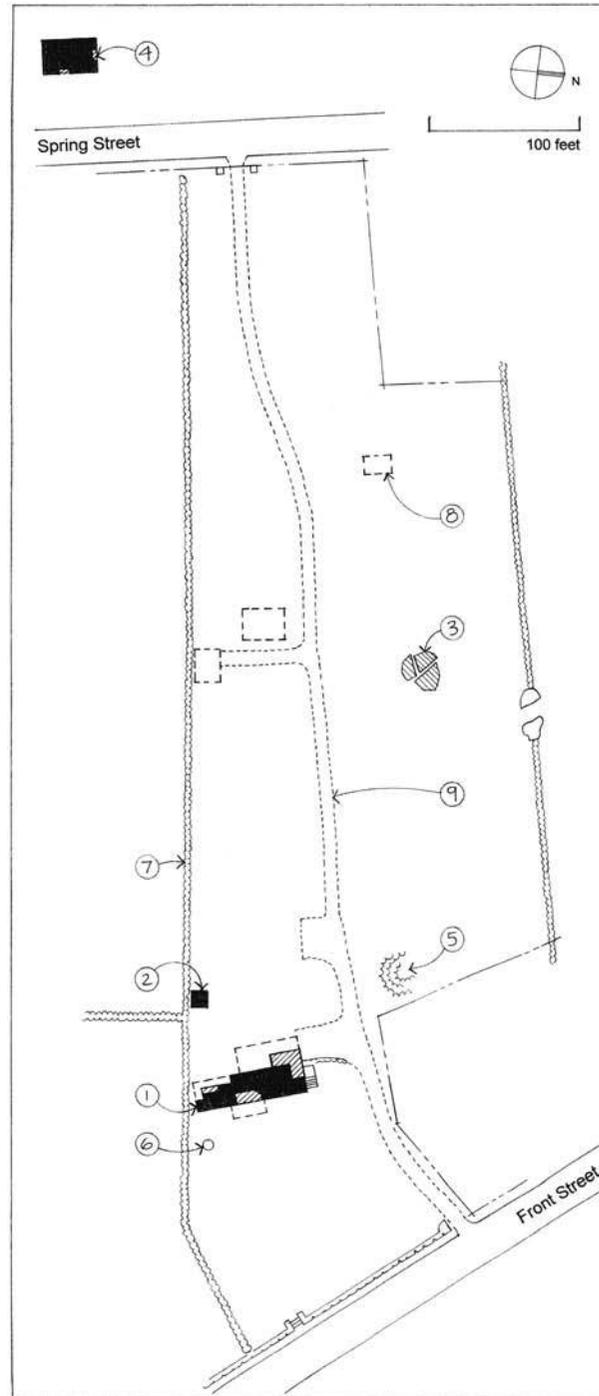


Figure 12 Significant site plan features of the Browne house: 1. Browne's house (original footprint blackened; original porches hatched; twentieth-century footprint dashed); 2. Privy; 3. Cleft granite boulder; 4. Gilder's "Old Stone Studio"; 5. Quarry; 6. Stone wellhead (may predate house); 7. Granite boundary walls (predate house, maximum of 3½ feet tall); 8. Twentieth-century accessory structures; 9. Twentieth-century gravel drive

ion with the introduction of various stylistic revivals beginning in the late eighteenth century. Turned upon itself in a hipped configuration, the gambrel section persisted through the mid-nineteenth-century under the guise of the mansard roof, but the more prominent American architects had largely eliminated it from their residential work by the 1870s. The houses they chose to publicize were dominated by tall roofs configured either in broad pyramidal hips or with long horizontal ridges anchored by crossing gables and towers. Richardson's Watts Sherman house is one excellent example; McKim's house for Mrs. Alden is another. If the roof was getting to be too tall, an architect might introduce a flat area on top either concealed or expressed as a widow's walk, but an expressed gambrel section was seldom used.⁵⁰

Richardson had used the gambrel section only once since his unbuilt design for the Richard Codman house in 1871, where the hipped gambrel shape retained its French associations. His later Back Bay Boston town house for Phillips Brooks—the Trinity Rectory of 1879—quietly employed the gambrel, once again in a hipped configuration, to reduce the height of a steep terra-cotta roof in an urban context. With the Browne cottage Richardson forcefully reintroduced the old colonial form to shape the façade of an artistically ambitious house. Perhaps he used the gambrel to signify the humility appropriate to the profession of his client, but in doing so he sanctioned its use for wealthier patrons and other architects. Within three years the crumpled gambrel profile was showing up everywhere, most prominently in the work of architects Emerson, Clarence Luce, and Peabody and Stearns of Boston, McKim, Mead and White of New York, and Wilson Eyre of Philadelphia.

Evidence that Richardson was consciously reviving the gambrel form is to be found in the Loeb Library at Harvard, which holds the archive of reference photographs that Richardson collected to guide his assistants. Out of some 2,200 photographs, mostly of medieval European architecture, only 52 illustrate American buildings. These are mostly of his own work or of three of White's shingled buildings in Newport: the houses for Samuel Colman and Isaac Bell Jr., and the Newport Casino tennis club. These McKim, Mead and White photos all postdate the design of the Browne house. The rest of the American photographs record the lumpy backsides of anonymous, often gambrelled buildings clustered in coastal New England towns. Among the most evocative is one that shows the rear of a sway-backed shingled dwelling that once stood behind the Colony House in Newport (see Figure 5).⁵¹ The carefully composed fronts of these colonial structures are not represented except as elements in jumbled street scenes.

As common as the gambrel had been in colonial New

England, perhaps especially in Newport, late nineteenth-century photographs show that gambrelled buildings were uncommon in Marion.⁵² Richardson's introduction of the gambrel there was a creative intervention, not a contextual gesture. And although one perceives Browne as a gambrelled house, only two of its seventeen original roof planes departed from a consistent 30-degree (about 7-in-12) pitch, and so its gambrel form was largely an illusion.

With a nip and a tuck and a prominent site in a seasonal resort, Richardson established a new fashion. Despite the immediate popularity of his revival of the gambrel roof, his own use of the form transcended its origins in vernacular colonial era building, and the result is less ingratiating than the designs wrought by his followers. Instead of developing the gambrel as a dominant, iconic shape, Richardson used it as a fragmentary, emergent form in an irregular linear composition. The younger architect John Calvin Stevens, among many others, took up the gambrel as a principal theme. His most compelling early building was the James Hopkins Smith house (1885, Falmouth Foreside, Maine). It was a stirring and well-publicized fulfillment of Richardson's vision, and this conventional form found echoes—if not imitators—up and down the eastern seaboard and across the continent (Figure 13). Hitchcock, writing in the mid-1930s from his position as MoMA's analyst and advocate of the International Style, was compelled to acknowledge that “the gambrelled and shingled cottages built along the New England seacoast in the next decades, from the designs of many different architects and even by local contractors, are the best modern wooden domestic architecture the Eastern States have yet had. If conventional frame construction is used in small houses, it is hard to see how anything intrinsically as satisfactory can be developed.”⁵³



Figure 13 John Calvin Stevens, James Hopkins Smith house, Falmouth Foreside, Maine, 1885



Figure 14 Richardson, Browne house, reconstruction of elevations as built, 1882

The Reconstruction of the House

Despite the Browne house's prominence and provenance, it has been poorly understood in our time. Twentieth-century architectural historians knew that the building had been heavily altered and seem to have despaired of fully understanding the house as Richardson built it.⁵⁴ Previous

investigations have focused on Richardson himself and rapidly exhausted their sources. Study of the client and his Marion neighbors has been more fruitful, following the clues provided by local writers Alice Ryder, Daisy Washburn, and Edmund Tripp (who can be regarded as transmitters of a living oral history). They stressed the importance of the glamorous, seasonal circus centered on Browne's

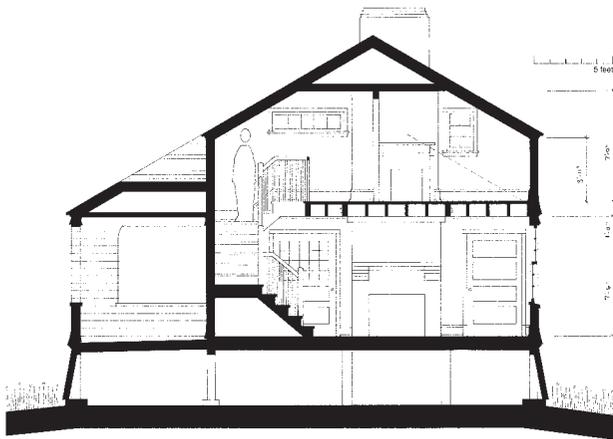


Figure 15 Richardson, Browne house, section as built

neighbor Gilder, and looking harder at Gilder fleshed out his friend Reverend Browne's prominent place in the cultural life of the town. This showed in turn how Browne's house could have directly influenced White and, in part through him, other architects and their clients.

The reconstruction of the Browne house developed in two stages: a preliminary suite of plans, sections, and elevations that were based on Richardson's office drawings and checked in the field for accuracy, and the final suite of rectified drawings presented here (Figures 14–16). The reconstruction is based on a variety of evidence including, most notably, three newly identified photographs taken in the 1880s and in 1901 (Figures 17, 18; see Figure 1).⁵⁵ These images supplement photos and drawings published previously by Van Rensselaer, Hitchcock, and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, and a small number of Richardson's office drawings for the house that are preserved in the archive at Houghton Library.⁵⁶ The interpretation of this material was tested through close examination, inside and out, of the Browne house as it stands today.⁵⁷

In any reconstruction some points of conjecture are unavoidable.⁵⁸ Reconstructing the Browne house is an interpretive act, even though drawings that at first appear to be the final working drawings still exist. The undated elevations, Figures 19 and 20, are the earliest surviving drawings and predate any known plans. They bear annotations that are clearly an architect's instructions to an assisting draftsman. The woodshed was indicated as an alternative under discussion, changes to window sizes were noted numerically, and the battered base of the building was not

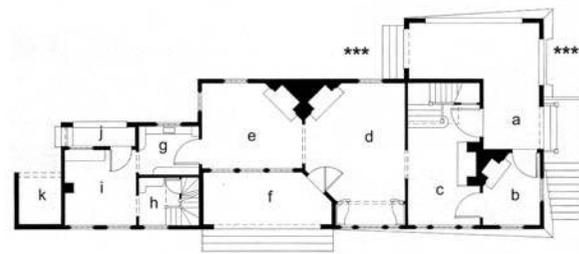
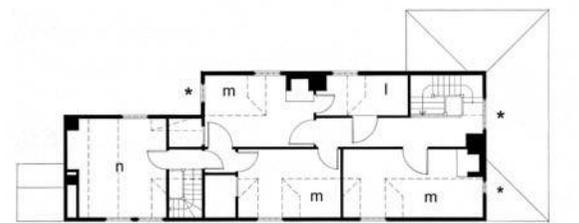
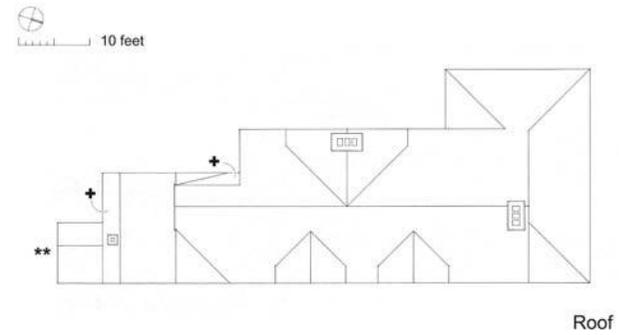


Figure 16 Richardson, Browne house, plans as built: a. Porch and front door; b. Study; c. Hall; d. Parlor; e. Dining; f. Loggia; g. Pantry; h. Back Stair; i. Kitchen; j. Porch; k. Woodshed; l. Bath (no plumbing); m. Bedroom; n. Servant's room; + Two roof slopes steeper than 7-to-12; * Known window with conjectural shape; ** Conjectural end elevation of woodshed; *** conjectural steps; **** Conjectural storage under porch



Figure 17 Richardson, detail of image showing the Browne house (in the middle distance). Photographed ca. 1885

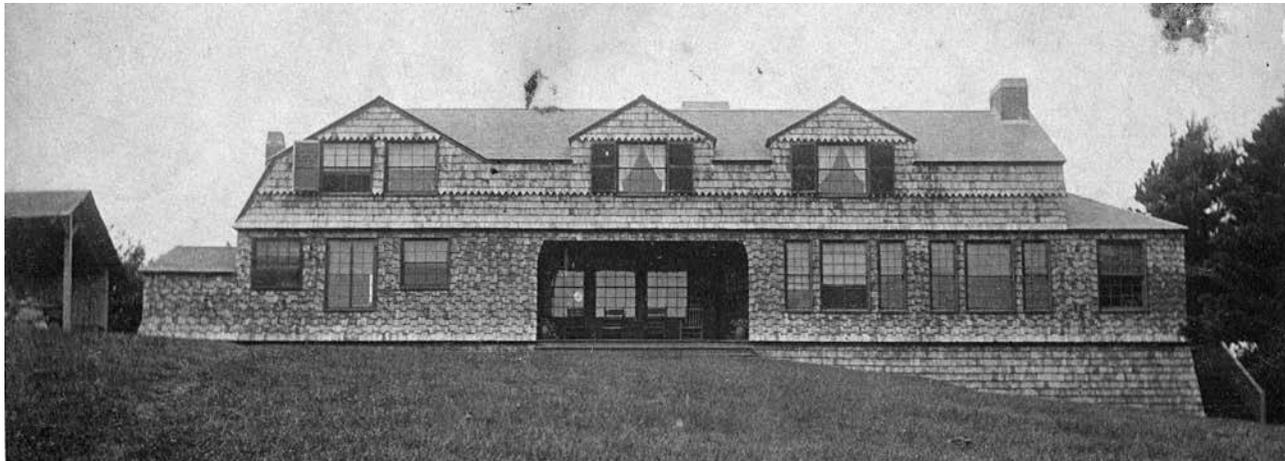


Figure 18 Richardson, Browne house. Photographed ca. 1902

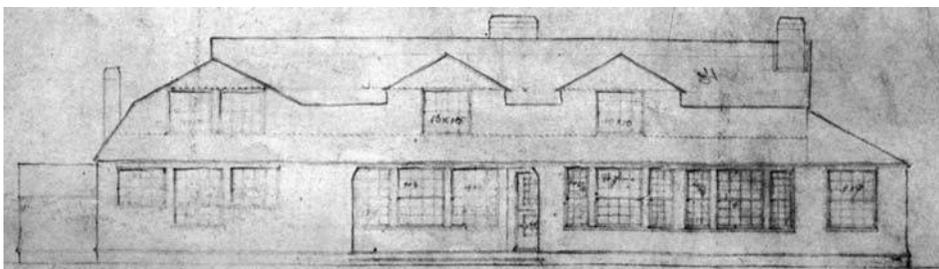


Figure 19 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary east elevation, undated (Fall 1881); partial reproduction of lost original

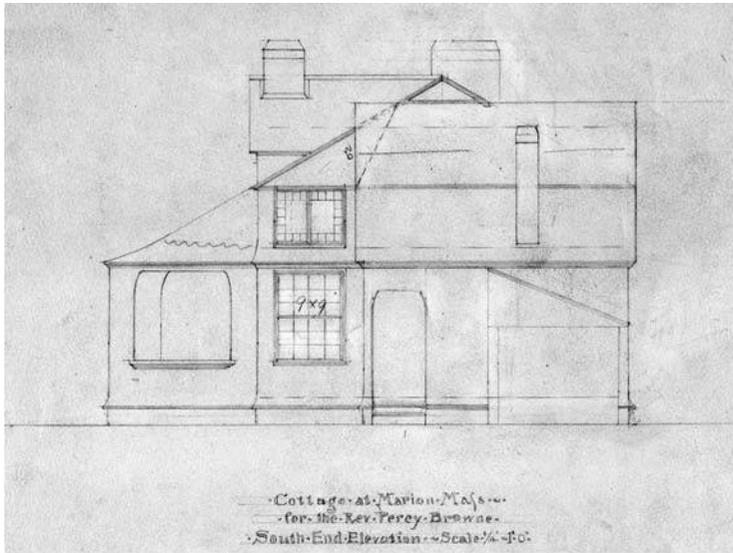


Figure 20 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary south end elevation, undated (Fall 1881), graphite on paper mounted on linen

shown. On the long elevation the draftsman's crude drawing was sketched over with soft pencil in an expressive hand. On both elevations the special bands of pointed shingles were hastily indicated. At this stage Richardson intended to carry the chevron banding of the wall across the roof as well (much as he had patterned the roof of the Watts Sherman house in 1874 and as he proposed once again for the shingled gardener's cottage on the Ames estate in 1884).⁵⁹ However it does not appear from the old photographs that the Browne house was built with a patterned roof.

Figures 21 and 22 are preliminary plans, with annotations dated 10 November 1881 that show that some significant design elements were unresolved. The walls of the woodshed to the left of the kitchen are indicated without *poché*, as though it was still an option under discussion. The final form of the steps to the front door had not been determined, although a possible configuration for them is faintly sketched.

In addition to the orthographic drawings, two perspective views have survived. Van Rensselaer printed Figure 23, an early ink sketch of the building as it would be seen from the private lane that linked Gilder's house to his studio. This drawing does not show the woodshed, so it appears to be a presentation drawing prepared for Browne before the working drawings were finalized rather than a sketch made for publication after the building was completed. Neither does it show the privy in its present location. Figure 24 appears to be a layout for a second ink perspective that no longer exists.⁶⁰ This drawing shows the building as seen from Front Street—from the point of view of a visitor approaching the town from the train station. It too omits the low woodshed that is so important to the long sprawling effect of the final

design. Together these two views record all four sides of an intermediate version of the house. Taken as a whole the surviving drawings offer fragmentary but internally consistent evidence of Richardson's intentions for a work in progress. The newly identified photographs confirm that the house was built as drawn, but with further refinements (see Figures 1, 17, 18).

At the Browne house, successive alterations have left legible traces in patched plaster, subtly mismatched sections of handrail, new floorboards let into older floors, spliced baseboards, rough framing and masonry visible in the basement and crawl spaces, hardware of different vintages, and minuscule changes in window muntin profiles. The appendix describes the alterations and argues that Richardson's successors Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge were consulted informally soon after Browne's death. A more invasive analysis would certainly reveal the original color scheme. One might even find a few of the original shingles among the debris in the crawl spaces and determine if they were once stained or oiled.

The Browne house, hunkered sphinx-like on its hill, sprawled across and down the slope on a strongly battered base. Instead of the masonry foundation one might expect, Richardson brought a flared skirt of shingles down to within a few inches of the ground on all sides. This skirt concealed both a substructure of posts that supported the house above a crawl space and a small storage cellar. The low stone foundation barely rose above grade to lift the posts above the damp, and it was invisible behind the meadow grass of the sloping hill.⁶¹ The battered shingle base eliminated the customary visual distinction between the masonry foundation and the wooden house above, a distinction that Richardson

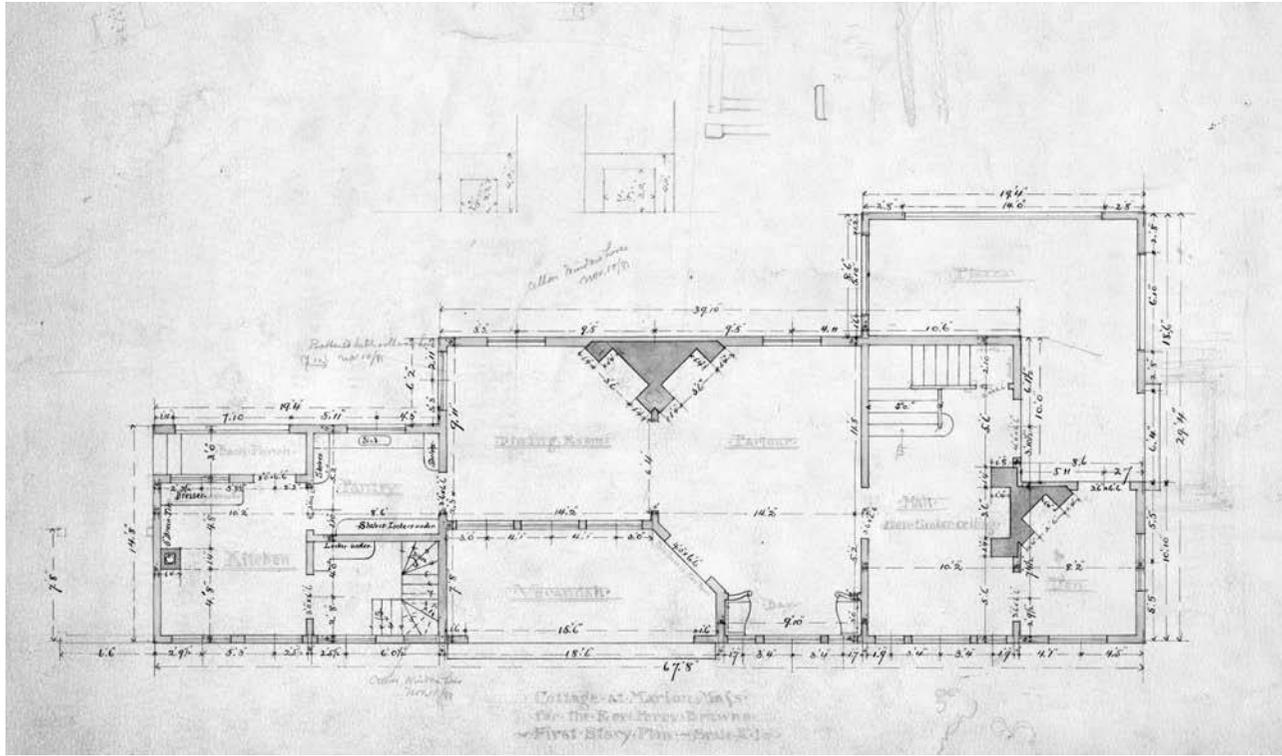


Figure 21 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary first-floor plan, undated (Fall 1881, with annotations dated 10 Nov. 1881), graphite, ink, watercolor on paper mounted on linen

Figure 22 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary second-floor plan, undated (Fall 1881), graphite, ink, watercolor on paper mounted on linen

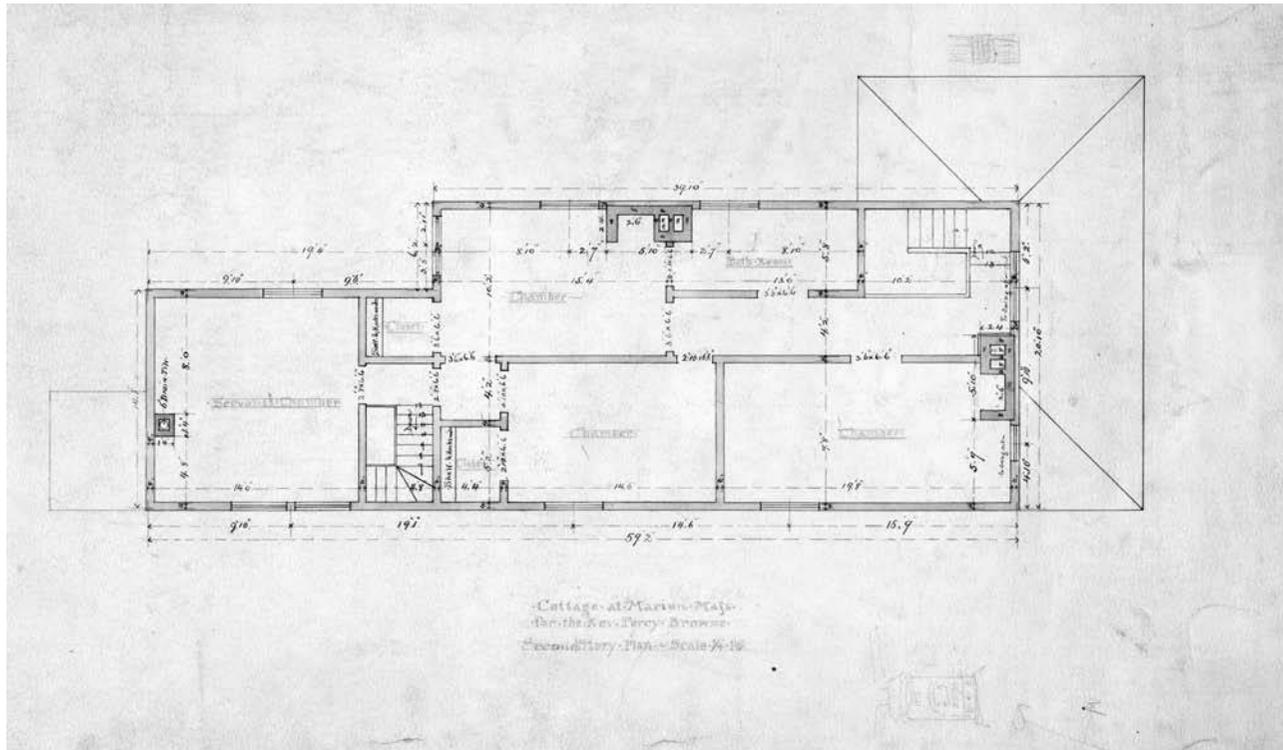




Figure 23 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary perspective, undated (Fall 1881)

Figure 24 Richardson, Browne house, preliminary perspective sketch, undated (Fall 1881), graphite on tracing paper



(like others) often emphasized. When viewed from a distance, the elision of base, body, and roof fostered an ambiguous reading of the Browne house's actual material and form.

Above this base was a broad horizontal stratum, shingled in a ragged stagger pattern so that the regular coursing was suppressed and the texture of the wall would become rough and exaggerated as it weathered (Figures 25, 26). This zone was capped by a crisply dressed canted shingle band that formed a drip line above the windows, and by a shadow line emphasized by the blackening of the sheltered shingles over time. A shady cave—the porch, or loggia—was hollowed into the wall's shaggy face as a refuge for the clerical poet.⁶²

The second floor, in contrast, was clad in even shingle courses accented by two prominent drip lines, each marked by a bold row of pointed shingles that weathered as bright gray points over a darker substrate. The irregular upper

profile of the broad Front Street face was formed by cleft, stepping horizontals, a pair of broad squat gable dormers, and the emergent gambrel on the left. Windows and dark shutters scattered across the face; on the larger gables the open shutters broke the line of the rake trim and projected beyond the limits of the wall, disturbing the skyline. The massing of the house was barely organized by the minor alignments of gable over porch and window over window, but visual stability was undermined at the kitchen end. There the upper and lower strata of the façade seemed to slip. Richardson further distinguished the upper façade from the lower by a barely visible 10-percent increase in the width of the square openings of the second-floor relative to the first-floor windows. A long unbroken ridgeline brought the irregular mass back under control.

The irregular skyline and angular planes of its varied gable and gambrel forms made the Browne house resemble



Figure 25 Richardson, Browne house, altered. Photograph by Berenice Abbott, 1934



Figure 26 Richardson, Browne house, altered.
Detail of photograph by Abbott, 1934

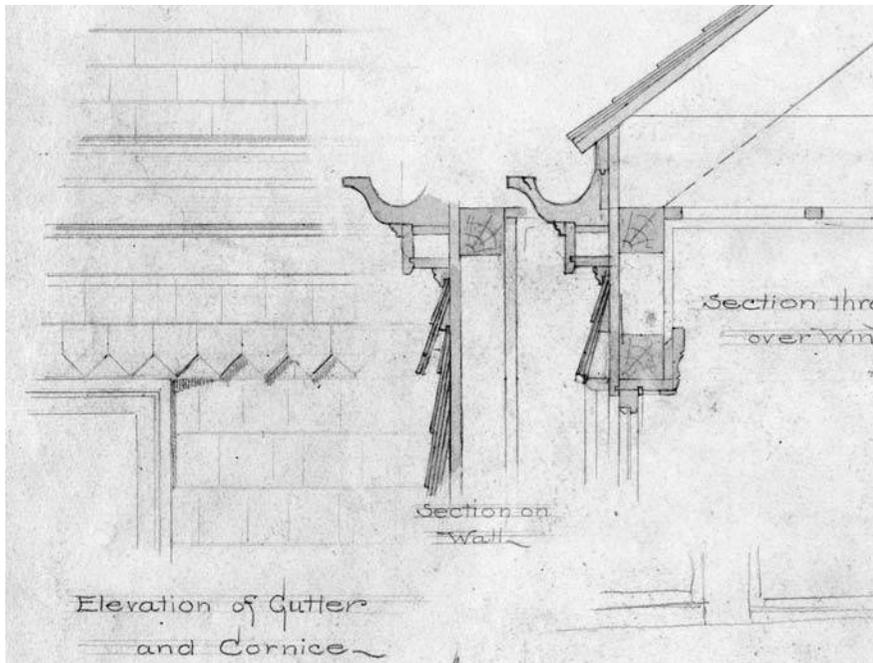


Figure 27 Richardson, Walter Channing house, Brookline, Mass., 1883–84, detail of elevation and sections of weathering and moldings, undated, graphite and watercolor on paper

a natural rock formation. This likeness was heightened almost to the point of mimicry by the visual stratification of the shingle cladding. No drawings of the Browne house’s detailing survive, but clues about Richardson’s innovative manner of using shingles can be found in the similar detailing of his house for Walter Channing (1883–84, Brookline, Massachusetts).⁶³ Although it was demolished in the 1930s, large-scale studies survive (Figure 27).⁶⁴ These drawings, along with photographs of the Channing house published by Ochsner, help to interpret the surviving photos of the Browne house. At the Channing house, the chevron shingle detail formed the lower margin of a canted shingle frieze that ran continuously beneath a wooden gutter, the composition making a primitive cornice. This canted frieze (which Richardson’s staff labeled as “Weathering”) acted as a drip over the window heads at the second level. Close examination of Berenice Abbott’s photograph shows that similar shingle bands—canted and plain at the first floor, swept and ornamented with pointed shingles at the second—lapped over the window trim in the same way at the Browne house (see Figure 26). To exaggerate the shadow and promote the blackening of the shingles underneath, the pointed shingles were blocked from behind to appear to hang free. This photograph also shows that the first-floor shingles were applied in a ragged stagger pattern in contrast with the wall above. Comparing Figure 25 with the earlier photograph (see Figure 18) confirms that these details are original to the house.

The illusion of an emergent, stratified rock formation became more pronounced as the shingles gradually lost their initial stain (if there was any) and weathered light gray and dark, greenish, brownish, and blackish according to exposure. Exterior window and door trim was reduced to thin elliptical sections and painted to blend in with the darker tones of the weathering shingled walls. Richardson’s strange, asymmetrical, compact, weathered brown and gray structure was delightful as a dwelling; yet, contemplated at leisure from the vantage of a boat on the water and seen silhouetted in the glare of the afternoon sun, it resembled an eroded outcropping of rock as closely as it did any of the simple vernacular buildings nearby.

In contrast to the sophisticated development of exterior surfaces and massing, the interior was rather plain, although the rooms were carefully related to the site and its approaches (see Figure 12).⁶⁵ Behind the planar front wall of the house, invisible from the road, stretched a meadow bounded by the dry-laid stone walls of the old fields, and in this western meadow rose the split boulder and the pyramidal privy (see Figures 10, 11). An informal, neighborly approach led directly to the loggia across the gentle slope of the roughly cut lawn. The loggia looked back east over the road and across a meadow to Sippican Harbor and the hills beyond.

A more formal carriage approach rose from the northeast through a scatter of scrubby pines to an area of exposed granite shelf, with vegetation growing from clefts and hollows in its worn, rolling surfaces. From this natural shoul-

der a wooden stair rose alongside the battered, shingled wall to land at a vantage from which one could see the cleft boulder; it turned and rose again a few steps to an open porch. Ahead was an enormously wide front door, glazed with a plain grid of small square panes above the lock rail (see Figures 15, 16). On the left was a private outside door to Browne's tiny study, giving him direct access to the porch without entering the hubbub of family life and perhaps putting him in a position to offer private counsel. The main body of this porch faced inland over the field, looking past the split boulder and the privy and over the old walls to Gilder's studio (a handsome but plain structure of rubble stone under a hipped roof, very much in accord with Richardson's taste in utilitarian building) under a stand of trees.

The front door gave directly into a stair hall, dimly lit from above and by a bank of windows on the left facing the harbor. The visitor standing just inside of the front door was greeted with a diagonal view through to the parlor window seats, which in turn inflected toward the harbor. The stair hall was the most elaborately finished of the rooms, with a massive brick fireplace and flush hearth, a board floor, a stair with turned balusters and relatively stout newels incised with multiple horizontal reeds. Exposed stop-chamfered joists and floorboards formed the ceiling. Although a carpenter would have taken pride in this work, beyond the stair hall all material elaboration fell away, except for what might have been judged needful and serviceable. The parlor and dining room were low-studded, with plain plaster ceilings at 7½ feet. The door and window openings were finished with the simplest possible trim. Their narrow vertical jambs were about an inch thick, their horizontal heads roughly an inch and a quarter. All edges and corners were planed round, and there were no miters—or even coplanar flat surfaces—for a carpenter to concern himself about; Richardson's primitive trim was designed for speed of installation.

Diagonal fireplaces separated the parlor and the dining room. The fireplaces throughout the house had bracketed mantels with simple, astylar treatments, but the dining room fireplace was somewhat more elaborate and its overmantle paneling came closer than anything else in the house to recognizable colonial detailing. A diagonal wall opposite the parlor fireplace gave access to the loggia through a dutch door. Beyond the dining room were the pantry and kitchen, with a tight winding stair to the servants' room above and cellar below. All of these spaces except the stair hall had windows on two sides for cross ventilation and sunshine. The parlor, though very small, had enough uninterrupted wall space to make it easy to furnish, and the positions of its openings encouraged movement on the

diagonal toward the built-in seats and around the furniture oriented toward the fireplace. Back on the other side of the stair hall, away from these family spaces, Browne's study was barely big enough for a desk or a few chairs. Family access to the back garden and privy was through the entry porch. Richardson obstructed the servants' access to the garden by placing their stairs at the narrow end of the kitchen porch, convenient to the woodshed and to the round-pit well where they drew water.

The sleeping quarters on the upper floor were simpler still, their sloped ceilings rising from 4 feet at the perimeter to flat areas at 7 feet. The stair rose first as a broad lower flight—so wide that it crowded the front door—to a shallow landing, from which a narrow dogleg rose under the roof slope to the corridor above (see Figure 15). A long horizontal window lit the stair and corridor. Two sleeping chambers, each with a dormer but only one with a fireplace, faced the water. The corridor passed by what Richardson labeled a bathroom (although it does not appear to have had running water) and terminated in a west-facing sitting room. Beyond was a tiny hall linking back across the kitchen stair to the servants' pleasant room under the gambrel. The doors were 6 feet 6 inches tall, and many of them were 3 feet 6 inches wide, with horizontal panels to further exaggerate their breadth.

Inexpensive detailing, low ceilings, and broad proportions characterized the modest interior of Browne's house, in which the servants' spaces were as airy and well lit as those of the family. Windows fully opened the eastern walls of the three principal rooms, and all of the windows seem very large relative to the rooms they light and ventilate. The furnishings were "quaint" and "old fashioned," and the rooms were painted various "pleasant tints."⁶⁶ In 1934 Hitchcock saw dark green exterior trim and even "darker green interior trim" that may have seemed almost black under the gloomy shroud of vine.⁶⁷

For the twentieth-century historians Hitchcock and Scully, much of the interest and importance of the Browne house lay in the apparently casual functional adjustments and diagonal energy of its ground-floor plan. This plan cannot have influenced architects in Richardson's time, however, for it was not published and was not widely available. Unless they were invited in, most of his contemporaries could only see the house from the public way. They could respond to Richardson's artful use of commonplace materials, to the sculptural properties of the cottage as a form among forms in a landscape, its associational qualities as a building both like and unlike other buildings, and the tension between its manifest status as a sophisticated cultural artifact and the humble earthiness implicit in its form.

A Compelling Synthesis

Richardson died in 1886. Gilder's friend and *Century* contributor, Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer (Mrs. Schuyler), undertook his biography. In *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (1888) she presented a sympathetic history of Richardson's life and professional practice, along with an extended critical appraisal of his major buildings. She found fault with many of his designs, including the popular Ames Gate Lodge, and she passed over most of his wooden houses. Browne's cottage, in contrast, was given more space than any of Richardson's great masonry dwellings—except for the pair of houses he designed for John Hay and Henry Adams across from the White House in Washington, D.C.—and she was unrestrained in her praise. In spite of (because of?) its modesty, the Browne house exemplified for her the best in Richardson's domestic work. As a Marion resident herself, with a house on “the Old Landing road” (as Front Street was called by the inhabitants of the village), she knew the cottage at first hand.⁶⁸ She wrote:

[Its] good proportions and the harmonious arrangement of its rooflines give it that truly architectural character in which dignity may lie for even the most modest building. It is so appropriate to its surroundings that it seems to have grown out of them by some process of nature, and it is equally appropriate to its purpose. It explains itself at once as a gentleman's summer home, but with a simplicity which does not put the humblest village neighbor out of countenance. Inside, the planning gives an unexpected amount of comfort and air of space. The doorways are very wide, and are so arranged as to afford a diagonal instead of a straight perspective. The windows are carefully placed to command every possible point of outlook, the rear views toward woods and sunset being as much considered as those which show the sea. The longer one studies this little house the better one likes it, the more typical it seems of that sort of excellence which the American owner so often craves—artistic treatment combined with cheapness, comfort with small dimensions, beauty with simplicity, refinement without decoration. Outside, the only touch of ornament is given by the varied shaping of the shingles, and inside, pleasant tints alone relieve the plainness of the woodwork, and good outlines the severity of the chimney-pieces. It has sometimes been said that Richardson took so much interest in great problems that he had none left to give to small ones. But no one could have more carefully studied a little house like this, the cost of which, exclusive of foundations, barely exceeded twenty-five hundred dollars.⁶⁹

Van Rensselaer chose to illustrate the Browne cottage with a perspective of its picturesque garden front as she had

seen it from the private lane that linked Gilder's house to his wife's studio, rather than with a view of the more austere but better-known Front Street elevation (see Figures 1, 23). She understood the humane virtues of the challenging house and assured her readers of the domestic merits of a plan she could not show. We can perhaps enjoy the house for its difficulty more than most of Richardson's followers and rivals did as they took up the gambrel in their own work. By the time Van Rensselaer wrote, the gambrel roof was once again an accepted part of an American architect's usable heritage, and many patrons had learned to enjoy the way its humble form could suggest family origins, real or pretended, in pre-Revolutionary New England. Van Rensselaer's assessment of the inherent quality of the Browne house, and the relative importance she assigned to it in Richardson's body of work, seems fully justified.

Browne's house played a catalyzing role in the creation and dissemination of the gambrelled Shingle Style as a vernacular that spread rapidly across the continent and retains immense popularity even today. It remains structurally sound and could be restored either as Richardson built it or as Hitchcock saw it, depending on the conclusions one might come to about its most relevant period of significance. It is certainly worthy of preservation and listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Appendix: Alterations to the House

The house was enlarged at least twice, in building campaigns decades apart (Figures 28–31). Browne died in 1901 and the house was sold to Sidney Hosmer, a Boston electrical engineer.⁷⁰ The first alterations were completed between 1903 (the date of a village map that still shows the original footprint) and 1921 (the date of a Sanborn map that shows the enlarged footprint), and based on the overwhelming growth of vines in 1934, a date early in this range seems likely.⁷¹ Hosmer's carpenters did a great deal of damage to Richardson's elegant plan and to the artful massing of the house, but they meticulously replicated the architect's detailing inside and out. In addition to (presumably) electrifying the house and adding steam heat, Hosmer filled in the loggia and built a new porch proud of the east façade, added a new library with a bedroom above it, and made the garden porch deeper. He removed the window seats and widened the opening between the parlor and the stair hall. This, along with the door to the new library, turned the parlor into an unfurnishable passage space and probably made the house feel smaller and less gracious even as it was being enlarged. Hosmer added a tiny room in a new gambrelled gable above the study. He expanded the kitchen and added

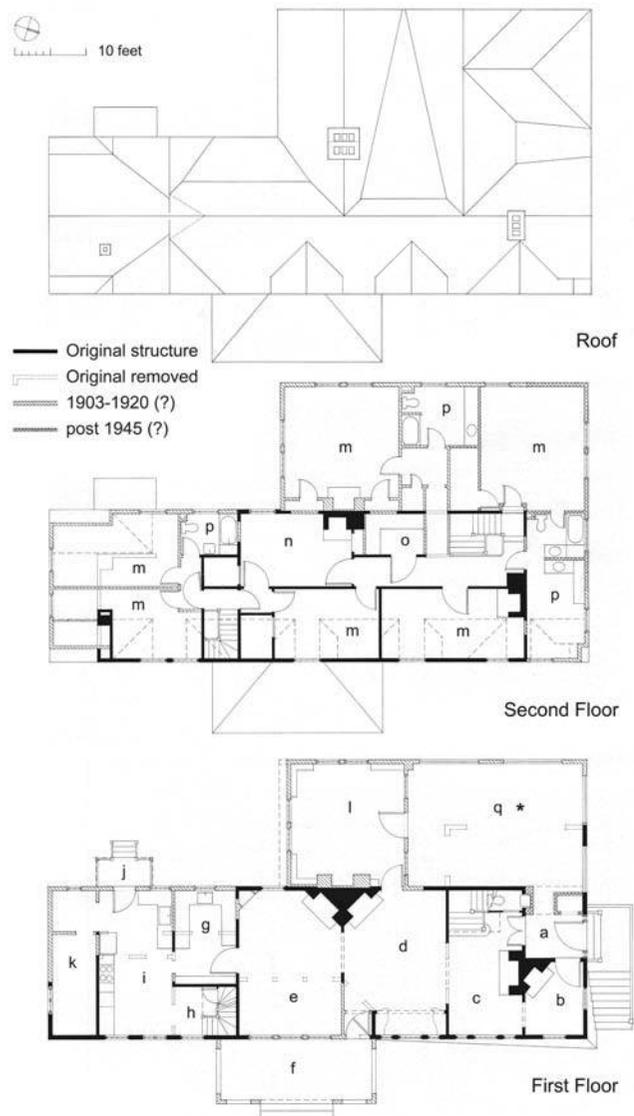


Figure 28 Richardson, Charles Allerton Coolidge (?), and others, Browne house, plans as in 2002: a. Front door; b. Study; c. Hall; d. Parlor; e. Dining; f. and j. Porch; g. Pantry; h. Back stair; i. Kitchen; k. Laundry; l. Library; m. Bedroom; n. Sitting room; o. Linens; p. Bath; q. Family room; * Room over two-car garage

bedroom space and a new bathroom above. To gain this extra volume the old roof ridge was extended the full length of the cottage. Most of the original windows and doors affected by Hosmer's work were reused, and Richardson's idiosyncratic shingle detailing and exterior trim were carefully matched. Finally, climbing vines were planted and encouraged to obscure the remaining exposed areas of Richardson's original work. This was the house Hitchcock



Figure 29 Richardson, Browne house, altered, east front. Photographed 2007



Figure 30 Richardson, Browne house, altered, north side, main entrance. Photographed 2007

saw and admired, but in part misunderstood, in 1934 (see Figure 25). Hitchcock seems to have believed that the whole house originally had gambrel roofs, rather than just a small part of it, and went so far as to assert that the changes improved on Richardson's design.⁷²

These first alterations were made with such care that one is tempted to speculate that Hosmer sought the advice of Richardson's successor firm Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge. In 1886, at the age of twenty-eight, Charles Allerton Coolidge became its chief design partner.⁷³ By 1891 he established himself on an estate in East Marion, directly across Sippican Harbor on Blankenship's Cove.⁷⁴ The history of the four gambrelled houses that Coolidge built or altered there for his wife Julia Shepley and her siblings' families is still to be untangled, but Coolidge was



Figure 31 Richardson, Browne house, altered, west side from the garden. Photographed 2007

firmly entrenched in Marion during Browne's lifetime and long after he died.⁷⁵ He almost certainly attended services at St. Gabriel's Chapel while Browne was active in the church. Prior to 1896 St. Gabriel's was enlarged with a new chancel in a plain style, possibly designed by Coolidge.⁷⁶ By 1913 the chancel was enlarged again in a more fully Gothic style to Coolidge's design.⁷⁷ In addition to the circumstantial evidence of Coolidge's social life in Marion, his firm is known to have enlarged two of Richardson's other shingled houses: the little gardener's cottage on the Ames estate and the Stoughton house on Brattle Street in Cambridge.⁷⁸ It is probable that the Browne house too was enlarged with Coolidge's advice, if unrecorded in his office books.

Hosmer's heirs leased the house to Dr. and Mrs. Ned Gardiner sometime after World War II.⁷⁹ The alterations made during the Gardiners' tenancy or shortly before—perhaps as a consequence of the hurricanes of 1938 and 1944—were not as carefully considered as Hosmer's had been.⁸⁰ A garage was built under the expanded garden porch, with rusticated concrete block walls replacing the battered shingle skirt. Perhaps most unfortunately, all of the special shingle shapes and articulate coursing that had given so much life to the façade were replaced with ordinary square-cut shingles. This seems like the decision of an irredeemable penny-pinch, and it endangered the original wooden windows by removing Richardson's sensible system of weather drip lines from the wall. Restoring the original shingle patterns and allowing them to weather naturally would reinstate much of the house's original character.

Everett TenBrook acquired the enlarged and reshingled house from the Hosmer estate in the late 1950s.⁸¹ The TenBrook family carefully maintained it thereafter and

avoided making major changes. They kept the original hardware, doors, and windows, all of which were in excellent condition in 2005. Recently the handsome wooden railings of the front entry steps were replaced, unnecessarily and to ill effect (see Figures 29–31). The house is now owned by Tabor Academy and remains a private residence.

Notes

This article is the result of independent research begun in March 2002. Over the years many people have been helpful and deserve mention. My sincere thanks are due to the late Anne TenBrook, who gave unrestricted access to the finished and concealed spaces of her house, and to her clipping file where I found a crude newspaper halftone of Fig. 18; John and Bill TenBrook, William and Barbara Fuller, Julia Deane Crowley, and Julie Parmentier for their hospitality, assistance, and advice in Marion; Esther Ames for allowing access to the Gate Lodge and Gardener's Cottage in North Easton; Amiee Reese for her guidance in Wyoming, and her mother Mary Henning for the story of her adventures inside the hollow Ames Monument; Professor James F. O'Gorman for introducing me to Mrs. TenBrook; Cervin Robinson for introducing me to Professor O'Gorman; librarians and archivists including Mary Daniels of the Loeb Library at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Hope Mayo and Caroline Duroselle-Melish of the Houghton Archive at Harvard, Gregory Gallagher and Russell Flinchum at the Century Association, Peter Smith and Kimberly Teves of the Sippican Historical and Preservation Society, Kimberly Nusco at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Jamie Kingman-Rice and Alissa Lane of the Maine Historical Society, Jennifer Tobias at MoMA, Sandra Sudak of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, David Lowe and Chris Karatnytski of the New York Public Library, and Helen Bechert of the Glen Ridge Free Library; Earle Shettleworth, director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, and his colleague Elizabeth Trautman; Morrison Heckscher, Fleischman Chair of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Mark Alan Hewitt and Mike Shorr for their critiques of an early draft; Fred Schwartz for insisting I stop fretting about funding and finish; Robert Venturi and Robert A. M. Stern for cheering me up; Bill Millard for his editorial advice and consistent encouragement; Drexel Turner of the University of Houston for his enthusiastic support; Stephen Fox of Rice University for editorial advice and challenging me to expand and sharpen my analysis; Margaret Culbertson, director of the Hirsch Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, for her contribution of genealogical research; the reverend's great-grandsons Peter and Frederick Browne, and their aunt Nancy Gay Browne; Alejandro Diez and Jennifer Greene of Klimment & Halsband Architects for their contribution of oversize plots; Jeffrey Karl Ochsner for providing scans of the original 1934 photograph by Berenice Abbott; Judith Westlund Rosbe, president of the Sippican Historical and Preservation Society, for her rediscovery of the original print of Fig. 18 as this article was going to press, and for providing scans; the anonymous reader of *JSAH* and David Brownlee, Emily Hage, and Krista Sykes for their observations and suggestions, and Hilary Ballon for recommending the paper to her successor; and most of all to my partner Karin Robinson for her cheerful support of my effort over the years. All of these people have tried to help me get it right, and where I am in error I am alone. Lastly I want to thank Robert Klimment and Frances Halsband, who taught me—along with almost everything I know about building—to love Richardson.

1. Henry-Russell Hitchcock Jr., "Exhibition of the Work of H. H. Richard-

son: A Description of the Exhibition,” MoMA 45b, Library of the Museum of Modern Art, caption, item 44.

2. Richardson’s assistant Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow Jr. joined the firm in fall 1881 as the Browne house was being designed. In a letter he wrote to his mother dated 5 Mar. 1882, while the house was under construction, Longfellow describes Richardson as an architect who “keeps up his interest wonderfully even in small work. . . . He takes hold of it, takes hold of his clients and makes them do the right things.” Quoted in Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Henry Hobson Richardson: A Genius for Architecture* (Chicago, 1994), 104.

3. Vincent J. Scully Jr., “Preface,” in *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright* (1955; rev. ed. 1971; New Haven, 1978), xix.

4. Lewis Mumford assessed Richardson and his influence on the American domestic vernacular in brief but sweeping terms: “The shingle houses that Richardson first established on such sound lines . . . brought an indigenous comeliness into the suburbs of the eighties, and nothing we have done since, with the exception of Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright’s prairie houses, has touched so authentically the very colour and atmosphere of the landscape: incidentally they represent the peak of spaciousness and comfort in our American domestic facilities.” Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865–1895* (New York, 1931), 51.

5. Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*, 4.

6. Although Richardson was voluble and charismatic, he spoke with a stammer and said little in public about his intentions as an artist. See the vivid portraits of Richardson as a social actor in James F. O’Gorman, *Living Architecture: A Biography of H. H. Richardson* (New York, 1997), 9–21; and O’Gorman, *H. H. Richardson: Architectural Forms for an American Society* (Chicago, 1987), 14–27.

7. Percy Browne suppressed the name “William.” See Nancy Gay Browne, “Descendants of Rev. William Percy Browne,” a family tree drawn to the fourth generation by the wife of the late P. C. Browne Jr., grandson of Percy Browne, in the collection of Mark Wright. The first initial “W” is corroborated in the article “Interesting Ordination,” *New York Times*, 2 July 1866, www.nytimes.com (accessed 27 May 2008). For the birth date reported by Browne when he applied for a passport as a naturalized citizen in 1875, see “U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925,” www.ancestry.com (accessed 27 May 2008). His birthplace and parentage are recorded in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, “Necrology of Clergymen Deceased during the Conventional Year,” *Diocesan Journal of Convention* (Boston, 1902), 257.

8. Alexander V. G. Allen, “The Reverend Percy Browne,” *Church Militant: Newsletter of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts* (Nov. 1901), 6.

9. Allen, “The Reverend Percy Browne,” 6. Browne was the youngest of the three children who emigrated with Margaret Browne. Their landfall in New York City is recorded in “Irish Immigrants: New York Port Arrival Records, 1846–1851,” www.ancestry.com (accessed 27 May 2008), which indicates that eight Irish individuals with the surname Browne disembarked from the ship *New World* on 26 May 1849. Margaret Browne was the oldest at forty years of age, and her occupation was listed as “immigrant.” Percy Browne is also listed as “immigrant,” age ten years old. Two of the others were also listed as “immigrant” and may be older siblings: Mary, fifteen years old, and Flora, twelve. The others, ranging in age from eight to twenty, had occupation listings such as “child” or “clerk” and so they are probably members of a different party. It is possible that Browne had additional older siblings who remained behind in Ireland.

10. Gilbert W. Laidlaw, “Rev. Percy Browne,” *Church Militant: Newsletter of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts* (Oct. 1901), 8. For information about the Brooks family, see Raymond W. Albright, *Focus on Infinity: A Life of Phillips Brooks* (New York, 1961), 11.

11. Allen, “The Reverend Percy Browne,” 6.

12. Marian R. Bowditch, *Memories*, 1992, typescript, n.p., private collection of Nancy Gay Browne.

13. “Disowned” is the Religious Society of Friends’ near-synonym for “excommunicated.” Samuel Wetherill and others under his influence were disowned for rejecting pacifism. An 1894 directory of Free “Fighting” Quakers lists Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Wetherill of Germantown as members, immediately followed by Mrs. Percy Browne, Miss Katherine W. Browne, and Percy C. Browne of Roxbury, Massachusetts. See Charles Wetherill, “Appendix No. 13: Names and Residences of the Present Free Quakers, 1894,” in *History of the Religious Society of Friends Called by Some The Free Quakers, in the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1894), www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/freequakers16.htm (accessed 26 May 2008).

14. Bowditch, *Memories*.

15. See “Interesting Ordination,” 8; “Necrology of Clergymen,” 257; and “Married. Browne–Wetherill,” *New York Times*, 7 Nov. 1868, 5, www.nytimes.com (accessed 27 May 2008). Margaret Culbertson, director of the Hirsch Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, kindly brought these *New York Times* articles, along with other genealogical information and online database resources, to the author’s attention in a letter dated 12 Mar. 2007.

16. Laidlaw, “Rev. Percy Browne,” 8.

17. “1880 United States Federal Census,” www.ancestry.com (accessed 27 May 2008).

18. Sandra Sudak (archivist of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts) described the activities of the Clericus Club and Browne’s roles within it—as clerk from 1875 to 1889 and president from 1891 to 1901—in a letter to the author dated 6 Dec. 2002. In addition she kindly provided the author with copies of the published eulogies of Allen, Laidlaw, Parks, and the anonymous obituarist of the “Necrology.” These sources paint a rich, consistent portrait of Browne.

19. Alexander V. G. Allen, *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* (New York, 1900), 1:609.

20. Albright, *Focus on Infinity*, 155 (see n. 10).

21. See “Necrology of Clergymen,” 237; O’Gorman, *Living Architecture*, 155 (see n. 6); Theodore Bolton, ed., *The Century Members 1847–1946: A Complete List of Members of The Century Association 1847–1946 in Chronological Order Giving Period of Membership Occupation or Profession*, 1947, bound typescript, pt. 1, p. 33, Century Association Foundation Archive, New York; and *Constitution and By-Laws of The St. Botolph Club in Boston: With a List of the Officers and Members of the Club, 1881* (Boston, 1881), 26.

22. H. Edmund Tripp, *Reflections on a Town: A Timeless Photographic and Anecdotal Record of Over Three Centuries of Marion, Massachusetts* (Marion, 1991), 96.

23. Annotations to the first-floor plan (see Fig. 21) record minor changes agreed upon and dated 10 Nov. 1881, probably in a meeting with Browne and his builder. These changes include the addition of a covered stair at the back of the house for access to the cellar, which was built, and of a window to light the winding stair down to the cellar from the kitchen and another to light the cellar on the west side, which were not. Perhaps Richardson overruled some destructive concessions made by his assistant Frank Ellis Alden, who Margaret Henderson Floyd identifies as having supervised construction of the Browne house. See Drawings of the Percy Browne House, “First Story Plan,” PB A1, Reel 4 Project 9, revisions dated 10 Nov. 10 1881, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; and Floyd, *Architecture After Richardson: Regionalism Before Modernism—Longfellow, Alden, and Harlow in Boston and Pittsburgh* (Chicago, 1994), 46.

24. Tripp, *Reflections on a Town*, 61, 96, 97.

25. William T. Stafford, "Notes," in *Henry James: Novels 1881–1886* (New York, 1985), 1241.
26. For dates, see Alice Austin Ryder, *Lands of Sippican on Buzzards Bay* (New Bedford, Mass., 1934), 291. Tripp in his chapter entitled "The Golden Age," and Ryder in her chapter "Henry James and Richard Watson Gilder Come to Marion," describe Gilder's economic and social impact on the town, and the seafaring population's reaction to the influx of power players and aesthetes. Tripp and Ryder name but a few of Gilder's numerous summer visitors, including novelist Henry James, sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, architect Stanford White, geologist Louis Agassiz, Lincoln's secretaries and biographers John G. Nicolay and John Hay (later secretary of state under President Theodore Roosevelt), the actors Joseph Jefferson and Helen Modjeska, President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland and the newspaper reporters that followed them, and Gilder's architecture critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer. Five of the individuals named (Saint-Gaudens, White, Agassiz, Hay, and Van Rensselaer) had connections with Richardson.
27. Rosamond Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder* (Boston, 1916), 62–66.
28. Tripp, *Reflections on a Town*, 101.
29. Gilder's houses in New York City and Marion have been demolished. His studio building survives as part of a private residence. See Gilder, *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder*, 103–5, 140–41, 180–82.
30. Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 251–53. Ochsner does not assign credit for Whittier to White alone, but it appears on stylistic grounds to bear White's hand, and White had commuted to Brookline to collaborate with Richardson on designs for three unbuilt houses during the 1870s.
31. Visitors would no longer have passed the front of the Browne house after Marion's electric trolley service was built farther inland, on what is now Spring Street, in the early 1900s. See Tripp, *Reflections on a Town*, 102.
32. We may assume that many of Gilder's summer visitors were given a tour of the distinguished H. H. Richardson house next door. On at least one occasion Browne allowed Gilder's friends the use of his house for an extended period. During two weeks in 1889, his guests were President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland. The house figures in a few recorded anecdotes occasioned by the president's visit. A brief notice in the *New York Times* recorded: "The Clevelands occupy the cottage of Rev. Percy Browne, which is on the main road leading from the railroad station to Sippican Point. . . . It is the most picturesque cottage in the village, and sits on a high bank, in front of which is a deep lawn. It is wide and low, with a hipped roof, in which are the sleeping apartments. The portico in the centre of the house is deeply recessed, and here Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland often sit a while in the twilight, while the songs and laughter of the aquatic parties are wafted across the harbor. . . . It is furnished in a quaint, old-fashioned way, with which the present occupants are charmed." "The Clevelands at Marion," *New York Times*, 28 July 1889, 15, www.newyorktimes.com (accessed 27 May 2008).
33. Claire Nicholas White, ed., *Stanford White: Letters to his Family—Including a Selection of Letters to Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (New York, 1997), 26, 84; and Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson*: see the Arthur W. Blake House Project (1874), 140–41; Rush Cheney House Project (1876), 172; the James Cheney House Project (1878), 190–91; and the John Bryant House (1880–81), 232–34.
34. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (1936; rev. ed. 1961; Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 202.
35. Evidence of how influential the Ames Gate Lodge became is found at the Bryant house itself, where the original level wooden span of the bridging kitchen wing has been filled in with a stone arch in hapless imitation of countless previous imitations of Ames. At some point the genuine article was no longer "Richardsonian" enough to suit its owner. For photos of the house both in its original and altered states, see Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson*, 234.
36. The interior of the Ames Gate Lodge has never been adequately published. For images of the Saint-Gaudens fireplace in the Bachelors Hall, see Floyd, *Henry Hobson Richardson*, 188 (see n. 2), photographs by Paul Rocheleau; and O'Gorman, *Living Architecture*, 139 (see n. 6), photograph by Cervin Robinson.
37. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (1888; New York, 1969), 104.
38. *Ibid.*, 104.
39. Hitchcock, *Architecture of H. H. Richardson*, 203.
40. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson*, 98 (see n. 6); and O'Gorman, *Living Architecture*, 117.
41. Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works*, 72.
42. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson*, 102. O'Gorman extends his treatment of the Ames Monument in "Man-Made Mountain: 'Gathering and Governing' in H. H. Richardson's Design for the Ames Monument in Wyoming," in *The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change*, ed. Susan Danly and Leo Marx (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 113–26.
43. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson*, 99. The Crédit Mobilier scandal brought Congressman Ames and many others—fairly or not—disrepute and public censure in 1872.
44. For a photograph of Reed's Rock taken during the quarrying operation, see Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson*, 213; the butte looms over the forty-foot crane in the middle ground.
45. The entire folio can be seen through the New York Public Library's NYPL Digital Gallery. For the originals, see Andrew J. Russell, *The Great West illustrated in a series of photographic views across the Continent taken along the lines of the Union Pacific Railroad, west from Omaha, Nebraska. With an annotated table of contents, giving a brief description of each view; its peculiarities, characteristics, and connection with the different points on the road*, vol. 1 (New York, 1869).
46. Floyd, *Henry Hobson Richardson*, 50.
47. This surprisingly substantial structure (now used as a garden shed) retains its original stout post-and-beam frame reinforced with heavy steel cross-ties, which suggests that it was designed to survive being moved from place to place as the cesspits filled. It seems likely that the privy was originally located at a lower elevation north of the house, where the driveway now runs, with its sloped walls set in vertical alignment with the battered base of the main house. For a comparison of Richardson's privy with other great American outhouses, see May Brawley Hill, "Making a Virtue of Necessity: Decorative American Privies," *Magazine Antiques* CLIV, no. 2 (1998), 183–89. Hill's plate X shows the privy before its most recent renovation, its old shingles heavily eroded by weather and a century's assault by climbing vines.
48. In her memoir Browne's granddaughter relates that her mother told of the wolfhound accompanying Browne on his walks in Marion during her childhood in the early 1880s. Browne returned from a trip to Ireland on 27 Aug. 1879, perhaps with a puppy. See Bowditch, *Memories* (see n. 12); and "New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957," www.ancestry.com (accessed 27 May 2008).
49. Kenneth A. Breisch, *Henry Hobson Richardson and the Small Public Library in America: A Study in Typology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 245.
50. A physically isolated exception to this general rule is found in a small house William R. Emerson designed in 1880 for John Thaxter on Cutts Island, Kittery, Maine. See Richard Creek's photo and the summary history of the Thaxter house in Roger G. Reed, *A Delight to All Who Know It: The Maine Summer Architecture of William R. Emerson* (Portland, Maine, 1995), 132–33.

51. Drexel Turner identified this photo as one of Newport, R.I. The site is now a gas station.

52. See the photographs in Tripp, *Reflections on a Town* (see n. 22). In 106 photographs showing discernable roof forms for hundreds of buildings in the village, only 10 gambrel roofs appear. One of these is the Browne house itself. Another, the Bay View House hotel, is a mansarded Second-Empire Victorian building. The others appear on stylistic evidence to postdate the construction of the Browne house.

53. Hitchcock, *Architecture of H. H. Richardson*, 223 (see n. 34).

54. Although Hitchcock appears not to have known of any photographs of the house as originally built, Fig. 1 was included as a plate in R. W. Gilder's memoir *Grover Cleveland: A Record of Friendship* (New York, 1910). It was most likely taken prior to 1891, Gilder's last summer in Marion.

55. In the 1980s two early photos of the house surfaced in the private collection of local historian Tripp. Fig. 17, the long view across open fields showing the back of the Browne house in the distance, is a detail of an image reprinted in Tripp, *Reflections on a Town*, 18. Based on the number of houses shown in the full image, Tripp believed that the picture was taken in the 1880s, which would make this the earliest surviving image of the house. Fig. 18 was printed in a local newspaper in the mid-1990s as one of a spread of old pictures taken around town, and the original lost again until it was recently rediscovered and cataloged by the Sippican Historical and Preservation Society. It shows mature trees behind the house and so must substantially postdate Fig. 17. Therefore its recorded date of 1885 is in error. Perhaps the picture was taken in 1901 or 1902 when Browne's widow put the house up for sale.

56. Ochsner reprinted Fig. 25, the photograph taken by Berenice Abbott in 1934 for exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and included as plate 89 of Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times*, 1st ed. (1936). It shows the enlarged house shrouded in vines. When the revised edition was published in the 1960s, the publishers replaced Abbott's photograph with a more recent image of the house stripped of its patterned shingles yet still covered in vines. The drawings (Figs. 19 and 21) were printed as plates 87 and 88 of Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (1936). These two drawings were exhibited along with Abbott's photograph at MoMA in 1936 and then traveled with the exhibition to other institutions; the plan is now in the Houghton Archive but the elevation is lost.

57. Numerous spot-check measurements showed that the house was built as dimensioned to an accuracy of one-half inch or better.

58. Conjectural aspects of the reconstruction include:

- a. *The asymmetrical gable roof over the woodshed*: This paper proposes a shape that follows the form of the roof that sheltered the well—visible in Figs. 1 and 18—and maintains the typical 7-to-12 roof pitch. The shed form shown in Fig. 20 does not preserve the roof pitch, and its lack of a side wall would have broken the continuity of the mass. Instead, a closed end wall was probably built. After this reconstruction shown in Fig. 14 was made, the lost original print of the photograph Fig. 17 was rediscovered. This image seems to show the simple shed roof of the elevation sketch with the closed end wall here suggested.
- b. *The steps down to the garden from the back porch*: These would allow for family and guests to travel most of the way to the privy under cover without going through the kitchen.
- c. *The storage area under the garden porch, and the door giving access to it from outside*: The stone retaining wall at the left side of the existing garage door appears to have been part of the original house; therefore a door was likely to exist in this location.
- d. *The muntin patterns in three windows*: First is the long awning unit that once lit the stair hall and has been relocated to a position above a bath-

tub. Although the sash has been altered and repaired, its muntin pattern is probably original. Second is the casement balancing the long awning on the other side of the chimney. These windows are indicated in plan in Fig. 22 and visible in Fig. 1. Third is the window set low in the wall of the southwest bedroom. This is shown in the preliminary elevation, Fig. 23, as a pair of casements with a muntin pattern unlike any other pattern in the house. Since as a rule the original windows were relocated and reused as the house was altered, and no window of the style shown exists now, we suggest instead that it was another simple hopper unit like the one that lit the pantry. Figs. 17 and 23 show a window in this location, and traces in the plaster confirm that a window was removed.

59. An ornamented roof is shown in F. L. Ames Gardener's Cottage (GAC) 1884–1885, "Perspective from North West," GAC F1, H. H. Richardson Drawings, MS Typ 1096, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

60. Drawings of the Browne House, "Perspective," PB F1, Reel 4 Project 9, H. H. Richardson Drawings, MS Typ 1096, Houghton Library.

61. The rubble stone for the concealed foundations and cellar was probably quarried on the property. Just south of the house a hollow has been blasted out of the hillside and finished as a crude open grotto complete with rough-cut steps and the shallow pool of a seeping spring at its bottom. This garden feature is concealed now under a growth of evergreens.

62. The loggia seems to echo the great arch of the Ames Gate Lodge, although Richardson was enough of a rationalist not to want his wooden span to take on a shape natural to masonry. The Browne house restates, inexpensively, some of the ideas that lay behind the design of the costly lodge. Beyond the shared sense of heroic atavism there are the sheltering, deformable, draping roofs; the walls that do not always find a plumb line; the bridged voids; the long masses sprawling up and down the found contours of a landscape; the sense that each might be but the visible shoulder of an immense and immovable subterranean pile; and the artistic control exercised over what appear to be casual compositions.

63. For Berenice Abbott's photographs of the Channing house as it stood in 1934, see Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson*, 213 (see n. 30).

64. Dr. Walter Channing House (1883–1884), "Elevation and Sections of Weathering and Mouldings," WC E2, Reel 18 Project 7, H. H. Richardson Drawings, MS Typ 1096, Houghton Library.

65. For Paul Rocheleau's photographs of the altered interior, see Floyd, *Henry Hobson Richardson*, 254–55 (see n. 2). Unfortunately, twentieth-century alterations to both interior and exterior are presented as Richardson's original work. In this Floyd made the same error that Edgar Kaufman Jr. had in preparing his 1970 exhibition *Rise of an American Architecture* for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, where he presented Elliot Erwit's photographs of the altered house without analysis or explanation. Morrison Heckscher, Fleischman Chair of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, kindly allowed the author to study George Cserna's unpublished "Gallery View" photographs of the exhibition, along with the surviving curatorial notes in his administrative files. This characterization of Kaufmann's interpretive error is the author's view, not Heckscher's.

66. "The Clevelands at Marion" (see n. 32); and Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works*, 106 (see n. 37).

67. Hitchcock, "Exhibition of the Work of H. H. Richardson," caption, item 44 (see n. 1).

68. Ryder, *Lands of Sippican*, 294 (see n. 26).

69. Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works*, 105–6.

70. *Historical Narrative*, 192 Front Street, MHC#N211, Sippican Historical Society, Marion, Mass.; and "Membership of the American Association [for the Advancement of Science]," *Science* 22 (Nov. 1901), 800–1, www.sci-

encemag.org (accessed 27 Aug. 2007).

71. Hitchcock, *Architecture of H. H. Richardson*, 222 (see n. 34); “Plate 23,” Village of Marion (400 ft to one inch) and Town of Marion (1,700 ft to one inch), 1903, from an atlas of Plymouth County, Mass., and reprinted by the Sippican Historical Society, date as reported by Peter Smith of the Sippican Historical Society; and “Marion, Mass., Dec. 1921,” *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* (1921).

72. Hitchcock, *Architecture of H. H. Richardson*, 222. “But the original character of the design is in no way damaged. If anything, it is enhanced by the new gambrelled gable at the right of the front.”

73. Jean Paul Carlhian, *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XI, *Supplement Two*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler and Edward T. James, s.v. “Coolidge, Charles Allerton” (New York, 1958), 117.

74. *Massachusetts Historical Commission Community Inventory*, File 56, recorded by Edward W. Gordon, 31 Jan. 1998, for the Sippican Historical Society.

75. Three of the four houses survive in somewhat altered form. Drawings exist for the earliest. See “Drawings of the Charles A. Coolidge House, Marion MA,” SRC-CAC, Reel 13 Project 3, Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge Drawings, Houghton Library (see n. 59).

76. Daisy Washburn Lovell, *Glad Tidings: Centennial History of Saint Gabriel’s Episcopal Church, Marion, Massachusetts, 1871–1971* (Taunton, 1973), 22.

77. *Ibid.*, 22; and “Drawings of the Episcopal Church, Marion MA,” SRC-ECM, Reel 18 Project 6, Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge Drawings, Houghton Library.

78. Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson*, 350–51, 287–89 (see n. 30).

79. Olive Hill Sommers, *Three Centuries of Marion Houses* (Marion, 1972), 35.

80. A description of the damage inflicted on the town by several hurricanes

may be found in Judith Westlund Rosbe, *Maritime Marion Massachusetts: The Making of America Series* (Charleston, 2002), 72–76. The Browne house is not mentioned.

81. John TenBrook, private communication with Mark Wright, July 2007.

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Figures 3, 12, 14–16, 28. © 2007 Wright & Robinson Architects; Fig. 12: lot lines and modern and surviving features taken from a survey prepared in 1987, supplemented by measurement and observation in 2007

Figures 4, 5, 7. Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design

Figure 6. Maine Historic Preservation Commission

Figures 8, 10, 29–31. Photographs by Mark Wright

Figure 9. Andrew J. Russell, *The Great West: Illustrated in a Series of Photographic Views . . . Along the Line of the Union Pacific Railroad. . . .* (New York, 1869), pl. 24; Photography Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

Figure 13. Maine Historical Society

Figure 19. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times*, (New York, 1936), pl. 88; Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design

Figures 20–22, 24, 27. Collections of the Houghton Library, Harvard College: Fig. 20, MS Typ 1096 PB-B1; Fig. 21, MS Typ 1096 PB-A1; Fig. 22, MS Typ 1096 PB-A2; Fig. 24, MS Typ 1096 PB-F1; Fig. 27, MS Typ 1096 WC-D1

Figure 23. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (1888; New York, 1969), 105

Figures 25, 26. Photograph by Berenice Abbott; courtesy of Jeffrey Karl Ochsner