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The “School of Upjohn”: Richard Upjohn’s Office

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Richard Upjohn’s office has long been recognized as an important force in the architectural world of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Its large size compared to that of architects such as Alexander Jackson Davis, who worked alone, and its early concern with the development of professional standards, distinguished it in the still-pre-professional building world. Teaching young architects was another key aspect of Upjohn’s office. This article discusses the character of the office as well as its occupants in order to explore the nature of this educational enterprise and its legacy.

ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION TODAY is largely defined as institutionalized instruction, and studies of its evolution in the United States focus on the founding of American architectural schools, beginning with MIT in 1866.¹ These studies emphasize the development of curricula in theory and design, particularly the dominant influence of the French École des Beaux Arts. But this emphasis, which our generation, with its preference for formalized training and its faith in professionalism, may find reassuring, should not obscure the fact that even at the end of the nineteenth century, when the first full generation of academically trained architects reached maturity, many reputable architects had acquired their credentials without the benefit of attending an architectural school.² Their education, like that of earlier generations trained in the building trades, was derived primarily through experience. Such experience was either acquired on the job or through work in an architect’s office, where instruction comprised the chance to observe the master’s drawings, build-ings, and manner of architectural practice close up, as well as to assist him by copying drawings, making estimates, and even supervising construction.

Perhaps office training has often been denigrated, because it is inherently practical and because it often resulted in notorious

abuses of pupils, as Charles Dickens described in *Martin Chuzzlewit*.³ Recorded more often through oral history than textbooks, correspondence, or account books, few architectural historians have yet attempted to probe office structure or understand the values and the culture which it embodied.⁴

Learning by observation and imitation is an idea with an honorable history and is the backbone of theories on the education of the artist⁵ in general, and architectural training in particular. In England, office instruction was possible by the end of the eighteenth century and continued well beyond the point when academic training was common in the United States. In the 1850s, the English *Architectural Publication Society Dictionary* stated:

Whatever may be the preparation of the pupil with regard to the theory of the artistic and constructive attainments of the architect, the practical application of this knowledge is education (when properly managed) to be acquired in the routine of patient attendance upon a communicative master, whose confidence is the only means of

3. G. C. Mason, *Architects and their Environment 1850–1907* (Ardmore, PA, 1907), 21–22, hereafter cited as *Architects and their Environment*: “I have no reason to think that the English system of articulated pupils, so severely satirized by Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, ever took root in this country. If pupils were ever received into American offices, in that way, I have not been brought into contact with architects who were thus educated. At all events, the system was never acknowledged as usual and proper, or surrounded with legal forms or well-defined reciprocal duties as in England.” Mason (1850–1924) would have known Richard Upjohn’s extensive work in Newport, RI where both he and his father, George Champlin Mason, Sr. (1820–94), were in practice, and he would have known both Upjohns as well as Charles Babcock through the AIA. For Mason, see W. Jordy and C. Monkhouse, *Buildings on Paper*, exh. cat. (Providence, 1982), 222–24, hereafter cited as *Buildings on Paper*.

4. A. Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven, 1983), hereafter cited as *The Image of the Architect*, emphasizes the weakness of nineteenth-century office training and the origins of modern commercial practice in late-nineteenth-century America. The essays in S. Kostoff, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York, 1977), have selected information about office training. T. Bannister, ed., *The Architect at Mid-century: Evolution and Achievement* (New York, 1954), 83, acknowledges that despite its limitations, office training had some advantages.

5. This is reflected in writers as separate in time as Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art* (1769); and John Ruskin, *The Study of Architecture* (1865); both of whom stressed the importance of studying the best models but not servile imitation. In the nineteenth century, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi’s pedagogical theory, which emphasized routine imitation and observation, influenced the teaching of art and drawing specifically. See C. Ashwin, *Drawing and Education in German-speaking Europe 1800–1900* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1981).

For their assistance in the preparation of this article, I would like to thank the late Professor George R. Collins, Professor Alfred K. Frazer, Herbert Mitchell, Janet Parks, Adolf K. Placzek, Margaret Webster, and Dennis McFadden.

1. See, for example, J. A. Chewning, “William Robert Ware and the Beginnings of Architectural Education in the United States, 1861–1881” (Ph.D. diss., M.I.T., 1986); R. Oliver, ed., *The Making of an Architect, 1881–1981: Columbia University in the City of New York* (New York, 1981).

2. Notable late-nineteenth-century American architects who did not attend an institute for architectural education are Frank Furness, Frank Lloyd Wright, Daniel Burnham, and Stanford White.

giving a pupil the knowledge most important to future success, the manner of conducting business.⁶

A professional architect committed to instructing the young,⁷ was regarded as a good model to prepare for a successful, professional practice. Due to the immigration of many British architects and builders, as well as the dominance of Anglo-American culture, British concepts of professional practice had an important impact in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The office of Richard Upjohn (1802–78) offers a view of how office apprenticeship functioned in antebellum America. Remembered today principally as the Gothic Revival architect who designed Trinity Church, Wall Street (1839–46), and the first president of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), many young men affiliated with Richard Upjohn's office and later practiced architecture in New York City. Records show that in the early-1850s, when production was highest, there were as many as seven draftsmen, in addition to a business manager and two junior partners, making it one of the largest practices of the time. The large number of commissions required the office to work on numerous projects at once; by the 1850s, all the partners contributed to the design and supervision of individual works.⁸ Furthermore, it seems to have been the earliest architectural office in the United States⁹ to have had legal contracts defining the partners' duties and specifying their share of the profits. From the many extant letters of application, working in Upjohn's office appears to have been highly desirable.

Richard Upjohn's belief that he had a mission to educate young architects complements his well-known insistence on ethics in architecture and on the professionalization of the architect. In his address to the AIA in 1871, Upjohn made his sense of responsibility clear:

No great monuments of finished art and laborious devotion, such as grace the old world have been . . . impressing their lessons on the minds and hearts of the children of this new land of ours. We and our children have grown and matured without such influence and education. But it is *our mission as a profession*, to worthily supply in this new field, these educators. So that at least we be not less faithful

6. Architectural Publication Society, *The Dictionary of Architecture* (London, 1852–92), s.v. "Education," hereafter cited as *Dictionary of Architecture*.

7. Another side to the question was the prerogative of the architect to have students, which was a major objection to architectural schools in England; see "Architectural Schools of Design," *The Builder* 4 (26 September 1846): 464–65.

8. This refines recent thinking about architectural practice; see D. Balmori, "George B. Post: The Process of Design and the New American Architectural Office (1868–1913)," *JSAH* 46 (1987): 342.

9. Upjohn was not the first American architect to employ draftsmen or to have students. Benjamin Henry Latrobe had both in his Philadelphia office and working under him at the Capitol. During his partnership with Town, A.J. Davis did in fact train students, but it appears unlikely that the firm hired draftsmen, since, even when he worked independently, Davis was in the habit of doing his own renderings. Like Davis, others of Upjohn's contemporaries seem to have worked alone; although James Renwick had a large enough practice to have required a regular staff by the end of the 1840s, he did not enter into a partnership, until 1858.

to the men of the *future*, than in other lands, the men of the past have been to those of the present . . . Following in the well-chosen steps of those who have preceded us, . . . *we* shall have followers who will appreciate our aims, and labor with and after us in establishing truthful works.¹⁰

This essay will examine how Upjohn's office fostered these ideals. New information drawn from the unpublished office records extends Everard Upjohn's account of his great-grandfather's practice.¹¹ This article assesses what the various students in Upjohn's office could observe, what their responsibilities were, and what Upjohn, with his religious zeal, his sense of professional ethics, concern with sound building, and knowledge of architectural practice, may have communicated to instill a thorough understanding of the business of architecture. Since the office was the locus for oral communication which depended on the abilities of the members to work together, this article also sets the stage for the possible dialogues which may once have taken place among those who worked for Upjohn. Finally, it will also show how the ideals promoted in Upjohn's office left a legacy for American architects and architectural education in the late nineteenth century.

The organization of the office

Born in England to an educated family with connections to the building world,¹² Richard Upjohn was trained as a cabinetmaker's apprentice. After immigrating to the United States in 1829, Upjohn soon settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he made drawings for speculative builders.¹³ Upjohn did not establish an office with a staff at once. When advertising as an architectural draftsman in the *New Bedford Mercury* of February 1833, Upjohn asked that orders be left at Mechanics' Hall, where he may only have been able to fetch mail. He first occupied a separate place of work in 1834, the year that he moved to Boston.¹⁴ During five years in Boston, his home and work address changed almost yearly, reflecting the uncertainty of his practice. During these years, it was mostly a one-person operation. In his meticulous account books, he recorded purchases to the last half cent, but payments to assistants only sporadically.¹⁵ With few large commissions, he had little need for a regular staff.

10. R. Upjohn, President's address to the Annual Convention of the AIA, 1871; ms. American Institute of Architects Archives, 10–11.

11. In the standard, but filiopietistic text on the architect, E. M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman* (New York, 1939), chaps. 6, 7, hereafter cited as *Architect*.

12. Upjohn's father and uncle were members of the building world; see Upjohn, *Architect*, chap. 2.

13. For additional information on Richard Upjohn's early years, see Upjohn, *Architect*; and J. S. Hull, "Richard Upjohn: Professional Practice and Domestic Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987), hereafter cited as "Richard Upjohn."

14. *Stimson's Boston Directory* (1834).

15. Account Book II, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University. The assistants, Alpheus Carey Morse, Gridley Bryant, Jr., William Darricot, and James Nelson, are discussed in Hull, "Richard Upjohn," chap. 2.

Fig. 1. Fanny Palmer. Trinity Churchyard (ca. 1846). View of Upjohn's office; demolished after completion of the church; photograph of painting. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)



After moving to New York City to work on Trinity Church in March 1839, he briefly opened an office near the church on New Street.¹⁶ But with the initial contract for Trinity Church in his pocket by September 1839, Upjohn needed many drawings and assistance in producing them. As soon as the vestry had voted to build a new church, Upjohn must have designed and erected the wooden structure in the churchyard (Fig. 1), a nineteenth-century version of the mason's lodge that served as his office. Here, he supervised all aspects of operations: making estimates and contracts; directing builders; approving the bills for the vestry to pay; receiving materials; moving and remaking the graves in the way of the new church; and producing drawings for every part of the building, as well as keeping records.

In addition to the builders, Upjohn supervised his office assistants. It is in response to Alpheus Carey Morse's application for a position that we learn Upjohn already had three draftsmen in May 1840.¹⁷ Specialization seems to have been important. Although Upjohn regarded one of the draftsmen as competent to draw perspectives, he also stated that he needed Alpheus Carey Morse to do the "good drawings of Trinity Church including the interior perspective" (Fig. 2). Morse, it seems, did not accept a permanent position.¹⁸

16. Ledger No. 4, "Copies of Bills for Materials and Labor for rebuilding Trinity Church, 1839–44," Trinity Church Archives, Bill no. 2, entered 29 October 1839, shows a bill for cleaning the office dated 12 July 1839. There is one later entry for rent paid.

17. Upjohn, *Architect*, 56–57, quotes Upjohn's letter of 21 May 1840, in response to Morse's request for employment; unless otherwise noted, all correspondence referred to or quoted in this article is in the Upjohn papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation.

18. Richard Upjohn, New York, 21 May 1840, to A.C. Morse; quoted in Upjohn, *Architect*, 56–57. Jordy and Monkhouse, *Buildings on Paper*, 225,

Only one individual is definitely known to have been in the Trinity office, Leopold Eidlitz (1823–1908), who worked for Upjohn beginning around 1843.¹⁹ Since the subcontracts refer to many intermediate drawings made to guide the masons, the carpenters, the clockmaker, the woodcarvers, and the organ-maker, Upjohn must have had several draftsmen. For example, in a contract dated 1 August 1843 between Trinity Church and the stone cutters Gilbert Cameron and William McIndoe for cutting and dressing the stone in the angles of the tower buttresses near the belfry windows, the carving is "to be all of the dimensions, shape, and fashion exhibited in the working plans of the Architect."²⁰ Despite the fact that he was almost constantly on the site and could give oral instruction, Upjohn still needed drawings to communicate with the workers due to the complexity and size of the church. Evidence for the existence of many drawings and, implicitly, a staff, also appears in Upjohn's salary negotiations. Initially, he had agreed with Trinity Church that the drawings and the account books belonged to the church. When he agreed to a reduction in salary however, he pressed for the right to own the drawings:

I would also remark to the Committee that hitherto during the erection of the building I have designed and drawn a great number of

state that Morse "wrote in May 1840 requesting employment as a draftsman when Upjohn was working on Trinity Church in New York. Upjohn expected Morse to accept such a position in 1842, but Morse instead decided to go to Italy."

19. M. Schuyler, "A Great American Architect: Leopold Eidlitz" (1908), repr. in *American Architecture and Other Writings*, ed. W. H. Jordy and R. Coe, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1961), 1: 136–87.

20. Trinity Church Archives, Book 2.

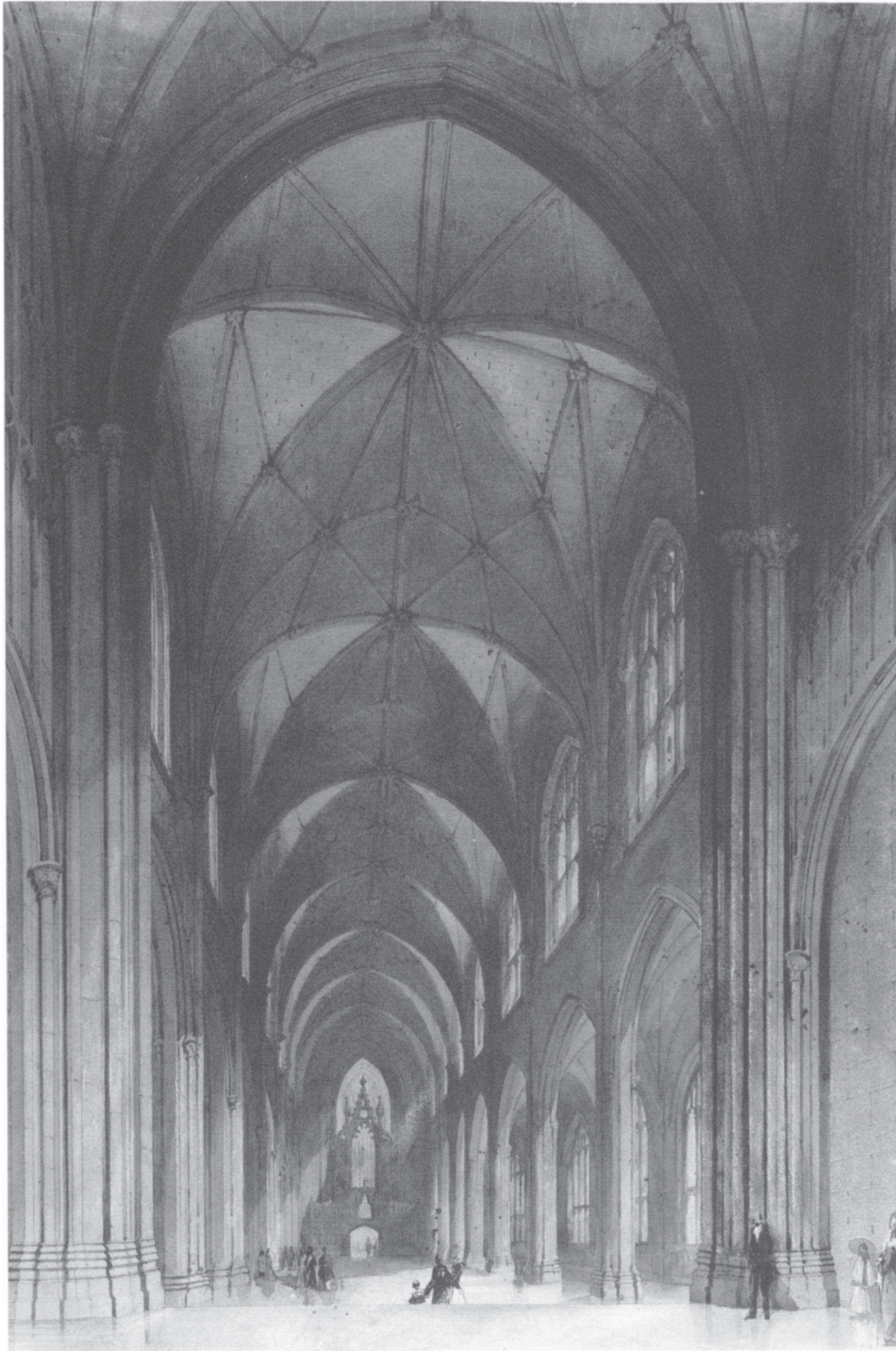


Fig. 2. Richard Upjohn. Interior perspective, Trinity Church, New York (1839–46). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

plans many of which have been made as the progress of the works seemed to require and in anticipation of what I supposed would be required by the Committee and with the intention of making the details of the designs as clear and explanatory as could possibly be done so that the Committee should understand the nature of the respective designs and the amount of work delineated by them. . . . In doing this however many designs and plans have been made which were not adopted and therefore not now necessary to the erection of the building. These plans together with those detailed plans of the

building which have been and which may be adopted in the prosecution of the works I would like to be considered mine.²¹

Upjohn, not Trinity, bore the cost of producing these drawings. In the exhaustive accounts of Trinity Church, no record

21. R. Upjohn, 27 December 1842 to the Building Committee, Trinity Church; quoted in entirety in Upjohn, *Architect*, 60–61.

appears of bills from draftsmen or hours spent on drawings. Besides his salary, Upjohn's bills to the vestry request only the cost of drawing materials; hence his salary covered the cost of his office, except for drawing materials.²²

Trinity Church was dedicated in May 1846. By July 1846, Upjohn had opened an independent account book, which records that he had four draftsmen and his oldest son, Richard Michell Upjohn (1828–1903), working for him in an office at 64 Broadway.²³ Previously, Richard Michell,²⁴ who was born in London, had attended St. Paul's College, Flushing, New York, a preparatory school that became the model for later Episcopal schools such as Groton.²⁵ Although he did not attend college, Richard Michell did continue his education in 1851 and 1852, when he visited Europe. During this trip, Richard Michell recorded observations of English cathedral construction, the business which he transacted for the office, and sketches of Italian architecture (Fig. 3).²⁶

Between 1846 and the time Upjohn retired in 1872, the firm was reorganized several times. In January 1851, Upjohn formed the first partnership, Upjohn & Co., with Richard Michell Upjohn, in order to acknowledge the young man's contribution when his father went to Europe between May and November 1850. In 1853, a new partnership, R. Upjohn & Co., with Charles Babcock (1829–1913),²⁷ was created. A graduate of Union

22. Minutes of the Building Committee, 1839–46, Trinity Church Archives, *passim*.

23. Day Book I, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; Upjohn, *Architect*, 105; no notation was made of payment or of hours worked as was done for other draftsmen. There are a few hiatuses in the records of his presence.

24. Besides Upjohn, *Architect*, the sources for Richard Michell Upjohn include obituaries in *The American Architect and Building News* 79 (14 March 1903): 81–82; *Inland Architect and News Record* 41 (March 1903): 13; T. Hamlin, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), 19: 126–27; the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1921), 2: 245; E. M. Upjohn, "A Brief Note on Richard Michell Upjohn. Together with a Tentative List of his Designs in Architecture" (ts. 1971), unpaginated, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, hereafter cited as "A Brief Note;" and D. P. Curry and P. D. Pierce, eds., *Monument: The Connecticut State Capitol* (Hartford, 1979), hereafter cited as *Monument*.

25. S. E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, 1973), 623–30. St. Paul's College should not be confused with its predecessor, the Flushing Institute. See J. McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools* (New York, 1970).

How long Richard Michell studied at St. Paul's College is not known, but by 1846, when he had begun to work for his father, his formal studies had ended.

26. Richard Michell Upjohn's exact itinerary can be determined from his passport, which contains stamped visas for England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Italian city-states; the passport is in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation; the journal in Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

27. Although R. Upjohn & Co. is the name used in the extant copies of the contracts, this partnership was referred to as R. Upjohn and Son by both the firm and its clients.

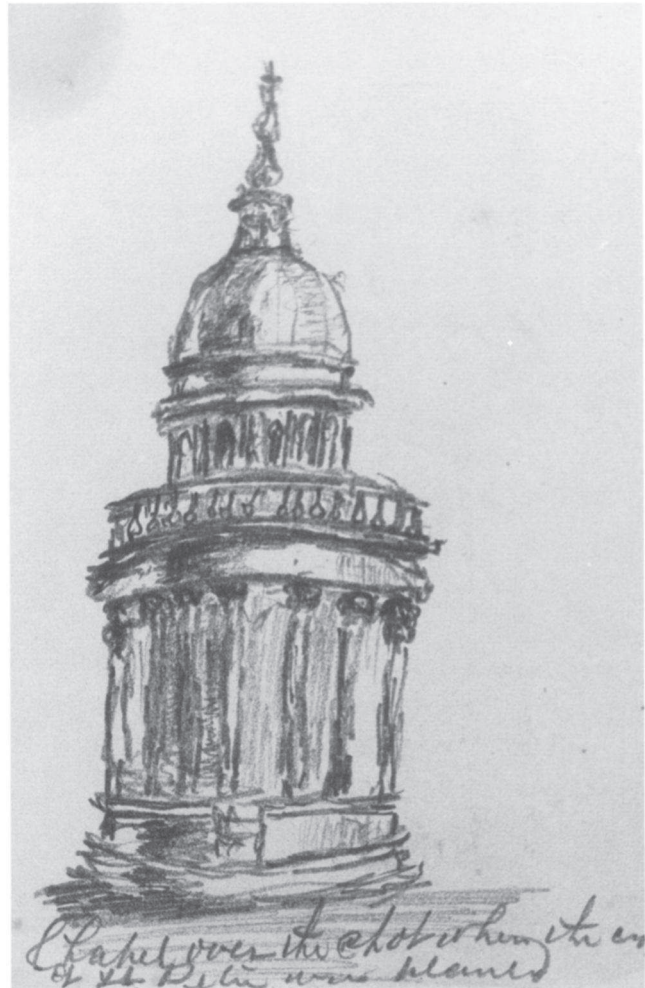


Fig. 3. Bramante. San Pietro in Montorio, Rome (1508–10); sketch by Richard Michell Upjohn, Italy (1851); inscribed "Chapel over the spot where the cross of St. Peter was placed." (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

College, Babcock had been part of the office since at least April 1850,²⁸ when payments to him,²⁹ as well as the addition of his initials to drawings dated 1850, establish his presence. Babcock's father was an Episcopalian priest, and the two families may have

28. The date that Babcock began work with Upjohn has been variously given. "Architectural Education in the United States, III. Cornell University," *American Architect and Building News* 24 (6 October 1888): 155, gives 1847 as the start of the association; E. S. Goodstein, "Charles Babcock: Architect, Educator, and Churchman" (M.A. Thesis, Cornell University, 1979), 45, hereafter cited as "Charles Babcock," proposes 1848; H. F. and E. R. Withey, *A Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (deceased)* (1956; repr. Los Angeles, 1970), 27–28, uses 1853.

29. There is little information available on Babcock; see G. W. Steege, "Charles Babcock," *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, ed. A. K. Placzek (New York, 1982), 1: 122; K. C. Parsons, "The Quad on the Hill: An Account of the First Buildings at Cornell," *JSAH* 22 (1963): 199–216, hereafter cited as "The Quad" Parsons, *The Cornell Campus* (Ithaca, 1968); M. Schuyler, "Architecture of American Colleges: Cornell University (1868)," *Architectural Record* 30 (1898): 565–73; and Goodstein, "Charles Babcock."



Fig. 4. Richard Upjohn. Trinity Building, New York City (1851–52); demolished. (Museum of the City of New York)

earlier had close ties.³⁰ Upjohn family history records that Rev. Babcock “made a personal appeal” for a place for his son in the office.³¹ Moreover, Charles Babcock is the only member of Upjohn’s office known to have boarded with his master, a practice customary in England.³² Babcock had married Upjohn’s eldest daughter Elizabeth only three months before becoming a junior partner.³³

In 1854, the office moved to the Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, which Upjohn had designed (Fig. 4). According to Everard Upjohn, during this period, Richard Michell left the office briefly to set up practice on his own. In 1858, another partnership, Richard Upjohn & Co., was formed with the

departure of Charles Babcock,³⁴ to establish that father and son shared profits.³⁵ In 1872, at his father’s retirement, Richard Michell took complete charge and maintained the practice after his father’s death in 1878, until his own in 1903.

A group portrait, formerly belonging to Everard Upjohn and probably from the mid-1860s, makes clear that the practice of architecture was truly a family matter (Fig. 5). Of the three figures looking at a church plan, the older man is certainly Richard Upjohn, while the younger is Richard Michell. The boy is probably Richard Russell Upjohn (b. 1859), who here represents the third generation, although only his brother, Hobart Upjohn (1876–1949), achieved a lasting reputation as an architect. Hobart Upjohn’s son, Everard (1903–79), was trained as an architect at Harvard, but taught history of art at Columbia University.³⁶ The dynasty which Richard Upjohn established in the United States continued up to World War II, as hardy as that of the English architect, Sir George Gilbert Scott.

30. Born in Manlius, New York, the same spring that the Upjohns arrived there, Babcock grew up in Ballston Spa, New York, where his father, the Rev. Deodatus Babcock (1790–1876), was the minister of Christ Church from 1824 to 1846. Or perhaps the families met when the Upjohns visited nearby Saratoga Springs, where Upjohn was hired by the Bethesda Church, at which the Rev. Babcock also served.

31. Anna Milo Upjohn, biographical sketch of Charles Babcock, faculty biographical files, Cornell University Manuscripts and Archives. Anna Milo Upjohn was Babcock’s niece.

32. See Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 52. Sir George Gilbert Scott must have boarded with the architect to whom he was apprenticed for four years, since Scott recorded using his master’s library in the evenings. See G. Gilbert Scott, ed., *Personal and Professional Recollections* (1897; repr. New York, 1977), 56.

33. S. Babcock, *The Babcock Genealogy* (New York, 1903), 244, hereafter cited as *Babcock Genealogy*.

34. Upjohn, *Architect*, 105, 174; each time the firm reorganized, articles of copartnership were drawn up; New York Public Library, Division of Rare Books and Manuscripts, contains those dated 1850, 1 January 1853, and September 1858.

35. This fact contradicts Everard Upjohn’s claim that it was not until 1864 that Richard Michell became a full partner, when the firm was reconstituted as R. and R. M. Upjohn.

36. I am grateful to the late Mrs. Everard Upjohn for this and other recollections of her husband and his family.

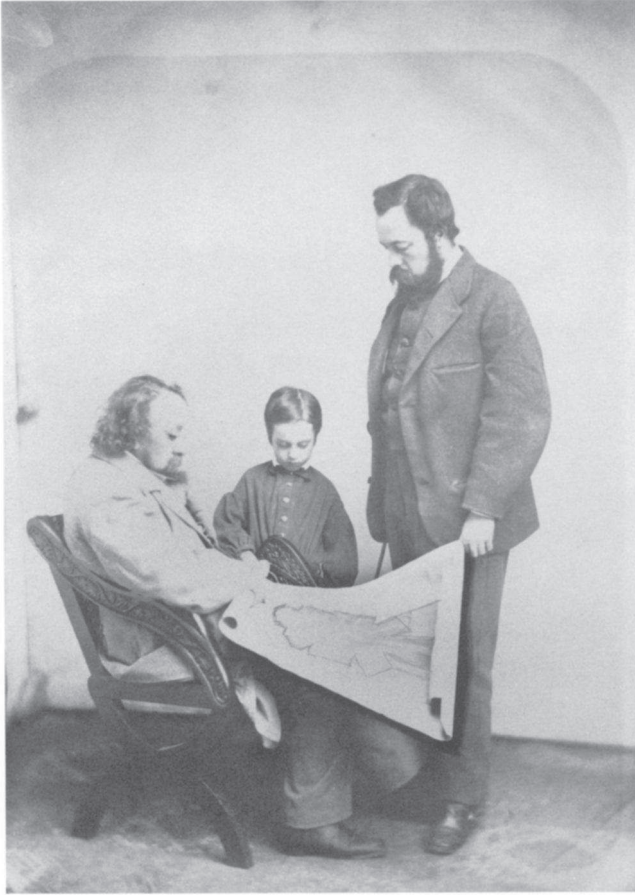


Fig. 5. Anonymous. Portrait of Richard Upjohn, Richard Russell Upjohn (?), and Richard Michell Upjohn (probably mid-1860s); albumen print. Richard Russell Upjohn (b. 1859), the eldest son of Richard Michell, was the only family member who would have been this age after the Civil War, when this photograph was taken. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; formerly Everard M. Upjohn collection)

With a family business, Richard Upjohn could present a united front in the office and with clients. Richard Michell and Charles Babcock commanded authority in supervising members of the office and builders, as well as consulting with clients. That Upjohn's office was a family business is also a reminder of the antebellum architect's proximity to the traditional building world of crafts and trade.

Office practice and the contributions of the junior partners

From 1846 to 1851, Upjohn was solely in charge and usually signed the drawings. This reflected office practice, rather than authorship, since several drawings for St. Paul's, Buffalo, were signed by Upjohn, but initialed "CB," suggesting that Charles Babcock had made a significant contribution to the drawing (Fig. 6). Also, Richard Michell, as we shall see, began to make some simple designs and, along with Thomas Jackson, the business manager, assisted with supervision and project development. After 1851 and the first partnership, few drawings signed by

either junior partner occur; until the late 1850s, signatures are always that of the firm.

Correspondence shows that by the time of the 1853 partnership, when production was at its height, the three principals increasingly collaborated. The junior partners appear to have contributed to design development, completion of the drawings and on-site supervision. Nonetheless, until the late 1850s, Richard Upjohn retained at least some control over designs of all building types and even actively solicited commissions for houses from prestigious individuals. Sometimes, he had special reasons to gratify a client with a small project or with his attention in hopes of gaining a larger commission. Collaboration notwithstanding, in correspondence with clients, Upjohn is portrayed as giving assiduous attention, even to alterations.

Certainly Richard Upjohn was the key figure in the public mind. Correspondence was usually addressed to Upjohn senior or to the firm. In one instance, when Richard Michell was sent in place of his father, the client directed an angry letter to the office, demanding the services of the architect he had hired, Richard Upjohn, the elder.³⁷ This happened often enough to rouse the young partner's ire, and family history maintains that once, when a gentleman asked to see Mr. Upjohn, Richard Michell answered, "I am Mr. Upjohn." The gentleman replied that he wanted to see the elder Upjohn, to which the young architect replied, "Have a chair—if you sit there long enough I will be old enough."³⁸

Exactly what role did the junior partners play? From his first years in Upjohn's office, Charles Babcock had responsibility for developing ideas in rendered drawings. One scholar states that Babcock made the plates for *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, the pattern book of ecclesiastical architecture published by Upjohn.³⁹ In addition, he had a significant role in on-site supervision during the 1850s. This would have allowed Upjohn not only to concentrate on church design in the office, but freed him from the rigors of travel, especially important from 1853 on, when he was intermittently ill.⁴⁰

During this time, Babcock seems to have made an independent reputation. Between 1853 and 1858, clients repeatedly addressed

37. John A. Perry, Albany, NY, 23 December 1853, asking for Richard Upjohn.

38. E. M. Upjohn, "A Brief Note," unpaginated.

39. K. C. Parsons, "Remarks at the Dedication of a Portrait Sculpture Bust of Professor Charles Babcock, Sage Chapel, June 9, 1972." This statement may derive from Babcock's grandnephew, Charles T. Upjohn, whose recollections are cited in these remarks.

40. Nonetheless, Richard Upjohn kept up an active schedule. In 1856, he wrote from his house in Garrison, New York to the firm, "I left Columbus Tuesday afternoon of this week—attended to the church at Buffalo on Thursday morning. At 9 a.m. returned to Niagara—worked there 'till 4 P.M. yesterday. Started for N.Y. arrived here at 8 a.m. this morning—came through without stopping. Particulars on Tuesday morning when I hope to be down & will go to Providence on the evening same day. Write to them and say I will be at Pr— on Wednesday morning— (17 May 1856)."

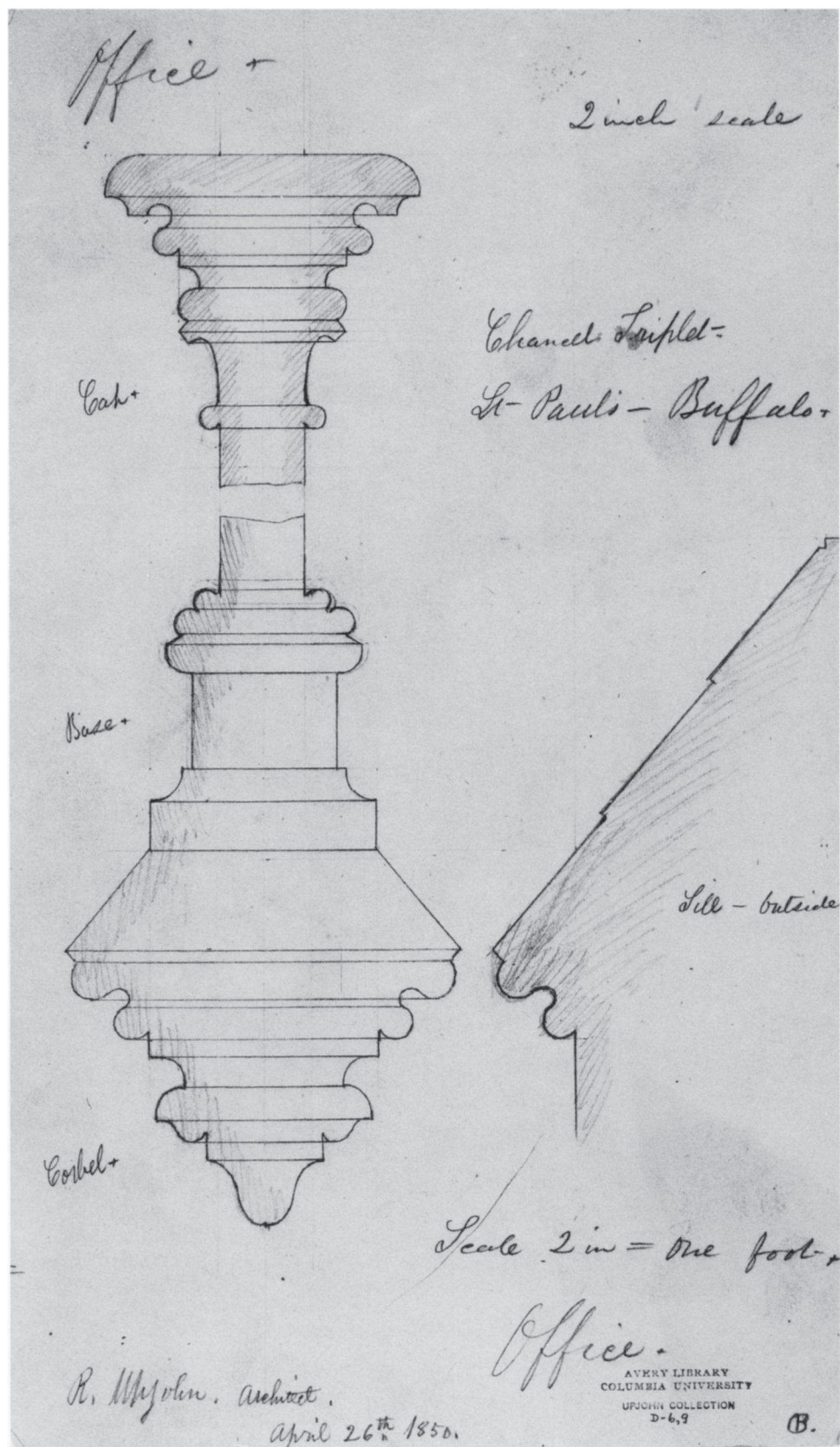


Fig. 6. Richard Upjohn. St. Paul's, Buffalo, New York (1850-52); Chancel triplet, initialed on lower right "CB" by Charles Babcock. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

Babcock directly for assistance.⁴¹ His unexecuted designs for St. Paul's Rectory, Troy, New York (1854); his work for William Moore, Phillipstown, New York (1854–55); and individual drawings for several commissions with his initials or signature, testify to the likelihood that his work included specific commissions as well as supervision.

As for Richard Michell, Everard Upjohn concluded that Richard Michell was little more than an office boy prior to 1850.⁴² Yet were this true, he would not have been left in charge when his father went to Europe. Surely, Richard Michell worked in the office even earlier than 1846; wanting to groom his son for the future, Richard Upjohn introduced the boy to architectural principles and practices at a young age.

As early as 1848, Richard Michell went to Taunton, Massachusetts to develop the preliminary design for the ill-fated Taunton Hotel, submitted and rejected in 1850.⁴³ Though only twenty years old, Richard Michell was knowledgeable, and as the son of the architect may have been a more convincing representative than the business manager, Thomas Jackson.

Everard Upjohn also believed that later, Richard Michell was given some responsibility, but for “only some of the small and less important commissions, and very probably even these were done under fairly strict supervision.”⁴⁴ In contrast, Richard Michell claimed authorship of numerous buildings from the 1840s and 1850s in two lists which he compiled.⁴⁵ Many of these buildings were simple and unambitious; wooden churches, stables, schoolhouses, and residences could easily have been the work of a junior partner.

Other evidence substantiates Richard Michell's claim to an early role in the office's design. Drawings for the alterations of the family's house in Garrison, New York, 1852 (Fig. 7), bear his signature. Richard Michell's notes in the back of his copy of *Village and Farm Cottages* state his intention to publish his own pattern book.

From an experience of many years in a large and sound practice it has occurred to the writer that it would be well for him [to give] a few examples of buildings constructed from his plans—both of an Ecclesiastic and Domestic nature, of the latter particularly, to do away with the notion which seems to be prevalent, that we do nothing else than churches—whereas the writer has constructed alone more than

41. J. Lawrence Smith, New York, 5 August 1853, asking Babcock to work on the Smithtown, Long Island Church.

42. Upjohn, *Architect*, 105.

43. Richard Michell Upjohn, Taunton, Massachusetts, 30 April 1848: “Dear Father Time, along with my help tends to develop the plans of the Hotel I was told the other day that your Town Hall case was brought before Court and that the town will take up the case. . . .”

44. Upjohn, *Architect*, 105.

45. The first list is at the back of the office Plan Book, 1 July 1846–20 April 1854. The second is the “Journal and Notebook: Richard Michell Upjohn.” Both are at Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; E. Upjohn, in “Richard Michell Upjohn” referred to them as “List” and “Memo” respectively. The lists are consolidated and published in Curry and Pierce, *Monument*, 99–104.

* houses, while the firm and senior partner in his living existence was the premier [?] of domestic as well as ecclesiastic Architecture.⁴⁶

*about 500 [crossed out] upwards of 200

The accompanying descriptions of four houses designed in the office beginning in the mid-1850s,⁴⁷ strongly suggest that Richard Michell chose houses he knew well and had designed.

The chief assistants

Thomas R. Jackson (1826–1901) was Upjohn's first business manager. Working for Upjohn from around 1841 until the early 1850s, when he went into business as an architect and contractor, Jackson also supervised construction.⁴⁸ English by origin, Jackson was listed as chief draftsman in the day book begun in July 1846; it was he who made entries in these day books concerning what each draftsman was working on and for how many hours. As Upjohn's right-hand man, he was responsible for office business: ordering materials; preparing specifications; supervising builders; mollifying clients; paying and even approving bills. Of the six extant letters exchanged between Upjohn and Jackson, only one reveals his role as draftsman.⁴⁹ During Upjohn's absence, Jackson was often left in charge of the office. Jackson's name disappears from the office accounts dated after 1850.

By September 1853, Jackson had used his experience to go into business on his own. Correspondence between Upjohn and Jackson reveals that in the mid-1850s, Jackson specialized in cast iron architectural elements and that Upjohn then called on his services, showing that Jackson remained within the wider circle of those who assisted the firm. An Upjohn drawing for a verandah for the firm's John Stoddard house, Brattleboro, Vermont, for example, bears the inscription, “T. R. Jackson & Co have estimated upon this & will furnish it for \$135.”

Jackson's successor was James A. Cowing (d. 1890), who, the office correspondence suggests, had been a builder active in Brooklyn in the 1840s. Cowing joined the office in the early 1850s and may have remained until his retirement or death.⁵⁰ He

46. Plan book, 6 July 1846–54, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, 167.

47. These are the J. C. Garthwaite and Henry G. Darcy houses in Newark, NJ (mid-1850s and 1859–60 respectively); the Arthur M. Eastman house, Manchester, New Hampshire (1856); and the Ninian Pinckney house in Easton, Maryland (1860–62).

48. For Jackson, see D. S. Francis, *Architects in Practice in New York City, 1840–1900* (New York, 1980), 43, hereafter cited as *Architects in Practice*; *The American Architect and Building News* 71 (16 February 1901): 4950 (obituary); D. S. Waite, “Leonard Jerome Mansion,” *New York City Architecture: Selections from the Historic American Buildings Survey* 7 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, 1969): 1–16.

49. Thomas R. Jackson, New York, 9 July 1846, 7 and 11 August 1847; and Taunton, 25 August 1847 to Richard Upjohn; Richard Upjohn, Boston, 27 August 1847; and Richard Upjohn, New York, 28 August 1847 to Jackson.

50. Information on Cowing derives from correspondence between Fred A. Sweet, Art Institute of Chicago, 14 July 1961 and Everard



Fig. 7. Richard Michell Upjohn. Front elevation, alterations, Upjohn house, Garrison, New York (ca. 1852). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

served solely as clerk and office manager, responsible for correspondence, accounts, and general business matters. His role was thus more specialized than Jackson's and indicative of the increasing complexity of the practice as well as the participation of the junior partners. Although he received an expanding share of the profits during the 1850s, and although he was, in Everard Upjohn's words, a "near-partner," the fact that he was neither an architect nor a member of the family may have prevented his becoming a partner-in-law.⁵¹

Upjohn, New York City; in reply, the latter explained Cowing's position to Fred A. Sweet, 21 September 1961; Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

51. Upjohn, *Architect*, 105, suggested that his contacts were important for securing commissions, yet we know only one which he definitely procured for the firm, the Estes Howe Cowing house, Buffalo, New York, 1852, built for his younger brother, a successful grocer (E. W. Dunham, n.p., n.d., to Mr. Cowing, filed at the end of the 1846 correspondence in the Upjohn papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation).

Other assistants

Appendix 1 lists those who are known among the draftsmen, office boys, and students of Upjohn's office, their education and subsequent activities. Letters of application to the office, however, offer a view of what office apprenticeship could mean.

The profile of the applicants reveals the antebellum building world to be more complex than it first appears. Reflecting immigration patterns in the United States in the 1840s and 1850s, applicants were Irish, German, and even Cuban, as well as Anglo-American or English. Further, while many were only common school graduates, others had college degrees. Seeking guidance on how to become an architect, Clarence Cook, later the editor of the *New Path* and *Studio*, applied to Upjohn for a job, although it does not appear that he worked there:

It is part of my plan to enter the atelier of some architect already established: but what the conditions of entrance may be, if there are any; or whether any previous preparation, beyond what every college

graduate possesses, may be required I know nothing, and it is in order to learn just what you want, that I write.

I am at present teaching school in this village but intend to adopt architecture as my profession. I am a graduate of Harvard University, and nearly twenty-three years of age.⁵²

Finally, many applicants did not apply to learn how to draw, rather they stressed that they already had drawing skills and often some experience drafting. Henry G. Isaacs is recorded to have attended classes at the National Academy of Design, presumably for drawing instruction.⁵³ Other applicants had already been employed in surveying or engineering, while still others had worked as builders and were eager to advance their reputations and qualifications.

Clearly, Upjohn's office was considered a good place to learn architecture. The applicants reiterate the belief that working for Upjohn would enable them to become accomplished draftsmen and even architects. A letter written from Ovid, New York reflects more than the earnest flattery of a job applicant:

Being desirous of learning the science of Architectural Draughting, &c. and having heard that you have a school for teaching such an art, I concluded to take the liberty of addressing you a few lines, to ascertain some particulars in regard to such a course. . . .

I am a carpenter by trade but my health has not allowed me to follow it for over two years, during which time I have been as [*sic*] school fitting myself for such a course as I propose. I have paid my whole attention to mathematics & at present I am studying Mechanics (Analytically), industrial Drawing (Mahans), Shades, Shadows & Perspective, Descriptive & Analytical Geometry & Trigonometry But here let me stop for fear I promise too much.⁵⁴

Upjohn considered only some assistants students in the strict sense. He distinguished between draftsmen, office assistants, and students, as his advertisement of 1851 shows:

Wanted—An Architect wants a good draughtsman, and a lad 16 to 18 years old who write a good hand, as office assistant; also two young men as students. For terms apply in hand writing of applicants. . . .⁵⁵

Students, like apprentices, had to pay for the privilege of working for Upjohn, but the fees could be paid off if they worked for the full term. A draft of one of Upjohn's contracts shows that

he was a demanding taskmaster and that drawing was an essential part of his students' work (Appendix 2). Fathers were responsible for their sons, and students who did not complete their apprenticeship were penalized financially. Yet written into the contract is a clear statement that Upjohn was responsible for giving the student varied tasks and, hence, an education.

What program students followed is hard to say. Perhaps, like George Basevi in Soane's office, they were required to draw interiors or details of buildings *in situ* or measure materials for works in progress.⁵⁶ That there was an *esprit de corps* is evident from the drawings done in the office during Richard Upjohn's trip abroad in 1850, in which flourishes were added to the normally standardized architectural script of the drawings.

The role of the architect and the office

An important lesson for members of Upjohn's office was his view that the architect should be a man of honor and integrity, able to stand up for the client, the builder, and the profession. His ideas may be traced to two sources. One was Sir William Chambers, who was seen in the nineteenth century as the authority for the definition of the role of the architect⁵⁷ and who maintained an intellectual tradition of architecture as "contributing at the same time to the preservation, the amusement, and the grandeur of the human species"⁵⁸ in which the architect bears great responsibility. The other source, the Ecclesiologists, gave these views a religious cast. Although both Chambers and the Ecclesiologists contributed to the formation of Upjohn's beliefs, his experience with Ecclesiology was key and the easiest to define.

With their admiration for the medieval past, the Ecclesiologists, like Pugin, promoted a view of architecture as a high calling, and of the architect as a man of God:

[H]e is one who will undertake the sacred task in a right and reverent [*sic*] spirit; . . . he will hold everything subservient to the great object in view.

Above all, if you intend to build churches, dismiss every mercenary or selfish thought, be content to labour as in GOD'S service without care for your personal fame, . . .⁵⁹

56. This is consistent with the experience of George Basevi, who was asked to draw the orders as a preliminary to acceptance in Sir John Soane's office; see A. T. Bolton, *Architectural Education A Century Ago*, vol. 12 in *Publications of the Soane Museum* (London, 1926).

57. *The Dictionary of Architecture*, s.v. "Architect," regarded Chambers' *Treatise on Civil Architecture* as a definitive guide for the profession. "Vitruvius, Milizia, and Sir William Chambers are the chief authorities to be consulted on the character and studies of the architect; the remarks of the last named writer in particular are deserving of attention, as the most judicious and practical that have appeared, while they are applicable in every respect to the present time."

58. Sir William Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* (London, 1759), preface, p. i.

59. "On Competition Amongst Architects," *The Ecclesiologist* 1 (April 1842): 83.

52. C. Cook, Tarrytown, New York, 3 August 1851. Cook (1828–1900), the author of *The House Beautiful* (1878), was the editor of *The Studio* from 1884 to 1892 and is said to have studied architecture in Newburgh, NY, after graduating from Harvard in 1849; see A. Johnson and D. Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), 4: 371.

53. *Proceedings of the AIA* 29 (1895): 151.

54. J. S. Morris, Ovid Academy, Ovid, Seneca County, New York, 18 March 1854.

55. A letter from J. B. Da Cameron, no place, 10 March 1851, contains a clipping of the office's classified advertisement.

Upjohn's annotated copies of *The Ecclesiologist* reflect how important religion was in the culture of the office; it had a lasting impact on those in the office. Richard Michell Upjohn, Charles Babcock, and Edward Tuckerman Potter (1831–1904), all made reputations as church architects. Writing to invite Upjohn to the dedication of a church in Schenectady, New York,⁶⁰ Potter testified to how closely intertwined were the lessons in architecture and the lessons in religion gained from his association with the master:

I also wish to acknowledge how much I feel I owe you, not only for the instruction secured [?] when pursuing my studies in your office, but also for the noble example which you have shown of what an Architect should be—above all other qualities I admire the feeling which pervades your works—I never pass Dr. Potts church without stopping to enjoy its beautiful spire & the religious sentiment expressed in the whole building & I never leave it without acknowledging that he truly must have been a good man who designed it & that his work has made me better . . . I . . . turn . . . into Trinity & I never enter its sober interior without being reminded that I am in the home of good . . . —what is this . . . preacher who yet speaks and with like power from the immaculate tower? It is genius—that great divine gift, without which all learning & all the cleverness, in the world cannot make a great Architect when I think of the things I tremble—lest I should have mistaken my calling. . . .⁶¹

Not surprisingly, given the religious climate of Upjohn's office, Potter equated the work of the architect with the work of the preacher, able to affect the faith of the beholder through stone and form. Employing nineteenth-century ideas of architecture as language, Potter's tribute is a powerful statement of the architect as a medium for transmitting moral values.

The reality of patronage in antebellum America prevented Upjohn from having an exclusively ecclesiastical practice; he could not afford to devote all his attention to church architecture.⁶² Residential architecture, for example, was a large part of the practice,⁶³ as Richard Michell's words have already demonstrated and office records confirm. Furthermore, not every church could receive equal consideration, nor could designs be given *gratis* to struggling parishes.⁶⁴

Thus the office produced alterations, designs for speculation, and other simple structures. Because Ecclesiology stressed the

architect's salient role in building the church and its institutions, Upjohn can only have regarded work for the Protestant Episcopal Church as the highest in the hierarchy of building types and his particular domain as the older, more experienced architect and patriarch.

As a result, Richard Michell Upjohn, Charles Babcock, and other talented individuals such as Leopold Eidlitz, may have had considerable impact on certain houses, churches, tombstones, alterations, and relatively formulaic designs, such as stables, rectories, and speculative housing. Lacking elaborate decoration or structural complexity, these buildings made ideal proving pieces for the less experienced. Without a mentor, Richard Upjohn had done this sort of work for New Bedford and Boston builders.

Besides written descriptions of the ideal architect, Upjohn's role in the formation of the AIA provided his students with a model of the role of the architect in practice. Initially a revival of the short-lived American Institution of Architects begun in the 1830s, the AIA first met as a local society in Upjohn's office in 1857 and was established as a national organization in 1867.⁶⁵ Members of his office knew its origins first-hand. They witnessed Upjohn's battles over the architect's right to the ownership of drawings and to fair and sufficient recompense for whatever design produced whether built or not.⁶⁶ Besides published correspondence showing Upjohn's advocacy of architects' rights, his office papers contain examples of his determination to stand fast on matters of professional principle, such as fees and proper conduct.

Upjohn was a businessman whose practice had to produce profits to support both his family and his office. Again and again, the office correspondence reveals his business acumen; his campaign for the professionalization of the architect was not simply a question of idealism, but a means by which the architect could both produce the best buildings and secure his reputation and livelihood under the circumstances of practice in the United States.

The architectural drawing and the office

The large number of drawings surviving from the office demonstrates the size and complexity of the practice.⁶⁷ Though the Upjohn family retained ownership of many of the firm's drawings until they donated the first group to the Avery Architectural Library in the early 1940s, this by no means insured the

60. Unspecified by Potter, the church must have been the First Dutch Reformed Church (1862–63).

61. Edward T. Potter, Schenectady, NY, 2 August [1863?]; on verso of another letter dated 1 July 1863.

62. Upjohn's refusal to build for the Unitarians on the grounds of religious conviction has often made him seem rigid and tactless; for the debate, see Upjohn, *Architect*, 81–86.

63. The churches listed in Upjohn, *Architect*, 197–225, number over 100; not included in this number are alterations, projects, or works attributed to Richard Michell before 1872; due to works not easily traced but identified in the office papers, the actual number is far higher.

64. The New York Ecclesiologists did not endorse architects' giving their designs to poor parishes; see W. A. McVicker, Morristown, New Jersey, 24 November 1851, to Upjohn.

65. Upjohn, *Architect*, chap. 8.

66. Upjohn's belief in the architect's legal ownership of drawings is also well known through the publication of the transcript of the *Hunt versus Parmalee* trial, in which Upjohn testified that architects, like lawyers, were paid for their ideas and that their drawings were the physical manifestation of those ideas which they had the right to protect. Excerpts are reprinted in L. Roth, *America Builds: Source Documents in American Architecture and Planning* (New York, 1983), 216–31.

67. In addition to approximately 1,700 drawings at Avery, there is a smaller, but significant, number in other public and private collections.

preservation of all the drawings. What remains is only a fraction of what the office produced.⁶⁸

Upjohn was always adamant that drawings be returned, but his clients were frequently careless about doing so. Preservation of drawings as a record of the firm's work was part of office practice. Once returned, drawings were glued into large albums, of which only one remains partly intact. That all drawings were so mounted is evident from the ubiquitous remnants of adhesives and the album paper to which the drawings were glued and later cut off. The albums were used not only for storage, but to show prospective clients.⁶⁹

How were drawings produced in the Upjohn office? Upjohn began with a rough sketch, such as some of the ones for Italianate villas (Fig. 8), or St. Paul's, Buffalo (Fig. 9). Then he worked these up into developed drawings, such as the pencil details of St. Paul's (Fig. 10). From here, the draftsmen would have taken over and turned the sketches into the drawings necessary for presentation and for making estimates. Once the client had agreed to proceed with the building, Upjohn sent more detailed drawings: details, such as windows and doors, were usually drawn to half-inch or quarter-inch scale. Whereas three-eighths' scale was the standard size of presentation drawings, working drawings of the plan, elevation, and some details could be anywhere from half- to full-scale. The growing complexity of nineteenth-century practice necessitated the many working drawings which the plan book records. The need for precise instruction to execute artistic details required full-scale drawings, such as the newel post for John Hare Powel, Philadelphia (1851–53), (Fig. 11), or the full-size drawing for the Theodore Lyman house, Brookline (1842–46), used as a template to guide the carpenters. Suggesting that oral instruction supplemented drawings, Hobart Upjohn wrote:

Full-size details and special features were often laid out directly on the job. In one instance, Richard Upjohn used the floor of the barn as his drawing board.⁷⁰

Perspectives were not always included. Some were drawn in the initial stages of design, but many were made when the building was finished or near completion. Churches such as St. Paul's, Buffalo (Fig. 12),⁷¹ asked for perspectives to lithograph, in order to sell and raise money. Upjohn himself profited when he

68. Besides the fact that some drawings were retained by the client, many were the casualty of a flood. (Everard Upjohn, 1 April 1978, to William Jackson, Lindenwald, Kinderhook, New York; Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records, Library of Congress, Division of Prints and Photographs.)

69. Correspondence in the Maryland Historical Society between William Wyman of Baltimore and his brother-in-law, H. D. Aldrich of New York, and Isaac Cary in 1851–52, shows how guarded Upjohn was about showing his drawings when clients called.

70. "Architect and practice a century ago," *Architectural Record* 74 (November 1933): 378.

71. DeWitt Weed, Buffalo, New York, 21 February 1851, regarding the sale of lithographic perspectives.

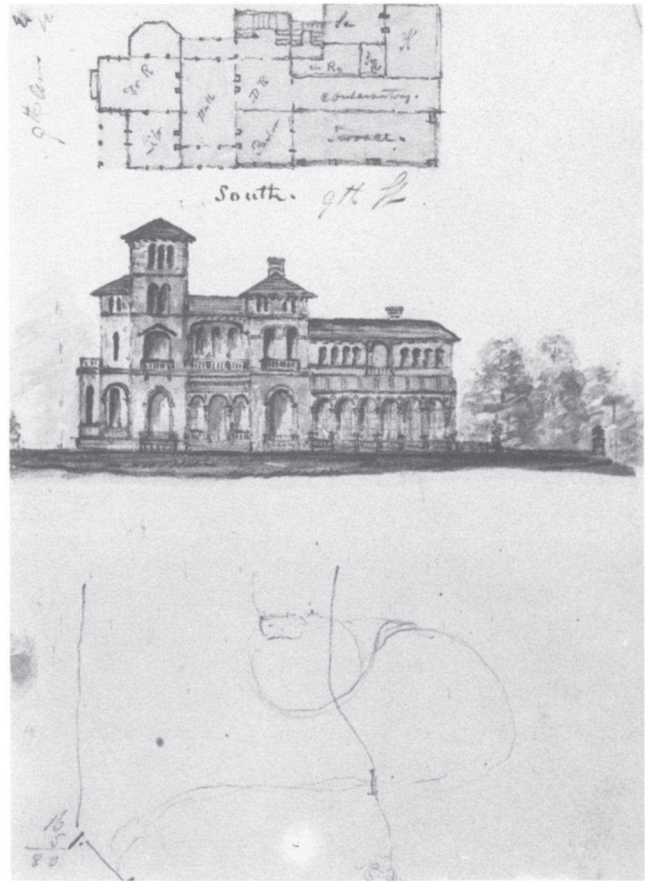


Fig. 8. Richard Upjohn. Preliminary sketch. Italianate villa (ca. 1850). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

arranged with Fanny Palmer, who made drawings and lithographs, to publish a view of Trinity Church.⁷² For the house client, perspectives could serve as a record of the commission and a house portrait; the popular press sought architectural perspectives for publication. Not a routine office job, many of the perspectives from the 1840s, for example, were drawn by Fanny Palmer and her husband.

As for what members of the office did, the two surviving day books record which draftsmen were working on which drawings and when. The day books show that no one draftsman worked consistently on a single set of drawings, suggesting in all probability that each draftsman had specialized functions. Perhaps the newest and weakest draftsmen were put to work copying drawings, and, if talented, went on to more complex tasks. The most accomplished may have done the presentation drawings and specific details, such as those to which Charles Babcock (Fig. 6) and Richard Michell added their initials. In a few cases, we can

72. F. S. Palmer, 55 Ludlow Street, New York, to Richard Upjohn: "I will publish the Drawing [a lithograph of Trinity Church] conjointly with you, furnishing you 100 impressions for your own separate use & benefit, charging you Twenty Dollars, you allowing me an equal share of the profits arising from the sale of any further number that may be issued after deducting the expenses of Printing & paper. . . ."

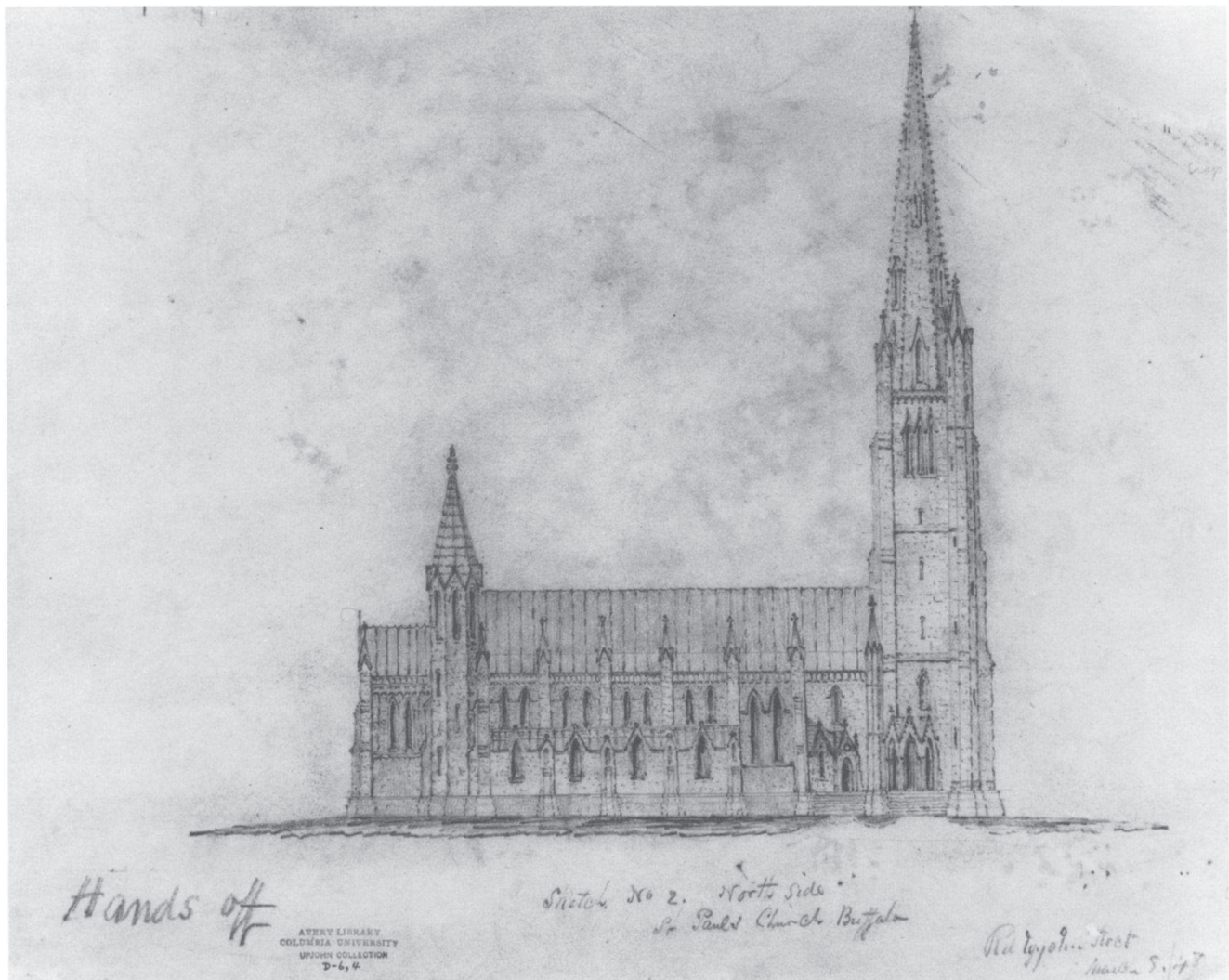


Fig. 9. Richard Upjohn. Sketch, St. Paul's, Buffalo, New York (1850–52). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

associate a drawing with a draftsman, as for example the drawings for the Taunton Town Hall, made by Stephen Lawton.⁷³ Upjohn's corpus of drawings is highly standardized; changes in handwriting are hard to identify, because the office wrote a conventionalized architectural script.

Stylistic analysis provides no key to what draftsmen did, as changes in style are broad and provide more clues to dating than to authorship. During the 1830s, the drawings were delicate in size, line, and color. By the mid-1840s, the renderings were octavo in size and by the 1850s, not only was the image larger, but sheets of folio and larger sizes were used, often with multiple images. The elevations of the 1830s show Upjohn using color to

distinguish materials; by the early 1840s he used a color code for plans as well.

Upjohn and his office also indicated materials, surface texture, and details through a finely-controlled pencil, an unusual technique, however, in the final renderings. In the late-1850s, concomitant with a stylistic change to the Victorian Gothic, and perhaps under the influence of John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843–60), greater emphasis appears on pen and outline at the expense of color. Showing how quickly the office embraced changes in technique and style, the office used tracing paper as well as polychromy at an early date.

Close observation of the drawings provides evidence to suggest how the draftsmen proceeded in producing the plans and elevations. First someone ruled the support, usually on Whatman's paper, to enclose a field on which the image could be located. Additional lines were ruled in and later erased to locate the drawing, as if ruling in an imaginary base line or grid. The elevation or plan was then drawn in pencil, using a straight edge

73. Richard Upjohn had been asked to make plans for the town hall at Taunton in the mid-1840s. His plans were not used, and in order to obtain his fee for making the drawings, Upjohn was forced to sue. As part of the defense, his lawyers requested that Mr. Stephen Lawton testify "concerning making the plans" (Morton and Bennett, Taunton, 15 April 1850).

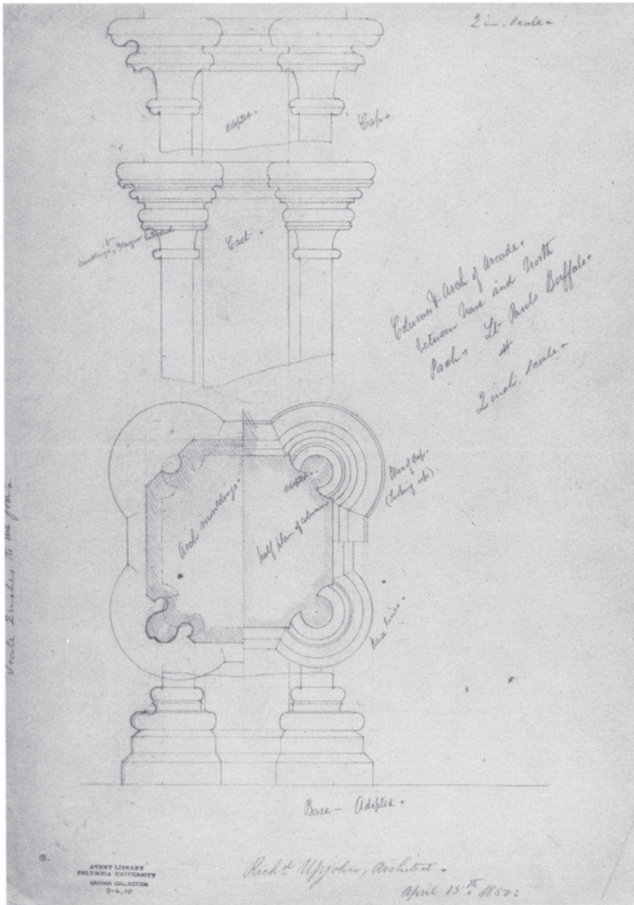


Fig. 10. Richard Upjohn. Pencil details, St. Paul's, Buffalo, New York (1850–52). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

and a compass. Circular or octagonal projections from the plan were calculated in terms of triangles within squares. Next, colored wash was added. Finally, the pencil lines and the wash, where it had bled onto the lines, were covered with thicker lines of ink. Undoubtedly at this point, labels and dimensions were added; on some drawings these were written first in pencil and later in ink.

Once complete, the office delivered the drawings to the client. Sometimes the client or the contractor fetched them. Builders might also be asked to deliver them. One of the partners might take them to the site if travelling that way. At other times, delivery services shipped the drawings.⁷⁴ On some drawings, fold marks

74. There were several of these services, which had offices on Wall Street and operated between New York and various ports of call on the eastern seaboard. *Doggett's Directory of New York City* (1844–46), 413, listed four expresses: Adams & Co., at 7 Wall Street, which served Worcester, Norwich, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh and "Foreign;" Beecher Benjamin, Jr. at 7 Wall, which served New Haven and Hartford; Gorton's, also at 7 Wall, ran between Stonington, Providence, Newport, and Fall River; and Hamden & Co., at 3 Wall, which Upjohn used frequently to ship drawings along the east coast.

show that a client might mail Upjohn a single sheet with written comments.

Frequently, drawings were presented to the client bound in a small set. On 27 October 1852, I. H. Birch returned "the book of plans of the house" in Chicago. The drawings for Harvard College Chapel of 1846 are an example of such a set which retains its original binding and cover. A similar cover for drawings of the Litchfield house project exists with holes in several drawings that correspond to those in the cover (Fig. 13).⁷⁵

Because few preliminary sketches exist, little sense of the design development is revealed in the drawings. Many of Upjohn's ideas derived from books, and the *parti* of each building relied on established prototypes which were changed slightly. Thus the design process as the creative invention that was a lesser aspect of Upjohn's practice than we require today; conformity to precedent was the essence of historicist architecture such as Upjohn's.⁷⁶ In the case of churches, the elements of the plan, narthex, nave, and chancel were essentially set and bound by regular walls. In the case of houses, Upjohn relied on explorations of the center hall plan. Furthermore, the Anglo-American building world respected solid construction as much as innovation.

Upjohn's consistently fine interior spaces must have been the result of proportions used empirically without reference to drawings, since the extant archives represent mostly plans and exterior elevations. Height was given through numerical dimensions written on the drawings, in correspondence, or orally; sections, such as one for a staircase for John Hare Powel's house in Philadelphia (1851–53), in the Library Company of Philadelphia, are few.

The library

Books have been a means for scholars to establish how architects learned from each other. However, the number of architectural books available in pre-Civil War America was limited in comparison to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although builders' guides were readily available, expensive for-

75. Richard Michell's drawings for the State Capitol, Hartford, Connecticut, are also still mounted in the albums which he used in presentation. The albums are preserved in the Connecticut State Archives. I am grateful to Herbert Mitchell, formerly rare books librarian, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, for discussing with me the books of drawings which architects made for use in their office.

76. Furthermore, the Anglo-American building world required the architect to understand solid construction along with art. *The Dictionary of Architecture*, s. v. "Architect," stated: "However graceful and artistic the designs which the architect may produce, he is at best a mere draughtsman, unless he possesses the practical knowledge necessary to enable him to carry them into effect; while the builder, who may have ability and experience sufficient to erect an ordinary building planned by himself, cannot with any propriety assume the title of architect unless he also exhibit taste, invention, and a thorough acquaintance with the style he may have adopted."

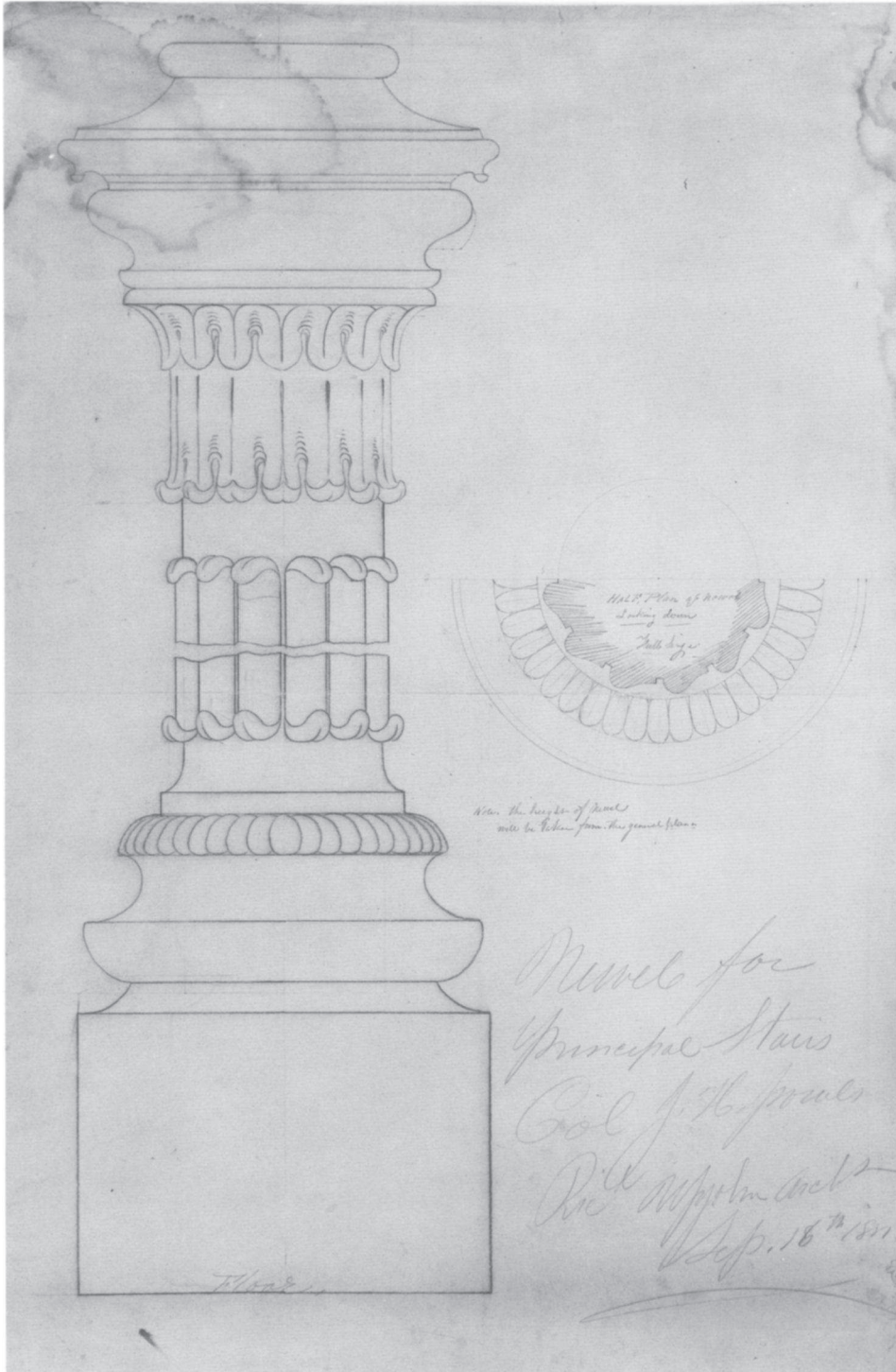


Fig. 11. Richard Upjohn. Detail, newel post, John Hare Powel house, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1851–53); demolished; drawing dated 16 September 1851 and signed “Ricd Upjohn archts.” (Library Company of Philadelphia)

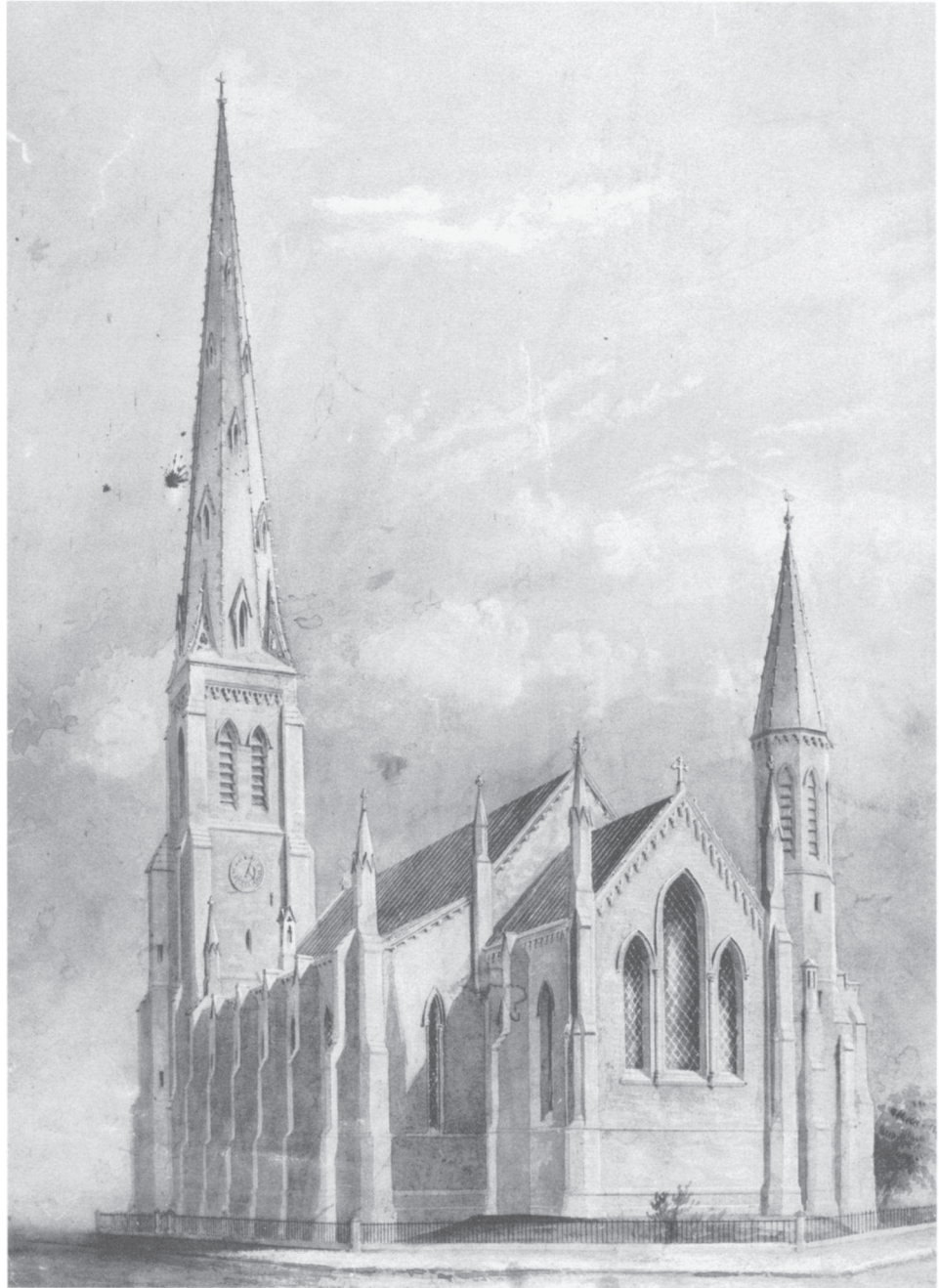
eign publications were fewer; the heyday of architectural book publishing in the United States did not begin until the 1850s, and architectural journals were few until the *American Architect and Building News* began publication in 1876.

Books of all kinds were in such demand that libraries were consistently one of the major services of educational organizations such as the Mechanics' Institutes. Upjohn was actively involved in developing the AIA's library, specifically to educate

younger members of the profession. In 1907, writing about the dark ages of architecture in the 1850s and 1860s, George Champlin Mason lamented:

The literature of architecture . . . consisted principally of such work of the great European masters of past centuries as they were able to obtain with the limited means at their disposal; a few builders' and architects' companions, and the dictionaries of architecture notably

Fig. 12. Richard Upjohn. Perspective, St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, New York (1850–52). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)



that of Nicholson, together with a few such works as that of Lavey; works of value it is true, but with little inspiration for the student.⁷⁷

Mason's complaint to the contrary, Upjohn owned a large collection of books, many of which were kept in his office. Appendix 3 reconstructs Upjohn's library, through the books Everard Upjohn donated to the Avery Library and through references in the office papers.

Most of the books were English publications, although he owned some Continental books. Most striking is the English translation from 1693 of volume one of Palladio's *Four Books of*

Architecture, the volume which stresses construction. Inscribed "Richard Upjohn Esq: with the High regards of H[?] J. W. May 1846," the book may have been to thank Upjohn for his work at Trinity Church, New York. Since Trinity Church was dedicated the same month, the very point when Upjohn saw his Gothic Revival architecture widely recognized, the gift emphatically demonstrates the vitality of Palladio's reputation.

The few examples of American publications in the office are revealing. Besides Charles Davies' *Treatise on Shades* (1832), useful during Upjohn's early years and later for instruction, Frank Wills', *Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1850), would have derived from Upjohn's and Wills' association with the *New York Ecclesiol-*

77. Mason, *Architects and Their Environment*, 11.

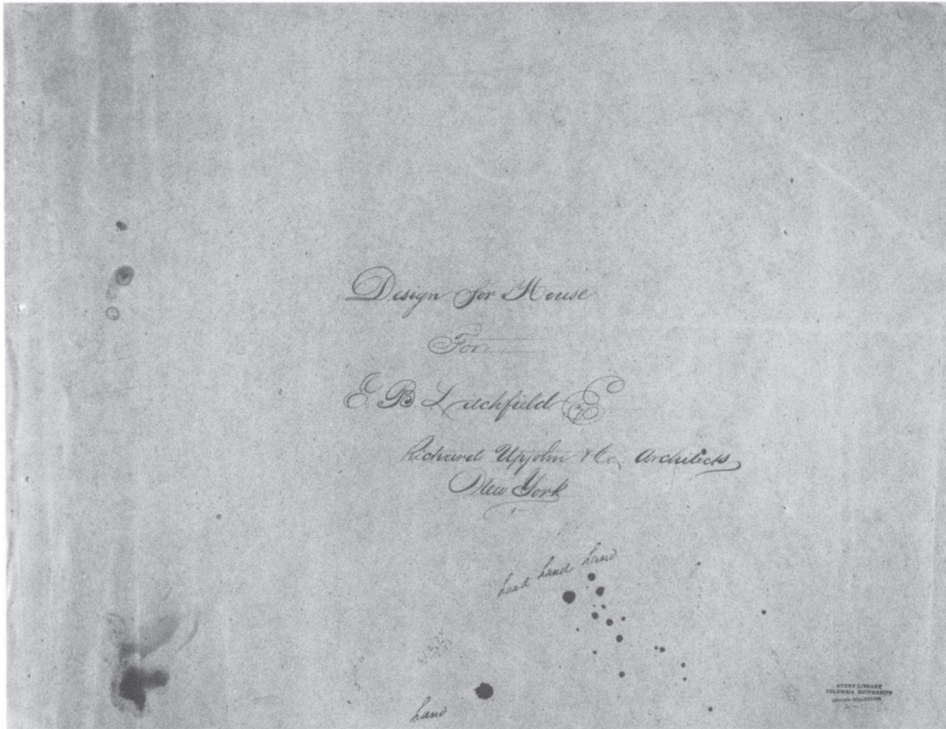


Fig. 13. Upjohn office. Cover, set of drawings for E. B. Litchfield house, Brooklyn, New York (1852–55); project only; drawings signed “Rich.d Upjohn & Co., Archts / Trinity Building, N.Y.” and undated. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

ogist. Robert G. Hatfield’s *The American House Carpenter* (1857), must have been there due to Hatfield’s connection with the AIA. Even among the books listed in the inventory of Hobart Upjohn’s office taken in 1942,⁷⁸ which represent a cumulative collection, there are very few American architectural books from the early-nineteenth century. This list also shows that whereas the majority of Upjohn’s books published before the Civil War were English, the number of Continental publications which Richard Michell owned increased dramatically, perhaps reflecting his youthful European travels. The fact that Richard Upjohn’s books were English reflects choice, not availability; before the Civil War, booksellers, such as Garrigue and Christern, wrote that they could obtain French and German books on demand, because they imported “regularly by every steamer.”⁷⁹

Finally, there were relatively few books on residential architecture except for the books by Hatfield, Richardson, and Loudon.⁸⁰ Other books on domestic architecture confirm the nature of the young partners’ work. Richard Michell owned both Henry Roberts’ *Dwellings of the Labouring Classes* (1850), and *Village and*

Farm Cottages (1856) by Henry Cleaveland, Samuel Backus, and William Backus. Roberts illustrated single-family, semi-detached, and boarding houses for workers in a manner sympathetic to the austere style of the Upjohn office; this book recalls Richard Michell’s attention to domestic architecture through the many small sketches which he drew next to the illustrations. Since Cleaveland, and possibly one of the Backus brothers, worked for the firm, the authors’ inscription of *Village and Farm Cottages* to Richard Michell demonstrates their mutual concerns.

The authors also express what the office meant to its members:

For ourselves, we may be pardoned if we add, that these opinions of the comparative merits of Greek and Gothic, are by no means new. They were formed in the school of Upjohn, years before the “Seven Lamps” and the “Stones of Venice” fell like bombs into the camps of Classical and Renaissance architecture,—and reflection and experience have but confirmed our faith.⁸¹

In arguing for correct stylistic choices, *Village and Farm Cottages* shows that in yet another instance the office inculcated the idea that the form of architecture had a strong moral impact on those who viewed it and that this impact could be found in residential as well as ecclesiastical architecture.

78. Everard M. Upjohn papers, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; a separate cabinet of books was reserved for Richard Michell Upjohn’s books.

79. Garrigue and Christern, New York, 19 January 1853.

80. The 1853 edition of Downing’s *Architecture of Country Houses*, which Everard Upjohn donated along with the other books, was not his great-grandfather’s. Inscriptions in the book show that it was the personal property of Charles Babcock, given to him by his client, William Moore, subsequently acquired by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, who presumably gave it to Everard Upjohn.

81. H. W. Cleaveland, W. Backus, S. D. Backus, *Village and Farm Cottages* (1856; repr. Watkins Glen, NY, 1976), 65; on the connections between the ideas in this book and the Upjohn office, see J. S. Hull, “Theory Without Text: the Case of Richard Upjohn,” paper presented at the annual meeting of The Society of Architectural Historians, Cincinnati, April 1991.

The legacy

The legacy of the School of Upjohn is seen in the accomplishments of those who worked in the office. They contributed to American architecture in the 1850s, 60s, 70s, 80s, and beyond. Most obvious in continuing the master's ideas are the two partners. Although well known for the Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford (1872–80), (Fig. 14), Richard Michell Upjohn (Fig. 15) suffers by comparison with many late-nineteenth-century American architects. Cast in the mold of architectural practice of his father's era and committed to Ecclesiology, he inherited the patronage of the Episcopal church. Yet his Italian sketches demonstrate his interest in classicism and, reflecting the internationalism of Victorian Gothic, his stylistic repertoire was more international than his father's. His library of European architectural publications suggests that he probably understood many issues of secular architecture.

Like his father, Richard Michell was interested in technical matters: in 1872 he patented a combined girder and railroad track.⁸² Although his office was not as large as his father's, Richard Michell Upjohn still trained young architects, including his sons, Hobart Brown Upjohn, Charles Babcock Upjohn, Edwin P. Upjohn,⁸³ and other aspirants such as Solon S. Beman (1853–1914), the architect of Pullman, Illinois, and Cyrus L. W. Eidlitz (1853–1921).⁸⁴ According to Talbot Hamlin, by 1895, Richard Michell had completely retired from practice.⁸⁵ He was sixty-seven years old, dispirited, and, it appears, in need of money.

The career of Charles Babcock (Fig. 16) was more varied than Richard Michell's. After leaving Upjohn's office in 1858, he was active as an Episcopal priest, an architect, and an educator.⁸⁶ In 1871, Babcock was appointed professor of architecture at Cornell. There he organized an architectural curriculum, designed buildings for the new campus, and served as rector of St. Paul's Chapel,

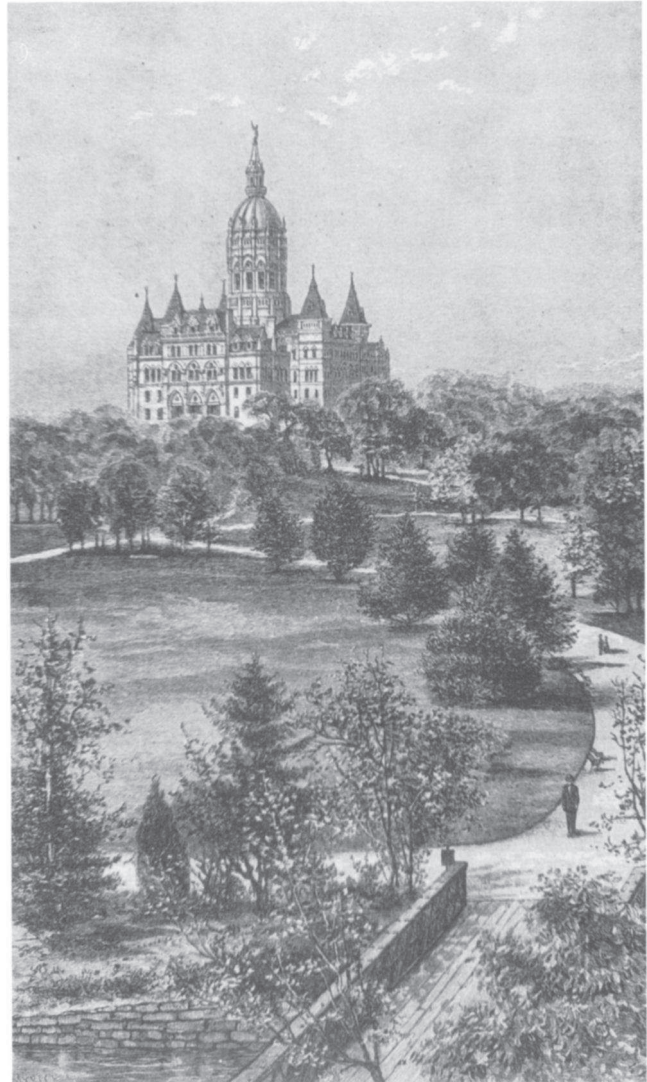


Fig. 14. Richard Michell Upjohn. Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford, CT. (1872–80). (J. Hammond Trumbull, ed., *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut* [Boston, 1886], 445)

82. "Specifications describing Combination Girder and Railway track, invented by Richard M. Upjohn, of the city, county, and state of New York;" Patent no. 124, 521, 12 March 1872.

83. According to Francis, *Architects in Practice*, 77, these three sons had offices at the Trinity Building, 111 Broadway: Richard Russell Upjohn between 1881 and 1885; Edwin Parry Upjohn between 1889 and 1890; and Charles Babcock Upjohn between 1890 and 1895. Richard Russell Upjohn became an Episcopalian priest; Edwin Parry Upjohn (b. 1859) was a draughtsman who founded the *Limner*; and Charles Babcock Upjohn (1866–1951) was a ceramicist who taught for many years at Teacher's College, Columbia University; see F. L. Redpath, "A String in the Fabric: The Story of the Upjohn Family" (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1939); and E. Upjohn, "A Brief Note," *passim*.

84. *Inland Architect and News Record* 41 (March 1903): 13.

85. T. F. Hamlin. "Richard Michell Upjohn," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1948), 19: 126–27.

86. In 1862, he was given the charge of the parish of the Greenwood Iron Works at Arden, New York, and in 1864 was ordained a minister by Bishop Horatio Potter; Goodstein, "Charles Babcock," 64–67.

Babcock seems to have been busy, for between 1858 and 1862, he is also said to have been a math instructor nearby at St. Stephen's College, today Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson. (Richard Gummere, Jr., no place, 20 December 1969, to Scott Sebastian, Ithaca, New York; Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University).

Ithaca until 1892.⁸⁷ Babcock's different roles speak of the variety of experiences which formed his education and of the limited opportunities for practice. Above all, his experience tells us of the still uncertain nature of the architectural profession which drew on Ecclesiology for the definition of its goals and relied on the building of churches for glory and houses for cash.

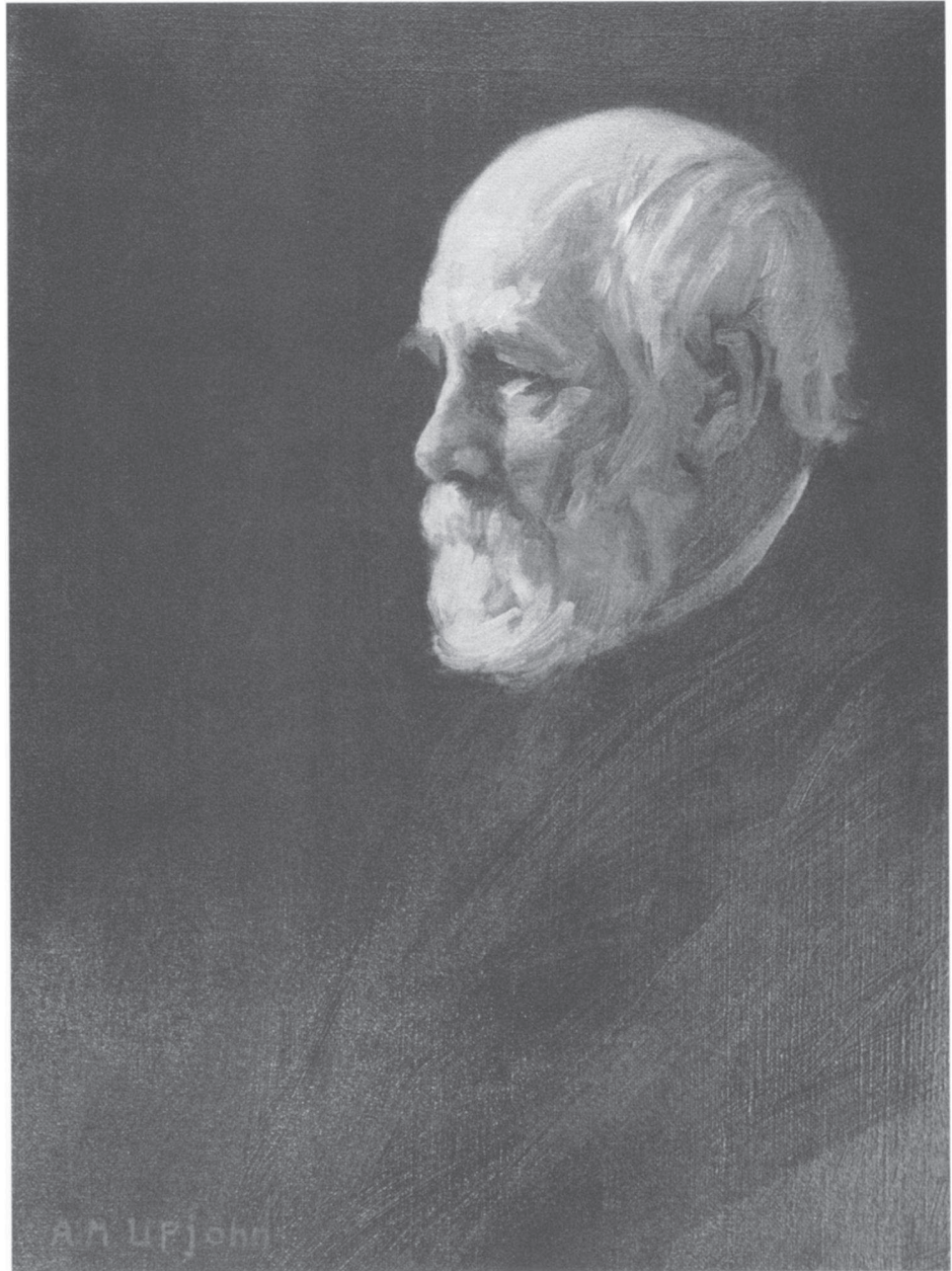
Most of Upjohn's pupils who are remembered today had some higher education—Charles Babcock, B.A., M.A. Union College; Henry Cleaveland, B.A. Bowdoin College; Leopold Eidlitz, Vienna Polytechnic Institute; and Edward Tuckerman Potter, B.A., Union College. This suggests that class and the education which accompanied it became important in defining the mid-nineteenth-century architect. Many original members of the

87. A. N. Marquis, ed., *Who's Who in America 1912–13* (Chicago, 1912–13), 72.



Fig. 15. Anonymous. Portrait of Richard Michell Upjohn, late 1800s. (Archives of the American Institute of Architects)

Fig. 16. Anna Milo Upjohn. Charles Babcock (ca. 1900); oil on canvas. (College of Architecture, Art, and Urban Planning, Cornell University)



American Institute of Architects—including Edward C. Gardiner, John W. Priest, and William Backus, who disappear early from the AIA records, also worked for Upjohn. Upjohn's students themselves trained others. Nathan S. Ricker (1843–1924), first dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Illinois, worked in the Chicago office of one of the least-known members of Upjohn's school, John W. Roberts.⁸⁸

88. "Architectural Education in the United States. II. The University of Illinois," *American Architect and Building News* 24 (1 September 1888): 99: "During 1872 Professor Ricker studied in the office of J. W. Roberts, architect, in Chicago, a pupil of Mr. Richard Upjohn, and in the fall of the same year assumed charge of the Architectural Department at the University."

In light of the reputations of architects trained in the methods of the *École des Beaux Arts*, the contribution of Upjohn's firm to American architecture may seem small, even small-minded with its emphasis on sound construction. Yet Upjohn's office represents a highly developed example of nineteenth-century office practice. After all, the School of Upjohn offered a training far more systematic than the kind of *ad hoc* architectural experience that either Upjohn himself, as a cabinetmaker's apprentice, or his peers had had. As we have seen, the chance to imitate good models, to improve skills in drawing, and the presence of a library were embedded within the structure of the office. These were, in fact, key features of English educational organizations such as the

Royal Society, the Royal Academy of Art, and even popular educational organizations such as the Mechanics' Institutes.⁸⁹

Ultimately, the same kind of program animated the attempts of the AIA to educate aspiring architects by providing rooms for lectures, architectural models, and a members' library.⁹⁰ Within this campaign, Upjohn was dedicated to upholding the tradition of the architect trained by practice. Although the architectural school came to prevail, this result was not the simple, inevitable synthesis of conservative versus progressive forces within the AIA. Rather, discussions of architectural education drew on many experiences. Contemporary methods of training were actively discussed:

The present system of acquiring a knowledge of the art of architecture is deplorably bad. . . . A youth in training rarely learns more than drawing and construction from his master; all that appertains to the principles of the art, all that can influence his taste, all his knowledge of the history and styles of architecture, he must obtain through study in his leisure hours and that without guidance or direction. With naturally an acute mind, he will triumph over difficulties, but the result is too apt to be a taste bound by a formalism which he can never shake off.⁹¹

Charles Babcock's assessment might appear as a thinly-veiled public criticism of his father-in-law's practice, perhaps even an explanation for his departure from the office that year, 1858. Yet no other evidence of discord exists. Moreover, in stressing the need for training in drawing, construction, and architectural history, Babcock drew on the pattern of his own experience.

The architectural curriculum which Babcock devised for Cornell in many respects derived from the training he received in Upjohn's office. Instruction in design was minimized,⁹² in part because Babcock was not convinced that it could be taught,⁹³ in part because practical skills were considered most valuable for

graduates of a land grant college, and because:

The object of a course in architecture should be . . . not merely . . . to develop the artistic powers of the student, but to lay that foundation of knowledge without which there can be no true art'. Architecture is a fine art, based upon a mechanical art. Before the architect can become a true artist he must be master of the art of building. He need not be, ordinarily he cannot be a mason or a carpenter, or a stonemason. But he must know how to design good masonry and good carpentry, and be able to pass judgment upon completed work.⁹⁴

Babcock's lectures on the history of architecture were a significant part of his work at Cornell.⁹⁵ To illustrate his lectures, Babcock used photographs, prints, lantern slides, and models, particularly structural models. The care which Babcock took with these lectures suggest that another dimension to Babcock's experience in Upjohn's office was understanding architectural history, necessary to design the eclectic styles of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ Positivistic in approach, dedicated to categorizing architecture by style, which Babcock believed was determined by the nature of roof construction, Babcock believed that the Gothic represented the greatest period of architectural innovation. He taught religious symbolism and made clear that for him, architectural ideas, religion, and ethics were inextricable.⁹⁷ Far from being in conflict with Richard Upjohn on these matters, Babcock filled his lectures with so much ecclesiological dogma that the students complained.⁹⁸

The emphasis on construction in Upjohn's office, which comes through so strongly in the correspondence and in Babcock's approach to architectural education, was by no means simply the result of provincialism. Familiar through training and experience with the building world, Upjohn, his colleagues, and their clientele, demanded durable buildings. Putting architecture on a more professional footing required architects to evaluate the

89. N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951); and T. Kelly, *George Birkbeck* (Liverpool, 1957), chap. 4, 56–75. Kelly (66) states that "of organized education . . . for mechanics, the earliest institutions of the kind of which we have record was the Spitalfields Mathematical Society, a mutual improvement society of weavers and other manual workers formed in 1717 for the study of mathematics and experimental science."

90. For the AIA, see H.H. Saylor, *The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years* (*Journal of the American Institute of Architects* [May 1957], pt. 2).

91. Quoted in H. B. Upjohn, "The American Institute of Architects: The Early Years," ts., Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, 60.

92. Comprising building, mathematics, mechanics, sciences, drawing, and the history of architectural styles, the Cornell curriculum in its early years can be reconstructed through the papers of Charles Babcock at Cornell University, the archives of the Department of Architecture, as well as two publications, "Architectural Education in the United States. III. Cornell University," *American Architect and Building News* 24 (6 October 1888): 155–57; and Charles Babcock, "A Course of Instruction in Architecture," paper read to the Eighth General Conference of Architects in *The Builder* 52 (7 May 1887): supplement, 695–96, hereafter cited as "A Course of Instruction."

93. Babcock wrote: "as to designing, there are those who question whether it is possible to teach it. It is often considered as one of the things the power to excel in which is a special gift, the prerogative of genius. Doubtless there are men who will become good designers without training in a school; and there are some whom no amount of training will make skilful; but the average student can be taught the elements of the art in such a way as to develop his latent power. I have been astonished at the progress made by some of the bright young fellows under my charge;" Babcock, "A Course of Instruction," 696.

94. Babcock, "A Course of Instruction," 695. Babcock quoted from the *Cornell Register*.

95. Still preserved, his notes demonstrate that he had a sound knowledge of key monuments of architectural history and nineteenth-century books on the subject.

96. Certainly architectural history was part of what concerned articulated pupils in England. Organized in part as a supplement to apprenticeship, the Royal Academy lectures of Sir John Soane contained substantial amounts of history; see Sir John Soane, *Lectures on architecture*, ed. A. T. Bolton (London, 1929); and James Elmes, *Lectures on Architecture Comprising the History of Art from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1821; repr. New York, 1971).

97. Babcock, "A Course of Instruction," 695; and Charles Babcock, lecture notes, Cornell University archives.

98. See Goodstein, "Charles Babcock," 117–18.

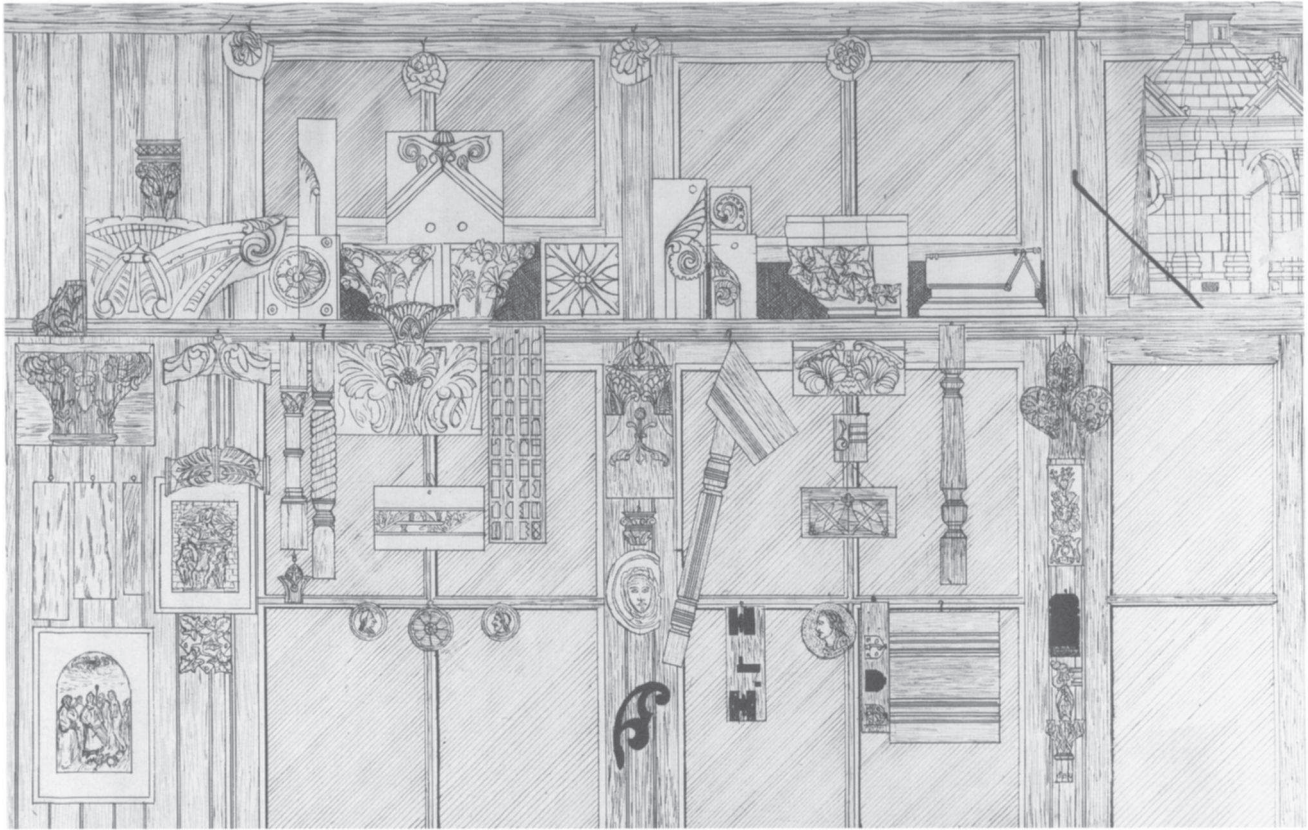


Fig. 17. Anonymous. View in Richard Michell Upjohn's office, probably by member of his office (late 1800s). (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

estimates, contracts, and performance of builders to the satisfaction of both client and builder. Theory reinforced practice, since sound construction and mastery of the crafts was expounded by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists and popularized by John Ruskin. The idea of structure as the basis of style, which found its quintessential expression in the writings of Viollet-le-Duc, not only explained why buildings appear as they do. Architects had to understand construction to understand style and theory.

Conclusion

Richard Morris Hunt (1827–95) is claimed to have founded the first architectural school, established in 1857 in New York City.⁹⁹ In his atelier, he had students who worked for him and who were given design problems to study. Students also had access to his library and collection of art objects and were exhorted to draw and sketch. Many testified enthusiastically to the impact of Hunt's atelier on their careers, its *esprit de corps*, and the emphasis on the architect's professional standing.

We have already seen that Richard Upjohn offered experience with architecture and building, books, a familial spirit, as well as dedication to the profession and its future to his students. Graduates of both offices remained in contact later in their life.

Art objects even had a place in Upjohn's office, judging from a drawing of the office made later in the nineteenth century (Fig. 17), which includes architectural fragments, portrait busts, painting, as well as a reproduction of Rude's "La Marseillaise." Thus, Upjohn, too, created an architectural school, albeit representing a tradition quite different from that of Hunt. Whereas Hunt received a gentleman's education and absorbed the precepts of the French École des Beaux Arts, Upjohn was schooled in the trades and hard knocks of the Anglo-American building world. The contrast with Hunt's secular, cosmopolitan approach, with design and sketching derived from an established curriculum, makes it especially difficult for the late-twentieth century to see beyond the quaint, religious orientation of Upjohn's office; his naïve perspectives seem an unworthy antecedent for today's architectural schools. Yet what appears as naïve should not obscure similarities between Upjohn's and Hunt's curricula, nor the fact that Upjohn began his school considerably earlier than Hunt, and in a era when religion and the arts remained intertwined. What a later generation of architects regarded as the dark ages of architecture, has remained dark only because its institutions are unfamiliar and often misunderstood.¹⁰⁰

99. Although there has been discussion of possible earlier architectural schools; see L. Hall, "First Architectural School? No! But . . .," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 14 (August 1950), 79–82.

100. See M. F. Schmertz, "The Apprenticeship System: Should It Make a Comeback?" *Architectural Record* 175 (November 1987): 9; letters in response, *Architectural Record* 176 (February 1988): 4.

APPENDIX 1

Members of Richard Upjohn's office including persons simply listed in the office

This list augments information contained in the text by presenting documented members of Richard Upjohn's office, their places of birth, previous education, and subsequent career, to the extent this information is available. The list is compiled from manuscripts in the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, specifically from Upjohn's Boston account book of the 1830s, the day books of 1846–47, and of 1851–53, which list some of the draftsmen, students, and office boys who worked in the office. Additional data is available in the ledger book of 1846–53, although after 1850, payments to draftsmen are no longer recorded individually, but under "office expenses." Information on membership in the American Institute of Architects derives from "Founders of the American Institute of Architects," *Proceedings of the American Institute of Architects* 30 (1896). Bibliographic citations for those included in the *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects* or in footnotes to this text are not repeated.

ANDREWS, HENRY P. born Saratoga Springs or Ballston Spa, NY; probably some training in civil engineering; listed first in office records 19 February 1852; still there when the account book closed July 1852; no known subsequent career.

BABCOCK, CHARLES (1829–1911) born Ballston Spa, NY; B.A., M.A. Union College, 1847; in office as early as 1847; left in 1858; architect, clergyman, first head of architecture department at Cornell University; charter member, AIA. Works: Sage Hall (1874); and Sage Chapel (1881), Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

BACKUS listed once in office records in June 1850; William Backus and Samuel D. Backus were architects in partnership with Henry W. Cleaveland in Manhattan; joint authors with Henry Cleaveland of *Village and Farm Cottages* (1856); William Backus was involved with framing the constitution and by-laws of the AIA in 1857 and was listed as a member of the AIA in 1858, but never qualified as a full member (information on the Backus' practice derives from Francis, *Architects in Practice*, 13, 21).

BEMAN, SOLON SPENCER (1853–1914) born Brooklyn, New York; although Beman is properly cited as one of Richard Michell's students, he entered the office in 1870, two years before Richard Upjohn retired, and remained until 1877; practiced architecture in Chicago. Works: Pullman Industrial Park and Town, Chicago, Illinois (1879–84); Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Illinois (1886).

BLACKENBURG listed in office records between 25 August and 15 November 1851.

BRADFORD, GEORGE born in Fair Haven or New Bedford, MA; listed in office records 5 February to 26 June 1852.

BROCKLESBY, WILLIAM C. (1848–1910) graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, 1869; then worked for Upjohn for several years; established office in Hartford, 1876; did extensive work for Smith College, Northampton, MA. (See D. Ranson, "Biographical Dictionary of Hartford Architects," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 54 [Winter/Spring 1989]:1 25–27).

BRYANT, GRIDLEY J. F. (1816–1899) born Boston; educated in the building trades; recorded in Account Book I, *passim*; subsequent career as an architect and contractor in Boston. Work include: Boston City Hall (1861–65).

CLEAVELAND, HENRY WILLIAM (1827–1919) B.A. Bowdoin College; first listed when independent office records opened 1 July 1846, suggesting that he worked at Trinity Church and continued to 30 June 1847; joint author of *Village and Farm Cottages* (1856); subsequent career as an architect and writer; active in San Francisco from 1859; charter member, AIA. Works: John Bidwell Mansion (1865); and the Bidwell Memorial Presbyterian Church (1870), (destroyed), Chico, California.

CLINTON, CHARLES W. (1838–1910) first appears in office records, 31 May 1847 and continues through July 1852; subsequently an architect in New York City; in partnership with Edward T. Potter and later with William Hamilton Russell; joined the AIA in 1864. Works include: Seventh Regiment Armory Building, New York City (1877–79).

COLEN listed between 3 November 1851 and 2 December 1851; listed again between 9 and 21 February 1852.

COWING, JAMES A. (d. 1890) born Connecticut; first appears in office records 4 June 1851; career as Upjohn office manager.

DALTON listed between 19 November and 22 December 1851.

DARRICOT, WILLIAM born Boston (?); listed in Account Book I, *passim*.

EIDLITZ, LEOPOLD (1823–1908) born Prague; studied to be a land steward at the Vienna Polytechnic; Montgomery Schuyler recorded Upjohn association as beginning in 1843; subsequently important architect and writer; in partnership with Charles Blesch, 1845–52; charter member AIA. Works: St. George's, New York (1846–48); the Assembly Stair, Senate Corridor and the Assembly Chamber, New York State Capitol, Albany, New York (1875–85), in collaboration with Richardson and Olmsted.

GARDINER, EDWARD listed in office accounts between 5 June 1851 and 3 April 1852; charter member AIA.

GOLDER listed between 5 June 1851 and 18 October 1851.

HATHORNE, GEORGE (d. 1889) born Springfield, MA; joined the AIA in 1864; architectural career mostly in Springfield, MA.

HEYLIN, E. listed in office records between 27 January 1847 and 3 February 1847.

ISAACS, HENRY G. (1835–95) born Philadelphia; educated at Trinity School with honors; listed in office records between 3 June 1851 and 13 March 1852; practiced architecture in St. Louis, Missouri; joined the AIA in 1861.

JACKSON, THOMAS R. (1826–1901) born England; arrived New York City, 1831; worked with Upjohn at Trinity Church; listed when independent office records begin 1 July 1846; after 1850 active as an architect and contractor. Works: Leonard Jerome Mansion, New York City (1859), (demolished); served as superintendent of federal buildings in New York (obituary in *American Architect* 74 [10 February 1901]: 49).

KUTTS, J. listed in office records 31 March 1847; gone by August 1847.

LADD, S. J. listed when independent office records opened on 1 July 1846, suggesting that he worked at Trinity Church, and continued through 1 May 1847; immigrated to England in 1847.

LAWTON, STEPHEN first listed when independent office records opened on 1 July 1846, suggesting that he worked at Trinity Church; still there when the account book closed in 1852; subsequent career as an architect in New York City.

LEVRY (or LEURY, or LEVY), WILLIAM listed in office records between 23 February 1847 and 20 April 1847.

LIPPETT listed in office records in 14 June 1852; still there July 1852 when account book closed.

MORSE, ALPHEUS CAREY, JR. (1818–93) born Boston; listed in Account Book I, *passim*; subsequent career as architect and contractor in Providence, Rhode Island; charter member AIA. Works: Thomas F. Hoppin house (ca. 1852–55); Sayles Memorial Hall, Brown University, Providence, RI (1878–79); (see Jordy and Monkhouse, *Buildings on Paper*, 120–29, 225).

NELSON, JAMES born Boston (?) listed in Account Book I, *passim*.

PALMER, HENRY born New York City (?); listed in office records between 15 and 22 December 1851; again in 1853; seems to have had almost a family connection with the Upjohns; possibly the son of Fanny Palmer.

POTTER, EDWARD TUCKERMAN (1831–1904) born Schenectady, New York; B.A. Union College, 1853; in office beginning 1853 for about two years; subsequent career as important architect; joined AIA 1864. Works: Nott Memorial, Union College (1858–59, 1871–78); and First Dutch Reformed Church (1861–63), Schenectady, NY.

PRIEST, JOHN WELLER (1825–59) B.A. with honors, Washington College (now Trinity College), Hartford, Connecticut; articles in *New York Eccelesiologist* on architecture and aesthetics; listed in office records on 12 June 1847; architect in Brooklyn between 1849 and 1853; in Manhattan

between 1854 and 1859; charter member AIA. (See P. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840–1865* [Baltimore, 1968], 187, 193–207, 298–301).

ROACH, JOHN (d. 1853) listed in office records beginning on 5 June 1851; still there when the account book closed in July 1852; left due to illness, July 1853.

ROBERTS, JOHN W. listed in office records on 5 June 1851; still there when the account book closed in July 1852; partnership with E. T. Potter, New York City between 1855–56; subsequently practiced architecture in Chicago; joined the AIA in 1873.

THOM, JAMES listed in the Trinity Church accounts; appears again in August 1850; office correspondence shows that he was a highly-regarded stonemason.

UPJOHN, RICHARD MICHELL (1828–1903); born in England; attended an Episcopal preparatory school, St. Paul's College, Flushing, New York; first listed when independent office records opened on 1 July 1846; subsequent career as an important architect; charter member of the AIA. Works: Central Congregational Church, Boston (1865–68); Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford (1872–78).

APPENDIX 2

Contract for a student in Upjohn's office

(Upjohn papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation; this is a handwritten copy of what appears to be a standardized form.)

New York 1 April 1851, NY, Messrs Upjohn & Co Gent In reference to the arrangements contemplated between us for the purpose of placing my son John W/H/N with you for three years to do such work as you may require of [see draft] & as is usually done in an architect's office, I hereby agree that he shall commence to morrow & remain with you in your office for three years from the time he shall commence without pay or compensation from you, his position to be that of a student learning the practical part of your business. Should he leave during the first six months I hereby bind myself to pay to you on the date of his leaving the sum of Two hundred dollars (\$200) your fee for instructing him for that time. Should he leave during the second six months during the second six months [these last five words crossed out] I hereby bind myself to pay to you on the date of his leaving Three hundred fifty dollars (\$350) your fee for instructing him for one year. Should he leave during the third six months, I hereby bind myself to pay to you on the date of his leaving Four

hundred & fifty dollars (\$450) your fee for instructing him for eighteen months. Should he leave during the fourth six months, I hereby bind myself to pay to you on the date of his leaving five hundred dollars (\$500) your fee for instructing him two years. Should he leave during the third year I hereby bind myself to pay to you on the date of his leaving such portion of Five hundred dollars (\$500) as shall not be cancelled by his serving for the time he shall be in your employ during such third year it being understood that for his services that year you are to allow \$500 & apply the same in payment of your fee for the first two years instructing him. It is understood that I am to keep him supplied with a good set of instruments & T squares & that he is to be at your office for three years during your usual business hours & perform such work as he shall be required to do, to the best of his ability but during the three years to have such variety of work & instruction as shall give him an opportunity to acquire a practical knowledge of the profession by performing work in all its various branches I hereby promise, agree, & bind myself on my part to perform faithfully what it is contemplated I should perform by the annexed agreement.

APPENDIX 3

Upjohn's library

The following is based on two lists in the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University: the *List of Books given to the Avery Library by Professor Everard Upjohn . . . Formerly in the possession of Hobart Upjohn and including books from the Libraries of Richard and Richard Michell Upjohn*, June 1952, bound with the "Inventory of the Upjohn collection," cited hereafter as "List," and the "Appraisal . . . of June 30, 1970, of Various Books and Research Materials, the Gift of Prof. Everard M. Upjohn to the Avery Architectural Library. . .," cited hereafter as "Appraisal." My examination of the volumes at Avery led to more precise notations regarding inscription than the inventories provide; books not included in the inventories but mentioned in the Upjohn papers or discovered in Avery Library are also included.

Barrett, B., *Gothic Ornaments* (London, 1851?), "List."

Boutell, Rev. Charles, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854), "List."

Britton, John, *Chronological History . . . of Christian Architecture* (London, 1826), Appraisal; inscribed "Richd Upjohn 1835/Richd Upjohn/New York/RM Upjohn [sic]."

Carter, John, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture and Ancient Buildings in England*, 4 vols. (London, 1839), "List," vol. 1 inscribed "R. Upjohn" and "RM Upjohn;" vol. 2, 3, "RM Upjohn" signed over "Rd Upjohn;" vol. 4, "RM Upjohn" signed twice.

Carter, John, *The Ancient Architecture of England, including the orders . . .* (London, 1837); inscribed "RM Upjohn."

Chevreul, M. E., *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours*, English translation (London, 1855), "List;" inscribed "R. Upjohn & Co. NYork."

Cleaveland, Henry W., William Backus, and Samuel D. Backus, *Village and Farm Cottages* (New York, 1856), "Appraisal"; inscribed "Richard M. Upjohn Esq from the authors."

Davies, Charles, *Treatise on Shades and Shadows and Linear Perspective* (New York, 1832), "List."

A Description of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury (London, 1774), inscribed "Rich'd Upjohn/New York/1850 // Ballston/Spa Institute/Richd Upjohn // Richd Upjohn/Ballston Spa/Institute // Salisbury June 27th/50."

Dollman, Francis T., *Examples of Ancient Pulpits Existing in England* (London, 1849), "List." Hobart Upjohn bookplate.

Downing, Andrew Jackson, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1853), "Appraisal;" inscribed "Charles Babcock"/"from Wm Moore Esq./March 13th 1854." Henry-Russell Hitchcock bookplate.

Ecclesologist, vols. 1–3 (1841–43) "List;" vol. 3 inscribed "Rich'd Upjohn."

Ferguson, James, *An Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art more especially with Reference to Architecture* (London, 1849), "List."

Ferrey, Benjamin, *Antiquities of the Priory of Christ-Church Hampshire*, 2nd ed. (London, 1841), "List." Hobart Upjohn bookplate.

Godwin, George, *The Churches of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1838–39), "Appraisal": recorded as "Rich. Upjohn's copy," both vols. signed "Rich'd Upjohn / New York."

Gwilt, Joseph, *A Treatise on the Equilibrium of Arches*, 3rd ed. (London, 1839), "List": recorded as "inscribed R. Upjohn"; inscribed "RM Upjohn // R Upjohn."

Hatfield, Robert G., *The American House Carpenter* (New York, 1857), "List" and "Appraisal"; "Richd Upjohn" signed on title page with the initial "M" inserted.

Hope, Thomas, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, 3rd ed. (London, 1840), "List": recorded as "inscribed Rich'd Upjohn;" vol. 1 inscribed "J.A. Upjohn L. I. // Richd Upjohn/Brooklyn/New York."

Kallenbach, Georg Gottfried, *Atlas zur Geschichte der Deutschmittelalterlichen Baukunst* (Munich, 1847), "List"; inscribed "R. Upjohn." Hobart Upjohn bookplate.

Loudon, John Claudius, *The Architectural Magazine*, vols. 2 (1835), and 3 (1836), "Appraisal"; vol. 2 signed "R. Upjohn" and "RM Upjohn 1893."

Moller's Memorial of German Gothic Architecture, Translated by W. H. Leeds (London, 1836), "List"; recorded as "inscribed R. Upjohn."

Müller, C. O., *Ancient Art and its Remains*, Translated by John Leitch (London, 1848); inscribed "RM Upjohn/1850 // RM Upjohn/1881."

Nicholson, Peter, *Carpenter's New Guide* (London, Philadelphia, 1830), "Appraisal": recorded as "Rich Upjohn's copy, 1833;" inscribed "Rich'd Upjohn 1833."

Notices of the Church of St. Mary and the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick (London, 1845), "List."

Paley, Frederick A., *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts* (London, 1844), "List"; inscribed "Presented to Chas. Babcock / by / Richd Upjohn / New York // Presented to Hobart B. Upjohn / by Chas Babcock / Novr 26th 1905." Hobart Upjohn bookplate.

Palladio, Andrea, *First Book of Architecture*, Translated from the Italian by LeMuet, from the French by Godfrey Richards (London, 1693), "Appraisal": recorded as "IMPERFECT COPY, long Upjohn family provenance;" inscribed "Richard Upjohn, Esq:/With the high regards of ? J. W., May 1846 // "RM Upjohn/1850."

Parker, John Henry, *Companion to the Third Edition of a Glossary of Terms Used in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1841), "List."

Parker, John Henry, *Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture*, 5th ed. (London, 1850), "List": recorded as "inscribed Hobart Upjohn;" inscribed "Charles Babcock, Sept. 16th 1853," crossed out and replaced with "R. Upjohn & Co. 1858."

Philecclesius, Ignotus, *Architecture canonica* (London, 1843), "Appraisal": recorded as "Ins. Rich Upjohn, 1843;" inscribed as "Rich Upjohn/1843 // Richard M. Upjohn/1889." Hobart Upjohn bookplate.

Practical Masonry, Bricklaying and Plastering (London, 1830), "List."

Pugin, A. W. N., *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London, 1843), "List."

Pugin, A. W. N., *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (London, 1843), "List": recorded as "inscribed 'R. M. Upjohn.'"

Pugin, A. W. N., *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1823), "Appraisal": recorded as "Rich'd Upjohn's copy;" inscribed "Richd Upjohn, NYork."

Pugin, A.W.N. *A Treatise on Chancel Screens* (London, 1851), "Appraisal."

Pugin, A.W.N. *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1853), "Appraisal."

Ranlett, William H., *The Architect*, vol. 1 (New York, 1851), "Appraisal."

Richardson, Charles, *Observations on the Architecture of England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London, 1830), "List": recorded as "inscribed Rich'd Upjohn;" inscribed "R. Upjohn."

Roberts, Henry, *Dwellings of the Labouring Classes . . . Illustrated by a Reference to the Model Houses of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes* (London, 1850), "Appraisal": recorded as "R. M. Upjohn's copy;" inscribed "R. M. Upjohn, London, 1851."

Ruskin, John, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (1849), inscribed "RM Upjohn/Archd/84 Woodhul Street."

Smith, George, *Smith's Cabinetmaker's and Upholsterer's Guide, Drawing Book and Repository* (London, 1826); inscribed "Richard Upjohn Shaftesbury Dorset England 1827."

Smith, Theophilus, *Original Designs for Church memorials adapted for Churchyards and cemeteries* (London, n.d.), "List": recorded as "inscribed Richard M. Upjohn;" inscribed "RM Upjohn/Brooklyn/LI."

Souvenir of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood (Edinburgh, 1849), "List."

Street, George Edmund, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy* (London, 1855); stamped "R. Upjohn & Co." "RM Upjohn."

Tredgold, Thomas, *Elementary Principles of Carpentry* (London, 1853 and 1871 editions), "List"; 1871 edition has various signatures of Richard Michell Upjohn.

Wharton, Thomas, et al, *Essays on Gothic Architecture* (London, 1828), "List": recorded as "Rich'd Upjohn New York 1833."

Willis, Robert, *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, Especially of Italy* (Cambridge, 1835); inscribed "Richd Upjohn 1835."

Wills, Frank, *Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture* (New York, 1850), "List": recorded as "inscribed by Hobart Upjohn."