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Benjamin Linfoot, 1840-1912: The Career of an Architectural Renderer

Catherine Grace Lynch
University of Pennsylvania

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BENJAMIN LINFOOT, 1840 - 1912
THE CAREER OF AN ARCHITECTURAL RENDERER

Catherine Grace Lynch

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Dr. Roger W. Moss, Advisor

Dr. George E. Thomas, Reader

Dr. David G. DeLong, Graduate Group Chairman
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One often neglected area of architectural history is the study of architectural renderers and their drawings which can be analyzed for presentation style as well as for content. According to the scholar Vincent Scully, drawing and building are closely inter-related and effect the picturesque qualities of the late nineteenth century American architecture he has called the Shingle and Stick styles. While Scully has written about architects such as William Ralph Emerson, Robert Swain Peabody, John Calvin Stevens and the early works of the architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White-- who prior to his book received very little attention-- he provided little analysis of the actual architectural renderers.

Another scholar, Eileen Michels, expanded upon Scully's brief discussion of architectural renderers and draftsmen. Michels analyzed the development of drawings in two of the leading architectural journals of the late nineteenth century: the American Architect and Building News and the Inland Architect. Her work provides a solid foundation to review and compare other renderers of the period. Michels predicted (in 1972) that studies exploring the relationship of the individual draftsman to the work of the firms which employed them would become more numerous in the future.
Philadelphia's architectural drawing was the theme of a major museum exhibition and accompanying catalogue at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts during the fall of 1986. "Drawing Towards Building Philadelphia Architectural Graphics 1732-1986" featured more than one hundred eighty drawings, spanning a two hundred and fifty year period. The exhibit heightened scholarly awareness of these significant documents, identified the impact of various architects and schools, and stressed the importance of preserving such architectural drawings.3

One artist/architect featured in the Philadelphia exhibit was Benjamin Linfoot (1840-1912). The Drawing Towards Building catalog referred to Linfoot as an unstudied figure despite his importance as an author, skilled renderer, and architect of highly visible projects.4

Immigrating from England during the late 1860s, Linfoot began his career as a lithographer. His rendering talents and knowledge of architecture lead him briefly to publish a journal, The American Architect and Builder's Monthly, and to work as a free-lance renderer for a variety of architects and builders in Philadelphia. Probably without formal academic training in architecture, Linfoot eventually did receive architectural commissions. Most notable were his commissions for the Matthew Baird family and the residences he designed for them in Spring Lake, New Jersey, and in
Merion, Pennsylvania. Linfoot’s skills and talents as a renderer also lead to the publication in 1884 of *Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink*. This book described various drawing techniques which served to demonstrate examples of his talents and instructional methods. The later years of his career were spent entering competitions with unsuccessful results. Linfoot’s son and grandson became architects; his son trained and worked briefly for Linfoot.

This thesis will analyze the forty year career of Benjamin Linfoot. Like many of his contemporaries, Linfoot was a skilled journeyman, who worked for many different firms in Philadelphia. His career and development may have followed that of other American and English draftsmen such as Eldon Deane, David A. Gregg, S. J. Brown, Maurice B. Adams or Harry Fenn, who trained primarily as artists and achieved success and recognition for their talents as architectural renders. For the most part, these men were not known for their architectural designs. One important aspect of Linfoot’s early career in the United States, that distinguishes his career from those of the other artists/renders, was the publication of the periodical *American Architect and Builder’s Monthly* (AABM). Although published for only nine months, the AABM helps to document a significant period in the development of the American
architectural profession and contributes to the history of early architectural journals in this country. The variety and quality of Linfoot's published work, both on a local and national level, has made scholars wonder why he achieved only limited recognition. One author has suggested that Linfoot may have had difficulty settling into Philadelphia society. 5 Or, could it be that Linfoot's career and development were not that unusual for an immigrant artist of the period, working at a time when the formal academic training of architects was only becoming established?

As scholars have become aware of the skills and talents of men like Benjamin Linfoot, the lack of surviving documents pertaining to the architectural renderer's employment and personal history has become apparent. The materials available for Benjamin Linfoot can answer some of the questions pertaining to his career, but there are no surviving diaries, account books or journals to analyze his life and career. Benjamin Samuel Linfoot, the architect's grandson, has generously donated a large collection of scrapbooks, books, sketches and architectural drawings to The Athenaeum of Philadelphia. These donations and careful analysis of other fragmentary primary sources relating to Benjamin Linfoot and his contemporaries formed the basis for this thesis. Without the opportunity of researching in England, specifically in the Yorkshire area, biographical
information on Linfoot is severely limited to a few surviving family photograph albums and letters.

Architectural journals from the period are another fruitful source; the materials they contain reflect the attitudes and developments of the architectural profession and, in a limited sense, provide information on the production of such periodicals. Information accompanying illustrations in periodicals such as the American Architect and Building News and The Architectural Review and American Builder's Journal contain virtually no mention of the artist illustrating the work; the descriptions usually relate to the architect's building style or construction methods. The material selected for publication does, however, reveal the editors' choice of those buildings they deemed "significant." Linfoot's engraved work appeared in Samuel Sloan's Architectural Review and American Builder's Journal, and his own publication closely followed Sloan's in content and format. Because of this, analysis of the Sloan and Linfoot journals are included in this thesis. Both of these early architectural journals have played a significant role in the history of Philadelphia architecture.

The first chapter examines Linfoot's early years in England and speculates on his possible training and employment. Chapter Two discusses the early period of his
American career through the publication of the Architectural Review and American Builders Journal and American Architect and Builder's Monthly. The third chapter explores the various architectural firms with which Linfoot was associated and the buildings he illustrated during the period 1871 to 1876. Linfoot's own architectural commissions began in the 1880s with Hastings Square, in Spring Lake, New Jersey. Analysis of these buildings, their history and relationship to other resort architecture of the period is discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five covers the period 1884 to 1890, when Linfoot entered various competitions and designed several residential properties. Also during this period Linfoot published Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink (1884), which may be his most enduring contribution. The sixth chapter examines the final years of Linfoot's career, which were spent in practice with his son, Benjamin Edis Linfoot (1872-1950). The seventh chapter summarizes Benjamin Linfoot's career.

Throughout the past year there have been many people who have generously assisted my research. The staff of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia extended their professional skills and friendliness during the last year. I would like to especially thank Bruce Laverty, the archivist of the architectural collections, for providing access to the Linfoot collection and for his research suggestions.
Charles Baird, Matthew Baird III, and Mrs. Reed A. Morgan, Jr. kindly provided me with family information on Mrs. Baird. Dr. George E. Thomas and Jeffrey Cohen assisted me with new avenues of research and suggestions. My advisor, Dr. Roger W. Moss, has been extremely helpful and provided me with academic direction.

An important part of my research was the opportunity to talk with Benjamin Linfoot’s grandson, Benjamin Samuel Linfoot. A third generation architect, Mr. Linfoot’s insights to his grandfather’s career were invaluable. As a researcher, I was priviledged to have participated in a rare opportunity of direct personal contact with a family descendent. Mr. Linfoot shared with me his recollections of his grandfather and information passed down from his father to him. Just prior to completion of my work, Mr. Linfoot died. Although the time we spent together was short, I will always remember our conversations and the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Linfoot. I would like to dedicate this work in memory of Benjamin Samuel Linfoot, to Mrs. Linfoot, and to their children and grandchildren.

In 1882, Benjamin Linfoot wrote:

To those therefore who know better, clearly belongs the duty of trying to give architecture as truthful a rendering as possible, and also assist in teaching those not intimately acquainted with the subject to discern the characteristics of the various periods.

Benjamin Samuel Linfoot generously accomplished this duty.
CHAPTER ONE

Benjamin Linfoot was born in Yorkshire, England, on September 1, 1840. A surviving family photograph album contains limited genealogical information on the Linfoot family and presents additional biographical questions that only research in England could answer. Eliza Cresser Linfoot is the only parent identified in the album; Linfoot’s father is not recorded, which is unusual given the detail of other family relatives included. The absence of Linfoot’s father in the album is frustrating, as it is unknown why or how Linfoot chose an early career as an artist and engraver. Perhaps his father had been involved in some aspect of the trade which may have influenced his son.

Eliza C. Linfoot had four children who survived to adulthood: Benjamin, the only son, and three daughters—Sarah, Maria and Eliza. The order of birth appears to be: Benjamin, born in 1840; Maria, born in 1842; and Sarah, born in 1844. Eliza’s birth is not recorded in the scrapbook but other evidence suggests that Eliza was the oldest child. Sarah Linfoot was involved in education, as a surviving photograph of a school building is labeled “College conducted by Sarah Linfoot.” She died on January 18, 1906, at the age of 62 years, and there is a photograph of her tombstone in the album. Maria Linfoot married Dr. John
Edis. They had six children and, according to the scrapbook, lived in Liverpool. The third sister, Eliza, married Mark Richardson and had three children: Ellen, Richard and Joseph.4

One significant document that records Linfoot’s early years and reflects the personality of a very determined, independent and frugal young man, is a letter that he wrote to one of his sisters on September 2, 1857. (See Plate 1.) The letter addressed "Dear Sister," includes a brief message to "Dear Brother" and concludes with the question "How’s Nellie?" The sister most likely was Eliza, whose daughter’s nickname was Nellie. The letter is written on the back side of a lithograph which Linfoot created. (See Plate 2.) It describes a trip he made to visit relatives which took him from York to Liverpool, then to Drogheda and Dublin, Ireland, stopping in Manchester on the return home.5

The letter concludes by suggesting that Linfoot had not seen his sister in a very long time and conveys his pride in becoming a successful artist.

I am getting along first rate considering I was only 17 yesterday. I do a great deal of the work at our place and expect to do it all soon as Frank is going to leave and commence for himself. I don’t think you would know me, I have sprung up so I stand about 5ft. 8 inches with my shoes off and weigh about 9 stone.

The implication of not seeing his sister suggests that she may have been living far away from York, possibly in the United States.6
Several possibilities exist for Linfoot to have received his training as a renderer and lithographer. In his publication *Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink*, he refers to "an old tutor of years ago," who frequently encouraged students to "not look at what you are putting on [the drawing], but rather what you are leaving uncovered." Another oblique reference to education in Linfoot's book is a "first-rate rippler," who was in his mapping class. Unfortunately, the names of instructors, classmates, or school were not supplied. However, the colorist William Bevan is referred to. It is unknown whether or not Bevan was one of Linfoot's instructors but he was a lithographer, employed by the same York firm as Linfoot.

One of the scrapbooks owned by the Linfoot descendents contains examples of different lithographic plates, some drawn by Linfoot and other artists. Bevan's print of the York Cathedral from the southwest, and illustrations done by J. Stewart and others were included in the scrapbook. The Bevan illustration was printed by the firm W. Monkhouse of York. A small colored card of an illustration of flowers surrounding a scroll with "W. Monkhouse Lithographer York" printed on it, contains a penciled description on the back that reads "This card was sent to his sister by Benjamin Linfoot as a sample of color work by the first firm by which he was employed after he left school in the late 50s."
This implies that both Bevan and Linfoot were working for the Monkhouse firm, with perhaps Bevan providing instruction to Linfoot.

Another printed example by the W. Monkhouse lithography firm is a card for the "Restoration of St. Peter's Church, Barton on Humber, Special Fund for the Reading Desk and Pulpit" containing the date of 1858. This card is part of The Athenaeum collection and may be another example of Linfoot's early engraving work. W. Monkhouse could be William Cosmos Monkhouse, (1840 – 1901), a virtual contemporary of Linfoot's, who was a scholar in addition to being a skilled printer. Monkhouse published a book on Turner in 1882, a history of of art published in 1869, and several books on British artists.  

Also included in the scrapbook are various sketches and drawings that are similar to a drawing in The Athenaeum collection of an unidentified mountain village, possibly European, signed "B.L. 1854." The drawing clearly demonstrates Linfoot's talents at the young age of fourteen/fifteen. Another sketch of a mountain scene and lake (in The Athenaeum collection, of similar style but not dated), suggests that traveling and sketching were a part of young Linfoot's training.

Wherever Linfoot received his early training, it must have included formal drawing lessons and possible academic study of building styles and construction techniques. One
of the outstanding examples of Linfoot's talents as a young
t man is the copy of Samuel Prout's *Hints on Light and Shadow*
(1838), which he meticulously copied in 1858. (See Plate
3.) The skillful execution and delicate quality of line
makes it extraordinary to study. Samuel Prout (1783-1852)
was a prominent English watercolorist artist and
lithographer, known for his extensive travels throughout
Europe and for his elaborate sketchbooks and drawing manuals
that were published during the period 1812-1826. John
Ruskin was a strong advocate of Prout's watercolors and
drawings, including them in his writings and in an
exhibition with William Henry Hunt in 1879. Ruskin
praised Prout's drawings for the way he expressed age in
architecture and for finding sources of the picturesque.
One feature of Prout's work that appealed to Ruskin was
Prout's ability to record vanishing European cities and
their ruins. The publication of *Hints on Light and Shadow*
illustrated many of these ruins, which were evocative to the
reader and most certainly to the copier Linfoot.

It is not known why Linfoot copied Prout's book but the
surviving document clearly is, as one scholar has written,
"a testament to his extraordinary talent and discipline." Perhaps creating the copy was part of his training or for
use as evidence of his talents for potential employers. The
elaborately decorated title page and text, written in long
hand, were executed in pen and ink, accompanied by fifty-
eight illustrations in pencil or charcoal with a white watercolor wash on a light gold/brown paper. For some unknown reason, Linfoot did not include all of Prout's plates, and the sequence of the fifteen plates in Linfoot's copy is different from the original. (Each plate contained from two to six illustrations.) Linfoot omitted three of Prout's plates on figures and two plates of boat illustrations. (See Plate 4.)

Prout's text was an early influence on the career and development of Linfoot. *Hints on Light and Shadow* was written for the student artist and contained many suggestions in drawing composition, placement of figures, and rendering techniques. In the introduction, Prout stressed the need for determination and persistence that were required to learn drawing techniques. Prout wrote:

The youthful aspirant for fame; should congratulate himself on the extraordinary advantages which, in the present day, he possesses in commencing his professional career, as every possible source of instruction is accessible to him; but he should be aware, at the outset, that it generally [sic] costs years of laborious [sic] study to attain eminence; that, not unfrequently, the best of life is employed in collecting sketches and studies, as future materials, and in embracing every from external nature and works of art, to enrich the mind with ideas of truth and beauty: 'Yet know, these noblest honours of the mind, on rigid terms descend.'*

*A portfolio of prints, scrupulously selected, is highly advantageous, if not absolutely necessary as a means of acquiring valuable ideas.
Prout believed that "every touch of the pencil should have its intent and meaning." Another method Prout promoted was the comparing and copying of fine work to master technique and arrangement. Philosophies such as this and others concerning composition, light and shadow, and placement of figures in an illustration, re-appeared fifty years later in Linfoot's own publication, *Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink*.

Architectural training in England by the late 1850s and early 1860s was undergoing a period of change. The most common method of education was through an apprenticeship in an architect's office, supplemented by drawing classes, and lectures on history, building construction, and the arts. The weekly architectural journal *The Builder* included advertisements both by architects in need of assistants or young men trying to gain employment. The ads reveal some of the various skills needed in an architect's office. One advertisement of October 4, 1856, stated:

An efficient Architectural Draughtsman from London, acquainted with practical building, accustomed to design, prepare perspectives, working drawings, specifications &c. Wants A SITUATION in the country: YORKSHIRE, LANCASHIRE, OR CHESHIRE preferred. First class testimonials."

Another example in October of 1857, for an "expeditious draughtsman and colourist [who] offers his services in the preparation of perspective views with landscape and figures, also in General Drawing and Lithography," suggests someone
with Linfoot's skills and talents.  

Concerned family and friends also placed advertisements in *The Builder* to secure jobs: "Friends of a Youth (age 16, a Protestant) wanting to PLACE HIM for five to six years in some country town as INDOOR PUPIL with architect and surveyor doing a good business." Schools of architecture were also available in London. The London Architectural Association school began in 1846, and provided training in subjects such as drawing and engineering. Linfoot does not appear in the records of the association. Architects also advertised the need for assistants and the availability of instruction. One example is T. J. Hill, an architect, who offered architectural, mechanical, ornamental, and perspective drawing classes. Instruction in the preparation of working drawings, drafting techniques and historical theory were other items architects advertised.

It is most likely that Linfoot was aware of *The Builder* because its circulation was throughout England. Perhaps he even advertised his skills or found employment through the numerous positions offered. Many of the young men advertising in *The Builder* used the pseudonym of "XYZ" or "ABC" and gave their mailing address in care of *The Builder*'s publication office. A brief review of the advertisements during the mid 1850s, when Linfoot would have been seeking employment and/or training, provided no entries with the initials "BL."
The city of Leeds, one of the major cities in the Yorkshire area, may have provided training for Linfoot. Derick Linstrum has written extensively on the architects and architecture of the West Yorkshire area, providing insight to the common methods of training. Most young men served as pupils to architects supplemented by courses in the day or evening.23 A letter written by a resident of Leeds suggests that most architects received their instruction to be builders; they received little architectural training from the local schools or various architectural journals.24 There was a Leeds School of Art that conducted courses in building construction and architectural design. The school had branches in the surrounding communities of Wakefield, Halifax, Ackworth, Keighley, Bradford and Huddersfield.25 Linfoot was in York by 1857, as documented in his letter, but he may have enrolled in one of these schools prior to 1857.

According to family oral history, Linfoot may have worked in Derby and possibly Manchester. While in Derby, it is believed that he may have belonged to a group of artists called the Facsimile Society. Located in one of Linfoot's scrapbooks at The Athenaeum is a photograph of a corner building in Derby. There is a sign above the first story storefront window that reads "Bemrose Engravers." The scrapbook was created as a birthday present to Elizabeth Fanny Simons and contained examples of engraving signed by
Linfoot with the Bemrose Engraving label. (See Plate 5.)

Elizabeth Simons was to become Mrs. Benjamin Linfoot in 1869, and the scrapbook contains numerous photographs of her family and of the Linfoot family.26

The *Sketches of the Facsimile Society* was a publication of a group of artists, published by Bemrose and Sons of Derby. Two surviving publications of 1869, and 1873, exist in the Avery Architectural Library at Columbia University. The preface to Volume II, published in 1869, explained the reason for the long period of time between the publication of the first and second volume and suggests that the society was local and informal. The publication delay was because the fifty-one members had not sent in their drawings. It is also revealing that there were only twenty-eight drawings published, suggesting that the response was limited. The sketches were to be sent to the honorable secretary Mr. Charles J. Newdigate or to Messrs. Bemrose, Irongate, Derby.27

The pen and ink illustrations reflect the varied skills of contributors, depicting mostly picturesque scenes of landscapes, ruins and churches found in the Yorkshire area. There were some examples of Greek and Roman ruins. Accompanying most illustrations were descriptions of the building but no information on the artist. In neither volume are there records of membership criteria or training. Artists such as John Guest, R. Fisher, George
Smith and George Bailey show similarities to Linfoot's early pen and ink technique. Two anonymous artists of "Old Rotherham" and "Toft Church, near Kutsford Cheshire" show strong resemblance to Linfoot's style, especially in the depiction of the trees, birds, animals and overall composition of the picture.

The 1873 sketchbook contained twenty-seven illustrations and membership had increased to fifty-eight members. Once again, there are many similarities to Linfoot's rendering style. The depiction by S. Hurd of London, of "Furnivals Inn" (London), contained a three-story building and streetscape that closely resembles Linfoot's work. The positioning of the horses and riders and the method of cloud illustration with birds aloft can be found in many Linfoot examples. Without further information regarding the membership lists for the first volume (where a copy of the first volume exists is not known), it is hard positively to state that Linfoot was a member of the Society. The examples of the two later volumes show strong similarities to his style.\(^{28}\)

One of the common social institutions that involved many architects, artists and historians was the regional or town architectural and/or archaeological association. Linfoot probably was a member of such an association; however, a specific membership has not yet been identified.\(^{29}\) One particular group which may have
interested Linfoot, if indeed he was working in Manchester, was the Manchester Society of Architects. The society formed in June 1865, and included such prominent architects as Isaac Holden (President), Alfred Waterhouse (Vice President), and J. Murgatroyd (Honorable Secretary).  

The Manchester Society of Architects and the Manchester Architectural Association were two closely related organizations. Correspondence in *The Builder* documents this common association and also the need for architectural instruction. A "Manchester Architectural pupil" wrote of the many opportunities available for instruction in London that were lacking in Manchester. He suggested that the members of the Manchester Society of Architects provide educational lectures on architecture. One week later came the reply from the secretary, J. Murgatroyd; Manchester pupils had the opportunity of classes at Owens College, the School of Art, plus there were the "magnificent collection of books at the Free Library and the various prizes to compete for." Murgatroyd described an ill-fated attempt at a lecture series and concluded that members of the Manchester Society of Architects were hesitant to give their time and money in an experiment that most likely would fail. Although this correspondence occurred in 1870, after Linfoot was in the United States, it reflects the contemporary attitude towards training younger members of the profession who were unable to benefit from the variety
of instruction available in London.

Other than the family reference to the Bemrose firm in Derby, Linfoot's precise employment is unknown during the period prior to 1866. In December of that year the American Architect and Building Monthly published several illustrations of the York Cathedral and sculpture. "Sir Walter DeGrey's Monument" is illustrated with the accompanying note in the lower right corner of the drawing "Measured and Drawn by Ben Linfoot 1866." (See Plate 6.) Other York Cathedral illustrations, appearing in the September, October, and November issues, are by Linfoot and not dated. (These illustrations were probably done at approximately the same time.) According to the United States Census, Benjamin Linfoot had immigrated to the United States some time during 1866.34
CHAPTER TWO

The reasons for Linfoot's immigration are not recorded. The general familiar phrase "America--Land of Opportunity" must offer the best explanation for the time being. 1 Publications of the period, both English and American, described the rapidly developing country, especially the opportunities for architects and builders. Samuel Sloan's Model Villa, William Ranlett's The Architect, or the Englishman Gervase Wheeler's Rural Homes, may have suggested to a young man that opportunities to draw, design, and build were widely available in the United States. It is possible that Linfoot knew someone in the United States, perhaps a friend or relative, who encouraged the young man to immigrate.

Although the U.S. Census data contains different years for his immigration, both census entries indicate that Linfoot's wife immigrated in 1866. It is not known whether or not they traveled together to the United States. 2 There is also the possibility that Elizabeth Simons had relatives in this country. No port of entry is identified with the census records. A review of the Philadelphia ship passenger lists of the period 1866-69 does not indicate that this was Linfoot's or Elizabeth's port of entry. It appears that they entered the country through New York. 3
According to family tradition, Linfoot was an employee of the American Bank Note Company in New York City prior to moving to Philadelphia. Mr. Benjamin S. Linfoot believed his grandfather's passage may have been paid by the American Bank Note Company, in exchange for working for the company. Unfortunately the American Bank Note Company archives are incomplete for the 1860s and Linfoot's name does not appear in any of the surviving documents. (In 1903 the American Bank Note Company opened an office located in England, with the firm Bradbury and Wilkinson, London.) Perhaps during employment with Bemrose and Sons in Derby, or through contacts in the engraving business or architectural profession, Linfoot learned of the available opportunities with the American Bank Note Company and in the United States. If Linfoot was employed in New York it was only until 1869; for on July 7th, of that year, Linfoot married Elizabeth Fanny Simons, in Philadelphia. The wedding took place at Grace Episcopal Church, 12th and Cherry Streets, with the Reverend William Suddards officiating.

The numerous engraving and publication firms, the large number of architects and builders, the approaching centennial fair and a building boom may have attracted Linfoot to Philadelphia. Miller McKim wrote to his son Charles in September 1869, describing the opportunities available in Philadelphia. According to the elder McKim,
Frank Furness says there is a fine opening in Philadelphia; that the Buttons, and Huttons & Sloans have had their day, and that real architects are now coming into request. My own judgement is that if you should chose Philada [sic] as your location you would find the way to success short & easy.

McKim was a bit premature in his assessment; Addison Hutton was only beginning his independent practice and would go on to design several important Philadelphia buildings. Architects such as Frank Furness, James Windrim, Addison Hutton and Samuel Sloan were not only known locally for their buildings, but were nationally recognized as leaders in the architectural profession. Two of these men, Samuel Sloan and Addison Hutton, were involved with the early American career of Benjamin Linfoot. Engravings signed by Linfoot appeared in Sloan's architectural journal and Linfoot worked in Hutton's office during the period 1874-1876. It is important to understand the background and training of these two men to assess their possible impact on Linfoot's career.

Samuel Sloan, one of Philadelphia's premier mid-nineteenth century architects and builders, is known for a variety of architectural commissions ranging from residential designs to government, institutional and industrial buildings. His early career began as a builder, with architectural training from John Haviland and Isaac Holden (who would later return to England). Sloan's
popularity increased through the publication of his residential designs in *Godey's Lady's Book* and with the publication of his own book *The Model Villa* (1851). Sloan's *Model Villa* underwent several editions, to be followed by the publication of *Constructive Architecture* (1859), *City and Suburban Architecture* (1859), *Sloan's Homestead Architecture* (1861) and *Variety of Designs for Rural Buildings* (1861). Sloan worked in a variety of architectural styles but frequently his published residential designs included elongated windows, large bracketed cornices, mansard roofs and towers similar to those found in Italian Tuscan villas. The large pattern book plates showing a perspective view, floor plans and building details, allowed builders to adapt his designs to suit the individual client. Pattern books by Sloan and others--such as George Woodward and Henry Hudson Holly--raised a concern among architects and builders of showing too much design and construction detail and thereby eliminating their role. Debate over the wisdom of such publications spilled into the architectural journals of the period; some publications emphasized construction methods and new technology, while others were more academic in their approach to architecture and building.

Sloan's first partner was John Stewart; the partnership lasted from 1853 to 1858. One important commission of the Sloan and Stewart partnership was the Eastwick Villa, an
early example of Sloan's villa style residence that was to become very popular. A young Quaker by the name of Addison Hutton entered Sloan and Stewart's office in 1857, and began work as a draftsman. Hutton remained in the office until 1861, during which time he was involved with the supervision of building Longwood, the large brick octagonal residence of Dr. Haller Nutt in Natchez, Mississippi. The onset of the Civil War prevented the completion of Longwood and Hutton returned north to establish his own practice. Sloan offered Hutton a partnership in January 1884, with offices at 152 S. 4th Street, Philadelphia. The Sloan/Hutton partnership lasted for three years with commissions for residential, institutional and religious structures. The partnership dissolved in the late fall of 1887, with Sloan leaving the major commissions, such as the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) building, for Hutton to complete. The reason for the firm's desolation is unclear, but Sloan promised not to practice architecture in Philadelphia for two years. Sloan left the city for New York, but he was back in Philadelphia by the spring of 1868. Sloan's biographer has suggested that Sloan may have been involved briefly with the New York offices of the American Institute of Architects. The New York A.I.A. was comprised of the city's leading architectural figures who were striving to promote national standards of professionalism in the architectural and engineering business. The New York Chapter was also where
the A.I.A. officially had begun in 1856. By the end of the 1860s, members of the A.I.A. realized the need for their own publication that would promote membership and education.\textsuperscript{14}

It is possible that Sloan, when visiting in New York during the winter of 1867/68, met with various A.I.A. members to discuss the publication of an architectural journal. Shortly after his return to Philadelphia, Sloan began the publication of Philadelphia's first architectural journal, *The Architectural Review and American Builder's Journal* (ARABJ).

By 1868, there were several journals devoted exclusively to the architectural and building profession; some were published weekly, others monthly. In England, *The Builder* and *Building News* were weekly publications which contained essays on architectural history and building styles, building notices and competitions, new technological methods, announcements of association meetings and lectures, with occasional reviews of such functions, and an advertisement section of products and job listings. Both publications were available in the United States. *The Architect and Mechanics Journal*, begun in October 1859, was one of the earliest architectural journals published in America. Alexander Hill, the publisher, closely followed his English counterparts in the contents of the publication and included building notices, new patents or technological methods and illustrations of buildings with limited
descriptions. The Architects and Mechanics Journal ceased publication in April 1861, after nineteen issues. Sloan's monthly publication was a continuation of these earlier magazines in basic format, but Sloan expanded the magazine's content and size.

The first issue of Sloan's ARABJ appeared in July, 1868, and ended twenty-seven issues later, in October of 1870. The importance of ARABJ is clear; it reflects and records a distinct period in American architectural history. Although published for only three years, the ARABJ was an early attempt to create an American journal for architects, builders and engineers. It assisted in establishing the format for later publications such as the American Architect and Builder's Monthly and the American Architect and Building News.

Philadelphia in 1868 was not only a leading center for architecture but also a significant publishing city, which may indicate why Sloan returned to publish his journal, instead of publishing it elsewhere. Familiarity with the city publishers from his previous work may have also been a factor for returning to Philadelphia. Sloan was the ARABJ editor, with Charles J. Lukens as his assistant, and Claxton, Remson & Haffelfinger as the publishers. The editorial offices were located on the second floor of 152 S. 4th Street. Sloan included illustrations signed by Linfoot and other evidence suggests that Linfoot may have
been affiliated with the magazine to solicit materials for the publication. If Linfoot did work for Sloan’s magazine, it may have provided him with the experience, and confidence, to publish his own journal.

The July issue of ARABJ carefully stated the objectives and goals of the publication. The prospectus proudly announced that the ARABJ was the first of its kind in the United States, only to be matched in the English speaking world by The Builder. In an effort to unite various building professions and to foster harmony among these groups, the ARABJ editors wrote: "Our aim is to cultivate the kindest relations with all members of the engineering and architectural profession throughout the country." The editors felt the magazine should be comprised of material provided by "professionals" throughout the country:

Articles, designs and experiments will constantly appear from artistic and scientific writers of repute; and we cordially invite communications and designs from the profession and all individuals interested in any matter related to our undertaking.

The designs and articles by the editors would appear unsigned while the material submitted by "volunteers" would be signed unless desired otherwise. However, this makes the source of the material confusing, as one is not sure whether or not the writer is Sloan, Lukens, or a "volunteer" who desired anonymity.
The early contributors included Lewis Leeds of New York City, William G. Rhoads, John Gibson and George Henkle of Philadelphia. One of the special columns for contributors was the Gazette. The editors wanted to solicit short descriptions of new buildings and styles by various members of the profession throughout the country:

We sent a circular around to the architects of Philadelphia, simply to start this epitome, in our first number, but probably allowed too short notice. In any rate no memoranda have been sent in. We hope the architects of the United States will enter generally into this project... We trust, therefore, that August will find the Gazette something more than a name.

This significant passage clearly establishes Sloan's sincere efforts for trying to get "the profession" involved in the journal and the lack of initial support he was receiving. Sloan's biographer, Harold Cooledge, wrote that the magazine was never supported by Sloan's Philadelphia contemporaries, and he had to look elsewhere for materials. Cooledge also stated that Sloan's lack of local support destroyed his hope of making the Review a professional journal.

The American Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circular, published by the Philadelphian George Childs, contained reviews of new publications and periodicals. Readership was nationwide. The Literary Gazette published four favorable reviews of Sloan's ARABJ, the first of which appeared in the August 15, 1868, issue. The review expressed approval of the first issue and lauded the fine illustrations, the role of the assistant editor Charles J. Lukens as "an able
collaborator," and the recognition that "the ARABJ supplied a want which has been long felt." The reviewers repeated their praise for the magazine in the next review of October 1, 1868, commenting on the "energy and zeal of the new enterprise." The reviewers noted:

The articles and illustrations contained in the two numbers before us (the August and September issues) have a value not only for professional architects and builders but for private individuals who buy or build houses, or are interested in the comfort of elegance of the houses they live in, or of the furniture around them.  

The review addressed the popularity of the magazine to the non-professional and the general appeal of the journal. The third review of the publication praised the abilities of the assistant editor, Charles J. Lukens. The author of the review acknowledge Lukens' "understanding of literary culture, a fine artistic eye and a highly cultivated taste."  

The ARABJ was also reviewed by The Builder, which gave the publication a favorable praise by the English "professionals." The May 1870, review included three other journals: The American Builder: a Journal of Art, The Manufacturer and Builder, and The Technologists: especially devoted to Engineering, Manufacturing and Building. "The journals, collectively, show us America busy, bustling and boasting of 'whipping creations,'" wrote the editors. The ARABJ was complemented for appealing to the architectural profession and the inclusion of a variety of articles both
of American and English topics. The illustrations were also favorably received. The author concluded his review of the ARABJ by stating: "We must congratulate Mr. Samuel Sloan, the editor, upon the wide field and favourable season before him." The significance of this review can not be overlooked, as The Builder was the leading architectural journal, with circulation throughout both England and the United States; it suggests that Sloan's publication was warmly received both here and abroad. The review does not indicate any problems with the publication or reasons why it would cease by the fall of 1870.

To determine the support Sloan found locally, requires analyzing the local contributors to the journal. Members of the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter contributed in the manner of submitting drawings and articles. Sloan never received formal acknowledgment from the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter but this may be due to the simple fact that the chapter was not formally organized until November of 1869, thus leaving only one year of common existence. Sloan had been involved with the Pennsylvania Society of Architects. He was one of the original nineteen charter members of the organization that began in 1861. Many of the PSA members later joined the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter. Members who did contribute to Sloan's magazine included John McArthur (one of the principal founders of the chapter), and partners Reuben Peterson and William S. Andrews, and Sloan's partner.
Addison Hutton. Other Philadelphians who contributed articles included William G. Rhoads, George Henkle and John Gibson.

Because he wanted the journal to represent the work of the profession throughout the country, Sloan solicited material from other cities. Carl Pfieffer, Peter Bonnet Wight and William T. Potter of New York City submitted work that appeared in the earlier issues, in addition to J. W. Kerr of Pittsburgh and William Peachy of Yorkshire, England. It appears that the failure of ARABJ came not just from the lack of local interest but also from few national supporters.

The Gazette column in the August 1868, issue did provide "more than a name" for the column, as Sloan had desired, but it was limited in its contents. Of the four designs and buildings discussed, two were Sloan buildings--the New Town Hall and the Presbyterian Church of Bridgeton, New Jersey (illustrated with an engraving by the firm of Van Ingen and Snyder). The other two designs were by Sloan's former partner Addison Hutton--the Arch Street Methodist Church and the PSFS building. The PSFS building was not illustrated until March 1869 (also engraved by the firm of Van Ingen and Snyder). The Gazette column in the issues that followed included information on a marble quarry in Chester County, the Penn Treaty ground in Philadelphia, domestic architecture in New York City and information on
steam boilers. Most of the items in the Gazette column focused on Philadelphia and the surrounding counties but occasionally included works from other cities such as New York. Illustrations often accompanied the Gazette descriptions.

The ARABJ illustrations were executed by at least twenty-one different engraving firms with the Philadelphia firms of Van Ingen and Snyder, and Louis N. Rosenthal predominating. The prospectus explained the requirements of the journal's layout and materials.

This serial will be first class in all it's accessions, paper, margin, form, type, display and illustrations. The latter will be mainly on wood, but occasionally in lithography or chromolithography. The size is royal octavo.

The earlier issues contained wood engravings with lithographic plates used during the last few issues.

The Van Ingen and Snyder illustrations were praised in the Literary Gazette review of November 2, 1868. The illustrations, according to the reviewer, were "executed with a taste and precision in the highest degree credible." The first signed Van Ingen and Snyder engravings appeared with the first issue and continued until September 1869; a total of more than 30 illustrations. Several of their ARABJ illustrations carry Benjamin Linfoot's signature.

William H. Van Ingen was born in New York, c. 1831, apprenticed to Joseph and William Howel (engravers) from 1847 to 1850, and established himself in Philadelphia with
partner Henry Snyder in 1853. The firm's location by 1863 was at 441 Chestnut Street, an area of the city crowded with architects, builders, engravers, and printers. Along Chestnut and Walnut Street between 3rd and 5th Streets and the north south numbered streets were the offices of the leading professionals of the period, including Sloan's editorial offices at 152 S. 4th Street. Given the close proximity to builders and architects, it is reasonable that most of Van Ingen and Snyder's work illustrates new religious, industrial, commercial and residential structures that were going up in the city; and by 1876 they were depicting the Centennial grounds. F. B. Schell, Deveraux, A. Blanc, and Benjamin Linfoot appear as the delineators for many Van Ingen and Synder engravings during this period.

Another prominent firm whose work appears in ARABJ is Louis N. Rosenthal, a firm comprised of Russian-born brothers. One of Rosenthal's commissions for Sloan included the chromolithographs for Sloan's City and Suburban Architecture. Rosenthal's work appears second only to Van Ingen and Snyder's in the number of identified illustrations appearing in ARABJ. The Gopsills City Business Directory (1869) listed Louis N. Rosenthal, lithographic office, at 327 Walnut Street, opposite Benjamin Linfoot's architectural office at 328 Walnut.

The first signed engraving by Linfoot appeared in the February 1869, issue, a perspective view of the Philadelphia
Skating Rink, at 21st and Race Streets. (See Plate 7.) Linfoot's signature appears in the lower left corner as "Ben Linfoot Del.," with the initials "VI-S" on the lower right corner, referring to the firm of Van Ingen and Snyder. The Philadelphia Skating Rink was one of several in the city and there is confusion as to its location. A review of the 1869 Gopsill's City Business Directory lists six rinks, with the one at 21st and Race called the Mammoth Skating Rink. However, the 1872 city atlas does not indicate the rink in this location, but instead lumber yards, residential houses and the Magdelen Asylum. Appearing on the atlas is the rink at 23rd and Chestnut, designed by Addison Hutton. A comparison of the two rinks reveals different materials and roof lines. The Hutton rink was brick with little ornamentation while the Mammoth Rink had an elaborate mansardic tower and decorative iron trim. One of the significant aspects of the illustrated Mammoth rink was the use of the patented metal seamed roof, a new technological method for waterproofing roofs.

Two of Linfoot's signed engravings, "The Pittsburgh City Hall," designed by J. W. Kerr, and the "Baptist Church" in Darlington, England, designed by William Peachy, appeared in the March 1869 issue. Both engravings are good examples of Linfoot's technique and stylistic mannerisms. The City Hall engraving includes in the foreground a gentleman on horseback talking to a couple with a child and nearby dog.
This grouping of people frequently appears in Linfoot's work, especially in his illustrations of Hastings Square. Also common is Linfoot's use of a carriage (or open cart), usually moving past the building illustrated. Running children, occasionally holding a hoop or with a dog, were regularly included in his work, as in the Darlington Baptist Church illustration.

The use of people in architectural illustration is not an invention of Linfoot's nor was he the only one to depict people in his engravings. It is the specific poses and the location of these groupings, combined with certain mannerisms of depicting trees, the sky and building materials that are distinctive features of his work. These stylistic aspects can be directly related to the figures of Samuel Prout and other engravers. (A discussion on Linfoot's drawing technique and style will be provided in greater detail in a later chapter.) Linfoot's talents appear to be for illustrating buildings and their setting, and not illustrating people. Most of his figures—as with other engravers of the period—are shown from the side or back, avoiding full facial detail. When a face is depicted there is an awkwardness and lack of delicateness. (For examples, see the plates of illustrations from *Summer Quarters*.)

As was common for the period, Linfoot's illustrations were perspective views of the buildings, supplemented
occasionally with plans. Elevations infrequently occurred. The use of perspective views could be found in other architectural journals of the period, leading scholars to suggest that the illustrations were more pictorial and aesthetic than architectonic and constructive.\textsuperscript{39} Woods, in referring to the illustrations published in the \textit{AABN}, suggests perspectives are commonly found in pattern books and in the English journals of the period.\textsuperscript{40} Michels also discusses how the English architects' rendering style is more medieval, using pen and ink techniques containing picturesque overtones, while the French rendering style includes geometric wash drawings.\textsuperscript{41}

The April (1869) \textit{ARABJ} contained Linfoot's illustration of "A Cottage in the Bracketed Style." (See Plate 9.) The illustration was an "updated" version of the A. J. Downing cottage with added elements of the High Victorian Gothic style. The roof of different pattern slate and the decorative iron ridge cresting were decorative elements appearing in many English and American buildings. The large front porch with its Gothic style of trim were popular features for the residential cottage. One of the unusual features of this illustration is Linfoot's use of a simple border of double lines and with decorative corners. This illustration was the first (in the \textit{ARABJ}) to utilize a border around a perspective view of a building. Borders on the illustrations randomly appear after this period.
Accompanying Linfoot's perspective was another engraving of designs for brackets and geometrical figures. It contains an identical border but is not signed by Linfoot.

Another residential design was Linfoot's illustration of "Villa Franco-Gothic" that appeared in the May (1869) issue. Linfoot's signature appears in the lower right corner. The two mounted riders shown adjacent to the front entrance were popular motifs in Linfoot's drawings. In this illustration Linfoot provided more background objects: a fountain and gardens on the left side of the house, and trees and wooden fence to the right of the facade.

There were five signed illustrations by Linfoot in the winter/spring of 1869, and other signed work appeared in December of 1869, and in March, 1870. The reason for the long span of time between signed illustrations is not known; it suggests that Sloan had the drawings earlier in the year but choose not to include them. The two December illustrations (the U.S. Naval Hospital in Annapolis, by McArthur, Andrews and Peterson, and a Design for Twin Dwellings), are signed in the lower left corner "Ben. Linfoot, Lith. Phila." These two illustrations demonstrate a different type of engraving for the ARABJ, with the softer qualities of lithographic stone. The drawings utilized a toothed stone and a grease crayon to create the "fuzzy" quality combined with a polished stone to create the thin dark lines. 42 The later issues of ARABJ included these
lithographs in addition to the sharper and more detailed engraved illustrations.

Linfoot's last signed work in the *ARABJ* appeared in the March (1870) issue: an engraving of Sloan's Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church, located in Philadelphia. Linfoot's signature appears in the lower left corner and the firm name of Laudebach is located in the lower right corner. The hospital was designed by Sloan in 1860, but the Civil War interrupted its completion. With the publicity from the *ARABJ* article, and accompanying illustrations and floor plans, money was raised to complete the project in 1874. There was a "birds eye view from the rear" of the hospital included in the March issue, similar to Linfoot's style, although the illustration is not signed.

There is a strong possibility that Linfoot was indirectly involved as an author as well, or, at the very least, he suggested articles and illustrations. The January (1869) issue contained a letter from the architect William Peachy, of Darlington, Yorkshire, England. Peachy's letter to Sloan was very friendly and supportive of the new publication:

> I have often thought about the matter, i.e. whether you had a 'Builder' in America. You know that all genuine Englishmen like to know what you are doing, and are interested in every advance made by your go-ahead country....

How Sloan contacted Peachy is unknown, but the prefatory remarks to Peachy's letter suggest that his name was given
to Sloan. As in the example of soliciting material for the Gazette column, Sloan engaged in correspondence with "several gentlemen in Europe, who have, so far as heard from, expressed themselves in a most friendly and liberal manner; and have both given and promised their support." 48 Sloan continued to explain that Peachy's letter contained such good will and support of the arts that he was reprinting it in its entirety. Perhaps Sloan printed the following as an example for other readers, both American and foreign, hoping to submit contributions to the journal:

> We cannot but entertain a hope, that the example so promptly and so cheerfully set by our English brother-architect may stimulate those among us, who have not yet made any response to our appeal for assistance, to come forward, and render whatever service may be in their power, towards establishing a National Magazine, worthy of our country and our profession, that may compare favorably with similar publications in other lands. 49

Even in January 1869, Sloan was still soliciting for articles and contributions. Sloan wrote that Peachy had submitted photographs of his churches in Darlington and York, from which lithographic plates were made.

Linfoot's signed illustration of the Darlington Baptist Church appeared in March; in May, the plans and a section of the church were illustrated but with no delineator indicated. Peachy's York church was published in the January 1869 issue, again with no delineator, but with the engraving firm of Van Ingen and Snyder identified. The stylistic characteristics of the York church illustration

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are similar to Linfoot's, and it is possible that he was familiar with both the church and William Peachy. Could Linfoot have suggested that Sloan write to Peachy, to solicit materials?

Another series of illustrations appearing in February, 1870, further strengthens the possibility of Linfoot's role. Illustrated are the perspective and plans of a "Suburban Villa." The accompanying text identifies the design as being from the English pattern book *Villa and Cottage Architecture: Select Examples of Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected, With A Full Descriptive Notice of Each Building*, (London, 1868). The illustration is of the Sycamores (1864-65), in Seymour Grove at Old Trafford, southwest of Manchester. The architects of the house were H. J. Paull, F.R.I.B.A., and Oliver Ayliffe, both of whom practiced in the Manchester area. *Villa and Cottage Architecture* contained numerous residential designs, many by other architects from Manchester, Nottingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. There are several differences between the two illustrations. The ARABJ illustration contains shrubs in the front of the house which are missing in the book engraving, and, more significantly, the ARABJ illustration depicts a hill in the background. The accompanying description of the building in *Villa and Cottage Architecture* states that the land around the house was very
The difference between the two engravings clearly demonstrates how the artist could insert changes in the composition for purely artistic reasons. Likewise, details in buildings could also be inserted or deleted by the renderer. 52 How Sloan acquired a copy of the book is not known, but perhaps a copy belonged to Benjamin Linfoot. The unsigned **ARABJ** illustration does appear to have some of Linfoot’s stylistic characteristics. An engraving firm is not identified.

A series of articles on the minsters of England began in the February 1869 issue of **ARABJ** which may have resulted from Linfoot’s suggestions. The York Cathedral was the subject of the first essay, followed by the Lincoln Cathedral article in May.

Scholars have suggested that Sloan may have suffered financial problems leading to the failure of the **ARABJ**. 53 A review of the R. G. Dun and Company credit reports on Sloan indicates that he was in a solid financial position during the period of the publication and that his problems developed afterwards. The reports, beginning in February 1868, and ending in January 1878, show that Sloan’s had a fair credit standing and that "his reputation and character are quite good." 54 There are no references to the publication of **ARABJ**, nor do the reports indicate that financial problems caused the dissolving of the Sloan/Hutton partnership. However, reference to a $9750 judgment against
Sloan, reported in January 1877, stated it "will destroy all claims to credit." The judgment was still not settled a year later and another judgment of $257 was issued. The report of January 29, 1878, boldly concluded that Sloan "is not entitled to credit." None of the biographies on Sloan have researched these judgments, which may have been among the reasons why he left Philadelphia and worked in North Carolina until the time of his death in 1884.

Cooledge has stated that Sloan's uneasy relationship with "several Philadelphia architects" (undocumented identities), and the lack of support from the national A.I.A., whose officers were primarily from Philadelphia, were the reasons for the publication's failure. Cooledge supports his theory by emphasizing Sloan's withdrawal from the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter and from the major organization in 1876.

An article in the *American Builder: Journal of Art* provides another possible reason for Sloan's failure, namely the lack appeal to builders. The September, 1869, "After Dinner Hour" column reveals the attitude of one builder from Chicago and may reflect the views of other builders throughout the country. The editors had the following conversation with a builder, asking him whether or not he read *The Builder* or *Building News*. The reply was that these were English periodicals, they were too expensive, and that they were of no use to him. The editors then asked: Did he
(the builder) take Mr. Sloan's very excellent American Builder's Journal, which superseded the Architectural Review, also a very valuable publication? The response was no. The builder bluntly stated in response to the editors questioning: "The truth is I can't see what use any of these papers would be to me. I make my living by building houses, and unless these papers should teach me how to build cheaper they would be of no use. I work by the job." The ABJA editors responded with the statement that builders such as him were part of building "shams" and condemned such practices. 59

The American Builder: Journal of Art, published in Chicago by Charles Lakey, began publication in October 1868. Lakey's desire for a national audience was similar to Sloan's, but as can be expected, the journal focused primarily on the mid-west and its architects, engineers, and buildings. The first issue of the ABJA stated, "it would be indispensable to every man who has anything to do with the construction and erection of buildings." 60 Each issue was to contain two pages of illustrations (with the best engravers on wood employed); it emphasized reforms in building construction, provided information on fireproofing, building plans and specifications, and articles related to architecture, sculpture and painting. 61 The magazine would also devote "space to engineering and mechanics in proportion." 62 The editors of ABJA were supportive of
establishing building standards and avoiding "shams" in construction.

Like Sloan's journal, the ABJA drew on correspondents from various parts of the country. The editorial tone was much stronger than Sloan's and clearly stated its position on exposing building "shams":

We shall publish an independent and outspoken journal. We purpose to call things by their right names. We wish it understood in the beginning that we are opposed to shams in architecture, and that we shall bring to bear against them in every enginery of honest criticism, regardless of the tender feelings of those who may be hurt by their fall.

Because of the emphasis on building and aggressiveness of exposing building "shams," some scholars have suggested that the ABJA alienated many architects. Vincent Scully has even suggested that the publication was "hostile" to architects. Scully stated that in the early 1870s the ABJA was "the spokesman for the rather materialistic utilitarianism of the vernacular builder and extremely hostile to the professional pretensions of the registered architect." A brief review of articles appearing at this time suggests a different attitude, namely the recognition by the editors of the lack of formal training of architects and the need to establish proper schools and education. In the November 1872 issue, the editors commented on the criticism that the journal was only for architects: a building journal like the ABJA:
must obtain wide circulation, and [this can be] done only by making its pages attractive and of value to the building trades, with emphasis with carpentry, soliciting news and good drawings.

Scully is correct in his assessment of the journal's appeal to the vernacular builder, as the name of the publication changed to The Builder and Woodworker in 1880. Further comparison with Sloan's primarily east coast journal and the ABJA's mid-west publication would reveal similarities in articles and illustrations; it would also reflect geographical and regional developments in architecture and architectural rendering styles. Both journals were available to the public and to the building profession.

In March of 1870 Benjamin Linfoot and Conyers Fleu began to publish Philadelphia's second architectural journal, The American Architect and Builder's Monthly. A Journal Devoted to Architecture and Art Generally (AABM). By this time Linfoot was married and establishing a family (a daughter Mary was born in May 1870). (See Plate 10.) He must have felt confident both professionally and financially to undertake a publication. Why Linfoot decided to publish his journal at the same time Sloan's publication was already established and acknowledged in the city and throughout the east coast is a one question that most likely will remain unanswered. Did Linfoot feel that he could serve a different audience? This is highly unlikely when the contents of both magazines are compared. The other important question is how Sloan must have felt, observing a
The statement that the AABM was being issued under "independent and impartial auspices" most likely refers to being independent of Sloan's publication and without the support of a professional organization like the A.I.A. The contents and illustrations in the AABM suggests that although "independent" from the ARABJ, the format and articles were closely related.

Like Sloan, Linfoot envisioned his journal appealing "to all who partake an interest in Architecture as well as those, who, taking their stand upon a broader basis, would further the interests of the arts in general." The future contents of the AABM were not specifically identified in the first issue, as they were in the ARABJ. Each issue of the AABM contained several lithographic plates by Linfoot and
Fleu, building notices and proposals, "letters" from correspondents in major cities (both in the United States and in England), and articles on topics such as drawing techniques, architectural history and reports from A.I.A. chapters. Letters from New York, Boston, Chicago, Canada, and England, were printed in the first issue; each letter contained information about new buildings, competitions and new construction materials. The subject of the correspondent column was similar to Sloan's Gazette column. However, the AABM did not emphasize Philadelphia subjects as much as the ARABJ did.

As with other architectural journals, Linfoot appealed for the cooperation of various professionals to assure the success of the publication. In the first issue he wrote:

"The AABM whilst having all that experience and money can bring to bear upon it, to insure its success, must, in some measure, necessarily rely upon the co-operation of American Architects, Engineers, and Builders and this the publishers confidently hope for."

A key phrase in this sentence is "whilst having all that experience and money can bring to bear upon it." The "experience" most likely refers to some participation and understanding of Sloan's publication and the "money" may refer to Linfoot's partner, Conyers Fleu.

How the partnership between the two men formed is uncertain. The city directory entries for Conyers Fleu are limited to the period 1871 to 1873, with his place of residence given as Germantown. The lithographic firm of
Linfoot and Fleu, located at 328 Walnut Street, appears in the 1871 directory. One of the major problems in trying to determine information on Fleu and his family is the various spelling of the last name. It appears that Conyers Fleu may have had an uncle who was a printer in Germantown. A review of the 1880 census lists several "Flue" families in Germantown. Two men, Charles and John M. Flue, have the occupation printer. Conyers does not appear in either household entry.  

The R. G. Dun and Company credit reports on the Linfoot and Fleu partnership indicates that the source of financial support may have been from Conyer's uncle Charles or John Flue. The entry of January 30, 1871, stated Linfoot and Fleu had been partners for one year and the partnership would dissolve after the completion of the last volume of their work. "We learn [that Linfoot and Fleu] are consid. hon. young men, but have no available means. F. is quite a young man and his uncle is said to hold some money in trust for him." The entry does not identify the uncle but evidence from the city directories and census data suggests that one of the Flues who was involved in the printing trade may have assisted with the publication of the journal.

Many of the articles in AABM were formal and scholarly, discussing topics on European architecture, theory of history and related arts. Included in eight of the eleven issues was a continuing article on Gothic architecture,
written by J. H. Chamberlain. A series on European cathedrals began with the analysis of the York cathedral, which was featured in five issues. The editors also included information on English architectural and archeological societies. Including such notices may not have not appealed to Americans, but it demonstrated that organizations related to architecture and history were common in England.

Linfoot reprinted the first four chapters of Samuel Prout's *Hints on Light and Shadow* in the April, May, and June issues. The introductory chapter was reprinted in the three installments with some minor changes in the text. Linfoot, as editor, was familiar with the publication from his own transcription of the text in 1858.

A.I.A. chapter events and developments were included regularly in the *AABM*, which may have gained support of the journal among the A.I.A. members. The Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter recognized the *AABM* publication and voted in the June 27, 1870, meeting to subscribe to "Mr. Linfoot's monthly periodical--the amount $5 being taken from the library fund." However, Linfoot and Fleu wisely donated their magazine to the newly formed A.I.A. reading room at The Athenaeum.

The proceedings of the New York A.I.A. chapter were frequently included in the *AABM*. For example, a list of the papers presented at the New York annual meeting was
published in the May 1870, issue. Some of the papers included discussions of fireproofing, colonial architecture, the training of architects, professional guilds and the architecture and archeological societies of Europe. Extensive coverage was given to the 1870 convention, held in Philadelphia, describing the officers elected and members appointed to the various committees.

The AABM included a brief advertisement section that occurred occasionally on the last page; however, the large advertisements for building materials that appeared in The Builder or American Builder: Journal of Art were missing. The few advertisements were more in the order of notices for work either by architects or assistants, or the dissolving or creation of architectural and/or engineering firms.

Included in the advertisements of several issues was the solicitation of correspondents in various cities. The Canadian correspondent, in the first issue, provided insight to the role of the correspondent and how material was received for illustration. Appointed to the position of Canadian correspondent too close to the original press deadline, the author apologized for not writing a lengthy building intelligence report. The unidentified author wrote:

I forward, however, per return, a photograph of the above buildings with the following particulars, and trust you may find them of service.
The description was of the "Caverhill Block" in Montreal, designed by the Chicago architect C. P. Thomas. The rather formal references to Mr. Thomas by the Canadian Correspondent suggest that the architect and correspondent were not acquainted, but the correspondent has seen the building.

Correspondents, like the Canadian, sent to Linfoot and Fleu photographs with accompanying floor plans, elevations and/or descriptions. The two men would then select the projects to be included and would illustrate the building. This procedure was followed by other journals and helps to explain the wide range of geographical representation in the journal. The states most frequently illustrated in AABM included New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Philadelphia and York, England, were the two cities that were most illustrated. Forty architects are identified with illustrated buildings; either they or the city correspondent sent photographs or drawings of the work. The type of building illustrated reflected the diversity of uses and new building styles. Residential buildings, including designs specifically for summer recreational use, along with religious buildings, banks, general business structures and state government buildings were illustrated.

Introduced in the July issue was a column entitled "Decoration" that featured medieval manuscript alphabets.
The two plates appearing in July were printed with red and blue ink; the August and September plates were of brown and green ink. The AABM may have been the first architectural journal to use colored ink for illustration. The printing with colored ink clearly demonstrated the decorative effect of the manuscript letters and was a striking contrast to the other engraved plates. This may have contributed to the expense of publishing the journal.

An average of six to seven engraved plates appeared in each issue of the AABM. The early engravings were signed in the center bottom with: "Engraved by Linfoot & Fleu Architectural Lithographers, Phila'da." By June, the plates were signed "Linfoot and Fleu Lithographers" which usually appeared in a bottom corner within the border. Most of the illustrations are surrounded by a border with a decorative corner motif of geometric shapes, with few repeated borders. The earlier illustrations are drawn with thin lines and contain little details of building surface. The later illustrations in contrast, have a much heavier line and suggest that they were lithographs after pen and ink drawings.

Only one of the illustrations is identified as being from a pattern book of the period, and it was published with the author’s permission. G. B. Croff’s "Cottage Residence," in Saratoga Springs, New York, originally appeared in Croff’s Model Suburban Architecture, (1870). Linfoot
redrew the elevation and plans, adding a woman holding a parasol to the elevation.

The plate of Henry Sim's First Presbyterian Church published in May 1870, may be after an engraving by Van Ingen and Snyder. The AABM engraving was a double-page perspective with a woman, child and dog in the foreground. The Van Ingen and Snyder engraving does not identify the delineator but the poses of the people and the random birds in the sky are similar to Linfoot's other work for the firm. The date of the Van Ingen and Snyder engraving is unknown; however, it shows the proposed bell tower that Sims designed but was never built until 1900, when Frank Furness re-designed the tower.

One building that Linfoot illustrated at least twice was Rodef Shalom Synagogue, designed by Fraser, Furness and Hewitt, located at Broad and Mt. Vernon Streets, Philadelphia. (See Plate 11.) The illustration in AABM appeared in the first issue, March 1870. Linfoot's style is very restrained in the AABM illustration, with few lines depicting the various building textures. Also lacking in the AABM illustration are Linfoot's usual people, horses and carriages. In contrast is the larger, hand-colored lithograph of the building (copy at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), which contains small groups of people and a much greater architectural detail. Linfoot's signature appears in the lower left corner (dated 1869) with the
center title block simply stating the architectural firm's name and not the name of the synagogue. The coloring of the lithograph corresponds to the written description of the building materials that appeared in the AABM. The building was constructed of Trenton and Hummelstown brownstone, Potomac red sandstone and Ohio light sandstone with a slate roof. Linfoot's coloring reveals the voussoirs were alternating red and light buff sandstone with brownstone used for the walls. The front facade columns are a brilliant red contrasting with the muted brown, red and light buff stone. The "onion dome" roof was colored with alternating blue and gold bands. The third illustration of the synagogue appeared in the AABN in January, 1876, and was not executed by Linfoot. H. M. Stephenson is given as the delineator of the plate; he merely traced the Linfoot original (in AABM), and as a result the image is reversed.

Usually accompanying the engraved plates were descriptions provided by the various correspondents or the editors. The Rodef Shalom Synagogue provides a good example of the information on building materials and construction, together with the editor's opinions of the design. Prior to describing the synagogue's building materials, the editors commented on the design:

Most original and pleasing, does not in any degree approach the "fantastic," and in this respect is one of a very few creations in this style....
Other descriptions, such as the new government building at West Point designed by G. E. Harney, revealed the author's stylistic preferences for mansard roofs and Gothic details. The *AABM* author--it is presumed that most of the material was written and edited by Linfoot--also included examples from the competition for the New York Masonic Hall. The competition designs, submitted by Griffith Thomas, Napoleon LeBrun, and James Renwick, were printed in April and August. The description for Thomas's design implied that the rules for Masonic competitions were not clearly stated; because of governing regulations associated with the Masons, the editor felt the designs should be of the Gothic style. LeBrun's design was in the Second Empire Style and the author bluntly stated that although the design expressed a high degree the qualities of strength and repose, as shown by the artistically finished perspective, [the design] contains no striking features of outline or detail to distinguish it as one of the remarkable buildings of the metropolis. 

The *AABM* residential designs often included floor plans, causing Linfoot to address the problem of "copying" by builders. (Seven residential buildings were illustrated; six contained accompanying floor plans.) For example, the description for J. C. Markham's detached stone house, in Englewood, New Jersey stated:

This is a good example and illustration of the superiority of stone as a building material and while nothing more absurd than the idea of publishing plans to be adopted instead of
professional aid, it may afford some useful hints in the economy of arrangement and construction.

Because of the short period of publication, there are no reviews of the AABM. The American Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circular contained in each issue a column entitled "The Editor's Table" where catalogues, pamphlets, and periodicals were mentioned but not reviewed. The May 2, 1870, "Editor's Table" reported receiving the March and April issues of the AABM. According to the editors, the public was welcomed to visit their offices to review the publications listed in the column. A full review of the AABM never appeared in the Literary Gazette.

The AABM ceased publication after the January, 1871, issue without explanation. One scholar has suggested that the cost of producing lithographic plates could be one reason for the failure of the publication. Without surviving account books or diaries one can only speculate, but financial difficulties are the most likely cause. The R. G. Dun and Company credit report described financial problems as the principal reason for the journal's limited publication of only nine months. "They are owing bills sometime overdue which they are at present unable to settle. Have not met with much success in their business and should be sold only for cash." Although the publication ended after January 1871, the partners still appeared listed in the city directory of 1872.
Another major problem may have been the lack of professional and official support from the A.I.A. It was not until five years later, in 1876, when the *American Architect and Building News* began, that the national A.I.A. officially supported the publication. Even then, the relationship was not always an easy one. The emphasis of articles having a formal academic approach toward architecture, and to English architecture specifically, may not have been appealing to the builders and engineers. After the AABM ended there was no east coast journal until the appearance of the AABN. The absence of the journal during this period is unfortunate; Philadelphia was preparing for the Centennial—an event that would have been a major topic for discussion in a journal of architecture.

Linfoot's personal life was changing during the period of the AABM publication and afterwards. On May 10, 1870, a daughter, Mary Ethel, was born but tragically died three months later in August. The first son, Ernest Elliott, was born on June 11, 1871; he survived to adulthood. Another son, Benjamin Edis, was born a year later, on November 26, 1872, and later became an architect trained by his father. The third son, Frank Burton, was born April 30, 1880, but like his sister, he died shortly afterwards (August 10, 1880). During this period the Linfoot household moved throughout various sections of the city.
In 1870, the family was listed in the city directory at 2016 Shippen Street. The following two years were spent at 127 S. 36th Street, in West Philadelphia. By 1874, the family had moved again to another West Philadelphia location, 4021 Ludlow Street, where they lived until 1881. According to the city directory, the family lived in West Philadelphia for a brief time during 1882, and 1883, at 203 Wyoming Street. This information conflicts with the birth register entry for Frank Burton Linfoot and with the 1880 United States Census listing for the family. Because of the difference in census and city directory listings it is not known when the Linfoots moved to Wyoming Street. The city directory did list the family as living in West Philadelphia at 750 Preston Street from 1884, until Linfoot's death in 1912. This is supported by surviving family documents.

The city directory also interchanged Linfoot's occupation. Sometimes he identified himself as an architect, others as a lithographer. The two occupations, sometimes with an office address and other times without, document Linfoot's various professional activities. These variations demonstrate how the label "architect" could apply to anyone involved in the building trades and not necessarily to persons formally trained to the emerging profession. Two men who were indirectly connected with Linfoot's career, Charles Balderston and Finley Hutton, have
city directory entries that reflect their development from draftsman to architect; neither had formal training in architecture. Balderston was listed in 1874 as a draftsman, a carpenter in 1875, and an architect in 1876. Hutton's occupations developed from a draftsman in 1872, to an architect in 1873, and finally a builder in 1874. The lack of a listed office for Linfoot during the period 1872 to 1876, suggested that he was employed by an architectural firm, possibly as a renderer or assistant. Indeed, from February, 1874, until the end of 1875 he was employed by Addison Hutton.
CHAPTER THREE

After the Sloan/Hutton partnership dissolved in December 1867, Addison Hutton continued to practice architecture; his practice became successful during the 1870s. Hutton kept a diary during this period that documents the various assistants he employed and the architectural commissions he received. Like most diaries, Hutton's provides a personal account, but the entries are brief and raise more questions about his life and his career than they answer. They are also frustrating. On January 27, 1876, Hutton wrote: "Spent all day and evening destroying old drawings." It is particularly frustrating to know that he was probably destroying more of the evidence that would document Linfoot's employment in his office.

In the fall of 1872, Hutton wrote that he had hired John Ord and Robert Gray Kennedy as assistants at a weekly salary of $30. John Ord, like Robert Kennedy, apprenticed to the firm Peddie and Kinner of Edinburgh, Scotland, receiving his initial training prior to immigrating to the United States. (Both men were in the Peddie and Kinner office at the same time.) After working with Hutton, Ord assisted John McArthur in 1880 with the construction of the new Philadelphia city hall, becoming the senior architect from 1890 to 1893 after McArthur's death in 1890. Robert Kennedy was born in 1850, in Barnyards Village, County Fife,
Scotland, and entered Hutton's office at the age of 22. In 1877 Kennedy established an independent practice where he was later joined by Frank Hays and Albert Kelsey. The architectural rendering style of Kennedy and Linfoot are very similar and may reflect a close association with one another that was begun in Hutton's office.

The two Scots left Hutton's office in December 1873, to travel to England, and most likely to Scotland. On December 5, Hutton records: "Ord and Kennedy bade good-bye to sail from New York tomorrow for Liverpool." It is unrecorded how long they were gone, yet it may have been for an extended period, and it may be the reason why Hutton hired Linfoot in February 1874. Hutton's entry for February 18, 1874, states that Linfoot was hired "to assist me in office for 12 mons. from March 1st at the rate of $60 per week." The difference in payments between Ord, Linfoot and Kennedy indicates that Linfoot was the highest paid of the three but only for a short period of time.

There are no direct diary entries describing Linfoot's daily activities in the office, and there are only limited references to him working on specific jobs during his employment. Hutton did record the various projects he was working on (which probably included his assistants) but the surviving drawings from his office from this period provide nothing more about Linfoot's work. The diversified projects occurring in the office at this period reflect Hutton's
skill designing religious, residential, collegiate and library buildings. A note in the April 1874 diary mentions the Orphan's Asylum, the Ridgway Library, Bethany Church, the Second Baptist Church, the YMCA building and a church at 7th and Poplar Streets. A January 15, 1875, entry noted that Linfoot was to make drawings of doors and windows for the Robert Kaighn residence.  

One example of Linfoot's artistic activity during the fall of 1874 was his Honorable Mention in the Franklin Institute's 50th Year Anniversary exhibition-- a water color of the York Cathedral transept. The illustration is an excellent example of Linfoot's skills in water color rendering and his mastering of the effects of light and shadow. The subdued shades of the gray stone contrast sharply with the brilliant reds, yellows, and blues of the stained glass at the altar. The filtered light through the cathedral windows creates interesting patterns of shadows and sunlight and by including several groups of people in the transept the grandeur of the cathedral scale is expressed.  

During this period, 1874 to 1876, Hutton's office staff was expanding; Hutton hired Charles Balderston in February 1875 to work primarily on the YMCA commission. Prior to being hired by Hutton, Balderston had worked for Samuel Sloan from 1873 to 1874. By April 1875 Hutton had seven employees including: Ord, Kennedy, Linfoot, Balderston,
Bennet, Jackson and Richardson. Balderston was the highest paid ($700) and other diary entries indicate that he was involved with structural and engineering aspects of the firm, whereas the others primarily drew or assisted with other components of the projects. Ord received $675, followed by Linfoot at $300, Richardson $262, and Kennedy received $168. Bennet and Jackson were paid little, which suggests that they were office assistants to the draftsmen helping to prepare the paper or ink, or doing other odd jobs. Later in the fall of 1875, Isaiah B. Young joined the firm.

The Harriet Hollond Memorial Sabbath School in Philadelphia was one of the projects in the spring of 1875 that involved Addison and Finley Hutton, Linfoot, and Mark Balderston. Miss Harriet Hollond, a wealthy Presbyterian, died in 1870, bequeathing $10,000 for a new church building. The Sabbath school building at Clarion and Federal Streets was built in 1873 by Charles D. Supplee, from a design by the architect Davis Edmund Supplee. Addison Hutton knew Charles Supplee from other projects, specifically the Orphan's Asylum in West Philadelphia. Hutton, as the architect, hired Supplee to do carpentry work on the stables, tenant house and main building. Because of his previous relationship with Charles Supplee, it is possible that Hutton was familiar with the Sabbath school design and construction when it was first built.

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The small brownstone structure was simple in design with Gothic windows of alternating colored voussoirs of Seneca stone and a clipped gabled roof of patterned slate and a decorative iron ridge crest. The building specifications (located in the Presbyterian Historical Society archives), include descriptions and paint schemes for the interior rooms. The wood in the school room, library, anteroom, and infant school was stained walnut; the spandrels, iron columns and partition cornices were painted ultramarine blue with the capitals, plates, bands and columns painted red. The exterior wood was painted a slate color. Finished by the spring of 1874, the Sabbath school building was enlarged one year later according to the designs and drawings provided by Addison Hutton and built by Hutton’s brother, Finley, and his partner Mark Balderston.  

The addition was to the rear of the earlier structure and included removing the roof and raising the walls to create an additional floor. The same type of materials were used in the Hutton addition.

Linfoot illustrated the Sabbath school building and included it in his publication *Summer Quarters* for Spring Lake, New Jersey. (See Plate 12.) The illustration contains a title block with the signature "Benjamin Linfoot, Architect, 719 Walnut Street Philadelphia," implying that he was the architect as well as the delineator of the building. (The address was for Linfoot’s office of 1882 and
not an earlier office location.) Linfoot's name does not appear in any of the records for the building nor is it known when the illustration was done. Like many other of his pen and ink illustrations, Linfoot included two male horseback riders and a man and woman as foreground figures. The reason why Linfoot printed the Sabbath school design in the Summer Quarters prospectus is unclear but there are two other non-Spring Lake buildings included—the William Woods Warehouse and the Memorial Baptist church. Perhaps the illustrations were of projects he was involved with as a renderer.

In March 1875, Hutton's entered in his diary a list of the various projects of the firm, including "Yarnell and Cooper--Sea Girt Hotel." The commission for this hotel in Sea Girt, New Jersey, may have provided Linfoot with experience and contacts he later used when designing the Hastings Square cottages at Spring Lake. (Spring Lake and Sea Girt are adjacent towns along the New Jersey coast.) Yarnell and Cooper were Philadelphia builders and architects who were involved in the building and development of these sea-side communities during this period. 16

A diary entry on August 7, 1875, indicated that Linfoot was to go away for two weeks, perhaps on his summer vacation. The 1875 fall diary entries include many references to securing John Ord's employment for the following year and comments on various commissions:
Haverford College, the YMCA, and the Lutheran Church at Broad and Mt. Vernon (opposite the Rodef Shalom). The October 30, 1875, entry contained Hutton's record of paying his assistants; Kennedy and Linfoot received the highest amounts, appearing next to Kennedy's name was $523 and $150, while Linfoot received $300. Ord's payment was given the previous day and totalled $216. The diary entries for paying assistants appear at random but after the October 30th entry Linfoot's and Kennedy's names do not appear again in the diary, suggesting that both men left Hutton's office by the end of 1875, or in the early part of 1876.

It is possible, though the evidence has not yet been found, that after leaving Hutton's office Linfoot and Kennedy may have worked together or were hired by other firms as renderers. Next to John Ord, who was to become Hutton's partner, Linfoot and Kennedy were the highest paid assistants, and both men share similarities in their building designs and drawing technique. Kennedy's drawing of "Proposed Country House Near Philadelphia, PA," appeared in the April 15, 1882, issue of AARN and shows a strong resemblance to Linfoot's cottage designs at Hastings Square, Spring Lake. Variation of wall surface planes through the use of half timber construction, patterned shingles and stone work, along with corbeled brick chimney stacks and the use of decorative iron cresting on the roof with terra cotta animal figures at the gable ends in Kennedy's work show the
influence of Richard Norman Shaw and his adaptation of Queen Anne and Elizabethan motifs. Linfoot's work shares many of the same qualities and perhaps both men were closely associated with one another after leaving Hutton's office. The 1876 city directory lists Linfoot as an architect but with no address provided. There is no city directory entry for Kennedy until 1877, when he is listed as an architect with offices at 120 N. 13th Street. Kennedy in 1876 was only 28 years old, just beginning his career, in contrast to Linfoot, who, at age 36, should have been established and stable in his occupation.

The professional relationship between Davis Supplee, Addison Hutton and Benjamin Linfoot is one that interconnects all three men with various projects but still poses unanswered questions. The city directory listings for Supplee contain a variety of occupations such as carpenter, builder and architect which indicate that he may have needed to hire a renderer such as Linfoot.\(^{17}\) Supplee did hire Linfoot as a renderer in 1872 to illustrate Supplee's entry in the YMCA competition. Linfoot's renderings were published in the December 9, 1876, issue of *AABN* which marks the first appearance of Linfoot's signed work in that journal. Hutton was awarded the YMCA commission. This may have also involved Linfoot's rendering skills, as Linfoot was employed by Hutton during this period. The YMCA was a project lasting several years; the cornerstone was laid on
July 15, 1875, but preliminary drawings and designs were mentioned in Hutton's diary as early as April 1874.\(^{18}\)

The Second Presbyterian Church of Mantua, West Philadelphia, was located at Preston and Aspen Streets and built in 1874 by Davis Supplee. The small chapel design is similar to the Harriet Hollond Chapel in the use of alternating colored voussoirs, small buttresses and the slate roof with small dormer openings.\(^{19}\) It is likely that Supplee designed the larger addition of 1892, which expanded the chapel into a church. Linfoot may have been involved in some aspect of the chapel design or in the latter addition, as he was living on Preston Street by the end of the 1870s.

One commission involving Hutton and Supplee in 1875, and again, possibly Linfoot, was the St. Matthew Evangelical Lutheran Church, located at Broad and Mt. Vernon Streets. Supplee's design was published in the September 1876 issue of *AABN*.\(^{20}\) Hutton noted in his diary on February 18, 1875, "send dwgs [drawings] to Wm. J. Miller for Church Broad & Mt. Vernon before night." Ground-breaking for the church was on July 12, 1875, three days before the ground-breaking ceremonies for the YMCA.\(^{21}\) The responsibilities of Supplee and Hutton in this project are not known.

More research is needed regarding Davis Supplee to locate information about his various commissions.\(^{22}\) Careful examination of different Supplee projects during the 1870s, and the various renderers of his projects, may clarify his
commissions and determine Linfoot's contributions.

Although it has yet to be determined precisely where Linfoot was employed after working for Addison Hutton, Linfoot did record the significant event of 1876--the Centennial celebration. A collection of twenty plates of pen and ink sketches by him document the various Centennial buildings, interior exhibits and streetscapes. It is believed that the drawings were done with the intention of publishing them in a report or brochure on the Centennial; however, they appear never to have been published. (See Plates 13 - 18.) There is also the possibility that the sketches were preliminary drawings for more detailed engravings. The firm Van Ingen and Snyder did engravings of the fair and when compared to the Linfoot sketches, the Van Ingen and Snyder engravings contain many similarities to Linfoot's earlier signed work. 23

Preparation for the Centennial began as early as 1871, with the appointment of various committees to oversee the organization and installation of the exhibits. Located in the Fairmount Park section of the city, the Centennial included both international and domestic buildings with exhibits displaying the diversity in cultural and technological advancements of the nineteenth century. One of the guidebooks described the fair:

A tour through the halls and grounds was like a journey around the world, giving an insight into the life and thought of all manner of men, and
lifting the visitor above the narrow limits of his surroundings, so that his horizon stretched out to embrace the whole human race....

Opened to the public from May 10th until November 10th, the Centennial attracted millions of people from all over the world to Philadelphia. Linfoot's illustrations are part of the many visual records that survive from the period, and his pen and ink sketches document the vitality and excitement that is lacking in other engravings of the Centennial. The illustrations contain one perspective map of the exhibition grounds, streetscapes (documenting the building arrangements and showing the various types of transportation available to the fair), interior views of the large exhibition halls, and the various state and international buildings such as the Japanese structures and the British Government Buildings.

Accompanying the variety of published guidebooks were engravings of the various buildings and exhibits. Many of these engravings were done by the firm of Van Ingen and Snyder. A brief comparison between the Linfoot and Van Ingen and Snyder illustrations contain similarities but also differences. Perhaps these surviving sketches were Linfoot's preliminary work, done prior to engraving, if he was employed by Van Ingen and Snyder at this time. A comparison between Linfoot's illustration and those published by Van Ingen and Snyder of the Illinois and Indiana state buildings and the Swedish School House
demonstrate the difference in details of the drawings, despite the obvious difference in medium.

The Illinois State Building was a two story structure with various projecting second floor roof lines and a corner bay window with conical tower. (See Plate 18.) The Van Ingen and Snyder engraving contains a different slate roof pattern and decorative iron cresting for the roof; both details do not appear on the Linfoot illustration. The other significant difference is the depiction of the bargeboard treatment; one looking Gothic, the other simple and plain. A flag pole is located on the corner tower in the Linfoot sketch. Linfoot's Indiana State Building does not contain the three flag poles shown in the Van Ingen and Snyder engraving. Differences in the depiction of the mansard roof, projecting bays, and windows appear in both illustrations. The Swedish School House as depicted by Linfoot contains no large corner brackets, no chimney stack, a different porch entry and what appears to be a porch—all of which are missing in the Van Ingen and Snyder engraving.

Linfoot's other sketches were of smaller buildings or concession services. One sheet contains the interior and exterior view of the Photo Gallery, the photography studio and tourist ticket office. Five buildings were illustrated on one sheet—two stove manufacturers, the New York Tribune building, a glass manufacturer, and the printer's building. Most of these buildings were located in the same
geographical area.

The **AABN** published many articles (with illustrations) throughout the year which described the various buildings and exhibitions at the Centennial. An article of March 4, described the architectural designs from England, praising the innovative work and the "fine example for the mass of architects and students to review and perhaps even follow." The Americans also exhibited examples of their work, however, the **AABN** editors were harshly critical of the drawings:

There is a considerable amount of pen and ink work: most of the drawings cleverly done, and those in pen and ink, on the whole, better than the washed or colored drawings. The lack of interiors is notable, and there is almost no show of color decoration. There is a fair amount of very good things; though the best architectural work of the country is not fairly represented, nor is the worst. The exhibition is not a thing to be proud of; but there is material in the country for a far worse one.

A list of American exhibitors in the fine arts gallery did not include Linfoot's work. The **AABN** reference to a large quantity of pen and ink work does suggest the possibility of Linfoot exhibiting his work but records do not indicate that he did.

The precise nature of Linfoot's employment during the period 1871 to 1881 remains a mystery. His listing in the city directories changes from architect to lithographer in 1879, with the 1880 listing as architect. An office address is sometimes provided. Because of the lack of surviving
documentation it has been frustrating not to have been able to identify Linfoot's specific employment patterns. The documented period in Addison Hutton's office may have been crucial in Linfoot's career. As Hutton's assistant, Linfoot was involved in a variety of projects, allowing him to work with different contractors/builders and clients. Linfoot's talents and abilities as an architect expanded during this decade and came to the attention of Mrs. Matthew Baird, who commissioned from him a large multi-residential complex, located in Spring Lake, New Jersey. The 1880 "Hastings Square" commission was to become one of Linfoot's finest architectural projects.
Located in Monmouth County, New Jersey, is the seaside community of Spring Lake. The town, incorporated in 1903, was originally four smaller communities--Spring Lake Beach, Villa Park, Brighton and Como. During the 1870s several business groups formed and began to develop what had been farmland into a fashionable summer resort. Following the development of neighboring towns such as Ocean Grove, Asbury Park and Manasquan, the "improvement associations" of the communities began to build hotels for summer residents. The introduction of the railroad to the coast by 1875, allowed for easier accessibility from New York City and Philadelphia. One significant aspect in the development of Spring Lake was its use for seasonal recreation. Other New Jersey seaside communities developed into year-round residential towns or as a result of religious camp revivals. By the time Anna Wright Baird purchased her block of land from John Hunter in November 1880, and commissioned Linfoot to design a building complex, Spring Lake was rapidly developing into one of the coast's leading fashionable resort communities.

The area that was to become Hastings Square was located in the Spring Lake Beach development. Forman Osborn, a farmer, owned approximately 285 acres of land. A visiting Philadelphia clergyman, the Reverend Alfonso A. Willits,
realized the development potential of the property and upon
his return to Philadelphia in the fall of 1874, tried to
solicit interested individuals. Willits's efforts resulted
in the formation in March, 1875, of the Spring Lake Beach
Improvement Company, whose corporate objective was to create
a sea-side resort by selling lots and building hotels and
cottages. The improvement company hired a Philadelphia
ingineer, Frederick Anspach, to develop a community plan.

Included in Anspach's plan along the ocean and the lake were
the large hotel complexes. The first large structure
financed by the Spring Lake Beach Improvement Company was
the Monmouth Hotel, begun in May, 1875, and opened by June
the following year. To the north of the Monmouth Hotel
would eventually be the Hastings Square block.

The Spring Lake Beach Improvement Company was actively
selling and developing the parcels of land by the late
1870s. A newspaper article of February 24, 1877, described
the flurry of building activity:

Not withstanding the unsettled state of the
country in regard to the vexed presidential
caracter involving failures, losses &c., yet
along the shore, and especially this section of
it, things generally hold their own, and building
improvements are going right ahead.... At Villa
Park and Spring Lake there are in the course of
construction and projected, forty or fifty more,
some very large ones, as the Spring Lake Hotel,
and spacious double family cottages, the owners of
which I have not learned; but some few I may -
name - Rev. Dr. Willets [sic], Messrs. Hunter,
Lucas, Hamilton, Hughes.
The article continued to describe the various carpentry and building firms, construction material suppliers and "two steam sash and door factories in the village." One of the men identified as an owner of Spring Lake property, and a member of the Spring Lake Beach Improvement Company, was John Hunter. Between the period of November, 1880, and April, 1881, Hunter sold Anna Wright Baird 18 parcels of land, all contained within one block.

The client for Linfoot's Hastings Square project was Mrs. Anna Wright Baird, a wealthy widow. Her husband, Matthew Baird, had been a partner with Matthias W. Baldwin, owner of Baldwin Locomotives. The Baird and Baldwin partnership began in 1854 and lasted until Baldwin's death in 1866. Baird remained with the company until his retirement in 1873. Credit reports on Baird mention his financial holdings to be worth several million dollars. Matthew Baird's fourth wife was Anna Wright, thirty years his junior, who he married in 1871. They had five children. Matthew Baird died on May 19, 1877, a month before his youngest child was born.

Linfoot's commission by Mrs. Baird and his preliminary designs for the development occurred as early as November 4, 1880, prior to the first deed transaction. Linfoot's earliest known drawings for the cottages are on the reverse side of some of his pen and ink perspectives of the final designs. By matching the reverse sides of the "Summer
Residence, Ocean Beach" and "Twin Cottages" one may see the elevations and sections of the early schemes. The "halves" do not match exactly, there is a small center strip missing. Across this missing area is written the title of the drawings--one half has the words "Mrs." and below it "Con" while the other side has "ments" and "ed Cottages." It may have originally read "Mrs. Baird's Improvements--Connected Cottages." One half of the drawing contains the signatures of Mrs. Anna Baird, Charles D. Supplee, attested by Benjamin Linfoot and George Merke. The corresponding half is signed in the lower right corner "Benjamin Linfoot, Architect, 203 Wyoming Street, November 4, 1880." This signature also confirms that Linfoot was working from his home in West Philadelphia. The signature of Charles D. Supplee strongly suggests that he was to be builder of the cottages. It may also suggest that Linfoot and Supplee had been doing other work together prior to this date. The section and elevation drawings of the north facade are in the portion that contains Linfoot's address. The other half of the drawing has an unidentified elevation and an elevation of the west front. All four of the drawings are done in ink and with a water color wash of reddish brown to indicate the walls.

The cottages built on Mrs. Baird's block combined the talents of Linfoot as an architect, renderer, and author. The exquisite pen and ink illustrations of the buildings
record the adaptation of the Shavian mode by Linfoot. In addition to being the architect, Linfoot was also referred to as "The Agent," which may have supplied him with additional income from the project. In this capacity he wrote Summer Quarters, Sea Shore Cottages, which was lavishly illustrated with his own pen and ink sketches of the buildings. (See Plates 19 - 33.) Linfoot's writing, at times including a dry English sense of humor, provides a great amount of information about the buildings—their style, layout of the complex, stained glass, water and fire apparatus, gas systems and drainage.12 The title page of the prospectus sets forth Linfoot's belief that such a "small illustrated and descriptive circular... might, to my many friends, prove interesting."13

Mrs. Baird's commission included two large hotel cottages and eight pairs of semi-detached cottages, plus a central "Tank, Engine and Gas House."14 According to Linfoot, the cottages included drawing and dining rooms, libraries and kitchens, the latter equipped with built-in ranges, galvanized iron boilers, soapstone washtrays, and laundry stoves. Each cottage contained copper bath tubs with sea water or fresh water (hot and cold), hot air furnaces and open fire places. All of these features allowed the tenant "to have more than ordinary city conveniences."15
The name of the complex, "Hastings Square," is explained in the booklet and reflects Linfoot’s English background and his attempt to create an English seaside community. Hastings Square was chosen because the English city of Hastings was a fashionable resort with a mild, healthful climate. It was this similarity in "atmospheric condition and acknowledged benefits" between Spring Lake and Hastings that "prompted the name." One historian of English seaside resorts has written that most Victorians were not in search of enjoyment alone, but rather were in search of health as well as pleasure. Located in the port of Hastings was the long promenade of St. Leonards-by-the-Sea. Unlike other nearby towns, Spring Lake at this time did not have a boardwalk promenade. Linfoot regretted he could not compare the St. Leonards walk to the proposed promenade at Spring Lake, and his writing encouraged the Spring Lake Building Association to build the promenade. According to Linfoot, the promenade did not need to be as grand as the one at St. Leonards, but it could be similar to the walks at Long Branch, Asbury Park and Ocean Grove. Linfoot’s description of Hastings and the St. Leonards promenade suggests he was familiar with both; perhaps he spent a vacation there prior to immigrating. Mentioned in the 1882 summer rental publication was a plank walk that surrounded the block. The walk had gas lamps and was lined with trees.
On the first page of the booklet describing the complex, Linfoot drew a perspective "birds-eye" view of the square. The title block, as it appears in *Summer Quarters*, contains a large Gothic style "H," standing for Hastings Square. In the original drawing the title block contains a sectional view of the ocean floor, with "Mrs. A. W. Baird's Block, Spring Lake, New Jersey" written inside a circle. Adjacent to the circle are several fish, seashells and water. Also inside the title block is a smaller block that reads "Benjamin Linfoot, 719 Walnut Street, Architect and Agent." The difference in the two titles suggests that land was originally called "Mrs. A. W. Baird's Block." By changing the name to "Hastings Square," he provided a more fashionable and elegant title and evoked a specific reference to an English seaside community.

Located within the courtyard area of the block was the "Tank, Engine and Gas House" supplying the proper mechanical systems for the complex. (See Plate 31.) Even the design of this structure, with its tall water pump tower, was compatible to the other buildings in the use of half-timbering and steeply pitched roof. There were four different water pumps for the lawn sprinkler, salt-sea water, fresh water and sewage. "Ferrell and Muckle" of Philadelphia supplied the water engines and pumps. Gas lighting was supplied in all of the cottages, manufactured by the Elkins Manufacturing & Gas Company.
The sewage and drainage system for the complex was discussed in great detail in *Summer Quarters*. The problem of sewage disposal was one of Linfoot's greatest concerns, and the passage on this subject indicates some of his views and approved methods. Professor Robert Kerr of London is quoted frequently in American and English architectural journals on the topic of sewage removal. Robert Kerr was a prominent English architect who lectured and wrote extensively on country house design, engineering and building construction. He was the author of several books, one of the most influential being *The Gentleman's House: or, How to Plan English Residences. From The Parsonage to the Palace* (1871); it included information on residential design and the relationship between architect and client in determining the building style and requirements. *The Gentleman's House* served as a guidebook for many architects, and it most likely influenced Linfoot.

The waste disposal system preferred by Linfoot, supported by quotes from Professor Kerr, was "ocean discharge." Linfoot strongly disapproved of the practice of sewage disposal into the foundation ground. He felt the ocean provided the "perfect medium for submitting the sewage of sea shore cities to that 'atmospheric action' Professor Kerr refers to." Linfoot continued the passage by stating that in the previous year (1881) the drainage went into the ocean "very successfully." One year later a new cesspool
was built on the bluff and Linfoot commented: "We, instead of advancing in matters sanitary, have had to resort to the antiquated, unscientific and altogether barbarous method, of 'entombing the rat'."²³

The seasonal tenants listed in Summer Quarters were all Philadelphians, except for one New York gentleman. The renters included lawyers, a minister and three women—"Miss Townson" and "Mrs. Susan Urie," in addition to Mrs. Baird. The 1882 seasonal rates varied according to building and ranged in price between $500 and $1000 for rental of June 1 to October 1.²⁴ Perhaps due to their familiarity with Hastings Square and Spring Lake, several of the renters eventually hired Linfoot to design residences for them.²⁵

The Hastings Square cottages were an impressive, coherent group, each building carefully related to its adjacent structure. The most notable common element was a continuous porch. Half-timbering, projecting bays, oriel windows, irregular surface patterns, roof lines and windows are often referred to as characteristics of the "Queen Anne" style. Linfoot did not approve of this term being used for his buildings and preferred instead that they be called an "American Style." Linfoot began the style essay in Summer Quarters by acknowledging the various names for his cottages—"English Cottages," and/or "Queen Annie cottages [sic]." He stated that these names were inappropriate and felt that they misrepresented the true Queen Anne period; he had no
sympathy for "the so-called Queen Anne work." Even more revealing is the paragraph explaining Linfoot's interpretation of the Queen Anne style.

The general characteristic of work representing this period [Queen Anne] are the light or short projects, and the moulding of their eaves and gables with classic mouldings, in imitation of Greek work. These are, in my opinion, altogether out of place in marine or suburban houses (especially when executed in wood or plaster) inasmuch as they lack the sheltered and snug look which a country and more particularly a sea shore cottage should have; added to this last, which is after all but the aesthetic side of the question, it is just about the worst possible style to adopt in a wooden structure, for shrinkage cannot be avoided, and when ornamental (especially outside) takes the place of constructive carpentry, it means trouble and expense.... I fail to see why the Spring Lake cottages cannot be called with equal truthfulness German or French, as English, considering that examples can be found in each country in exterior treatment similar, and of very anterior date, to those in England; but of course all lacking the conveniences which in our day belong to a well-appointed house. 26

Linfoot preferred that the cottages be called "American," as they represented more of the requirements of this country than any other country or period, past or present. 27 It is interesting to also note that Linfoot probably became a naturalized citizen in 1889. 28

The debate of stylistic terms for this type of architecture also appeared in one of the leading architectural journal of the period, the AABN. Frequently, letters to the editor contained comments from architects defending or supporting the Queen Anne style. One example can be found in the October 6, 1877, issue where the
anonymous author stated that the revival of the Queen Anne style was an attempt to continue the work of English domestic architecture, and that the name Queen Anne had very little to do with the actual style of architecture.\(^{29}\) An article appearing in the same issue explained that an architect needed to be an artist if he was to succeed in the Queen Anne style, because an artist was capable of combining the mixture of Gothic and Renaissance styles.\(^{30}\)

Whatever stylistic term is given to the Hastings Square cottages, the designs clearly demonstrate Linfoot's English background and exposure to British contemporaries, namely Richard Norman Shaw and his partner William Eden Nesfield, and the architectural rendering style of Maurice B. Adams. Shaw and Nesfield published their works in the leading architectural periodicals (many times with Adams as the delineator) and had several students and imitators.\(^{31}\)

Leyes Wood, Sussex, was designed by Shaw in 1868 and has been referred to as one of Shaw's greatest works.\(^{32}\) The design of the large, U-shaped Elizabethan manor house was published in *Building News* in 1871. Ten years later Shaw's work became adapted in this country by architects such as McKim, Mead and White, William Emerson, H. H. Richardson, Bruce Price, Henry Hudson Holly and many others. The various architectural journals, both in the United States and abroad, published Shaw's designs, and his influence rapidly spread.\(^{33}\)
Between the period 1873 and 1881 Shaw designed at least eighteen large "Shavian Manorial Houses" in addition to his work at Bedford Park, a suburb of London.\(^34\) Shaw's work at Bedford Park can be compared to Linfoot's at Spring Lake where the principle idea was to create a unified co-operative residential complex, yet still retain the individuality of the structures.\(^35\) Each of the Hastings Square cottages was architecturally unique yet presented a unified group of buildings. With the various renters from Philadelphia's upper class, Hastings Square may have had a similar fashionable environment.

Concurrent with the changes of the exterior style were modifications and transformation of interior decoration. That architects were also artists and could therefore design furniture, wallpaper, or other aspects of interior decoration was a prevalent philosophy during this period. For example, Phillip Webb designed furniture and glass, Shaw designed furniture, and E. G. Godwin created wallpaper and furniture.\(^36\) The combination of different styles (Jacobean, Gothic, Moorish and Japanese) resulted in unique and eclectic interior decoration. Like his contemporaries, Linfoot also became involved with interior decoration, designing stained glass windows and rendering the interior finishes of his buildings.

*Summer Quarters* described the stained glass windows in many of the cottages, and one illustration of a window for
Mrs. Baird's twin cottage was provided. Linfoot commented the design was "novel, inexpensive, with a simple and effective treatment and artistic beyond a doubt." His other comments described the decline in the practice of true stained glass manufacturing.

Included with the Summer Quarters illustration are two interior renderings which provide additional clues to Linfoot's decorative abilities. The location of these interior views is not identified on the drawings. Since they were included in the Summer Quarters publication they may be illustrations of the rooms in Hasting Square. (See Plates 32 - 33.)

Interior illustrations such as Linfoot's were prevalent during this period. The English architect Sir Robert William Edis published Decoration and Furniture of the Townhouse (1881), which described decorative treatments for windows, walls, floors, and furniture. All of the illustrations were by Maurice B. Adams. Linfoot owned a copy of Edis's book and may have been used in assisting with the interior designs of Hastings Square.

The influence of European architectural styles on Linfoot's designs is certainly implied but he also knew of the work of American architects, primarily through the architectural periodicals. H. H. Richardson's "William Watts Sherman House" of 1874, in Newport, Rhode Island, is one example that can be compared directly to Linfoot's
design, "Pair of Twin Cottages," for Mrs. Baird. Working in Richardson's office at the time of the Sherman commission was Stanford White, who previously had done renderings of the Richardson projects such as Trinity Church in Boston, and most likely did the renderings of the Sherman house. The New York Sketchbook (1875) included renderings of the interior and exterior of the Sherman house; it could have been seen by Linfoot. The plan of the house included a library on the end of the building with an apse, a large central hall, dining room, drawing room, vestibule and butler/pantry/kitchen. A porch encircled the front and side facades. The exterior treatment included a stone first story with a shingled surface containing decorative panels of non-structural diagonal bracing, projecting dormers, overhanging eaves with large brackets and tall corbelled chimney stacks. Eight years later Stanford White would modify this design with his partners Charles F. McKim and William Mead for the Isaac Bell commission of 1882. Linfoot modified Richardson's floor plan by condensing the size of the hallway, relocating the stair and changing the library to become the parlor. Linfoot retained Richardson's irregular roof line and different surface patterns.

Published in the AABN were illustrations by other architects of seashore residential designs and hotels. For example, the May 19, 1877, issue published a large "Queen Anne" house by Potter and Robertson of New York for a
property at Long Branch, New Jersey. Bruce Price, Henry Hudson Holly, Peabody and Stearns, and many other architects published similar residential designs—some for year-round living, others for summer use. These buildings were for wealthy members of society and provided leisure and fashion. Each of the designs illustrated various architectural styles and also reflected the different rendering styles of men such as Eldon Deane, David Gregg and Harvey Ellis.

Linfoot's pen and ink drawings of Hastings Square follow the presentation methods of other renderers but he includes decorative motifs suggesting the seashore. The title block of the drawing usually occurs in the upper right corner. In the "Miss Townson's Essex House" drawing, the title block appeared in a scroll. (See Plate 21.) The "Pair of Twin Cottages" (for Mrs. Baird) contained an elliptical border with the first floor plan "attached" to the border on the upper left side. (See Plate 19.) The sketch of a summer residence at Ocean Beach also included the first floor plan in the upper left corner. A crane was located inside the title block of four illustrations, suggesting the ocean and beach. The drawing of the "Surf Cottages" contains an illustration of three fish in the upper right corner with the title on the upper left side. (See Plate 23.) One slightly different title block appears in the "Pair of Semi-Detached Cottages." (See Plate 30.)
The title block is drawn on a sheet of paper, draped over a diagonal line crossing the page. A falcon (or other similar bird) rests above the title block. The use of the diagonal line is very unusual in Linfoot’s work and interrupts the drawing composition.

Appearing in each of the drawings are clusters of people, strolling in front of the illustrated house, talking to one another, riding a horse, carriages or driving carts. One scholar has suggested that the fashionable people might derive from genre figures of Derby day illustrations. The drawings provide the artist's interpretation of the lifestyle at Spring Lake. The **Drawing Towards Building** catalog referred to the entire Hastings Square buildings as "stylistically advanced and the drawings the appropriate counterpart, matching the visual diversity of the building materials with an extraordinary range of cross hatching, slashes and free strokes that capture the intended textures and planes."  

Only one of the pen and ink drawings was published in the **AABN**; the "Pair of Cottages," appearing in the January 21, 1882, issue. (See Plate 25.) Replacing the upper right title block that appeared in the **Summer Quarters** illustration was a first floor plan. The drawing was labeled "Design for Cottage" and was signed Benjamin Linfoot, Architect. Unfortunately, there was no accompanying information about the illustration, no mention
of the Hastings Square complex, or of Linfoot's involvement. The exact paint scheme for the Hastings Square cottages is not known.\textsuperscript{44} Linfoot's descriptions in \textit{Summer Quarters} did not mention paint schemes but a small water color rendering does provide some information. Labeled "Spring Lake for Mrs. Baird" the rendering appears to be of the building referred to as "Sussex Hotel" (adjacent to the "Surf Cottages") at the corner of Sussex and Ocean Avenues. It indicates that the roof was a slate gray-blue with a pale brick red colored surface under the cornice. Gray and white bands are painted below this area. The projecting bay, on Sussex Avenue, was a light cream/yellow color. The porch cornice and moldings are red and yellow. Other hotels in Spring Lake were painted, as seen with the notice in the \textit{Asbury Park Journal}. The April 23, 1881, article described the new paint for the Monmouth Beach and Carlton Houses: "the color to be a very dark marine green trimmed in Indian red." The author of the article—"Jaspar"—also noted "This is probably one of the largest jobs ever taken on the coast from one proprietor."\textsuperscript{45}

Mrs. Baird commissioned Linfoot for another building in Spring Lake, the Presbyterian Church. Built on land donated by Mrs. Baird, the church was located behind the Hastings Square block, adjacent to the lake. A newspaper article described the cornerstone laying on Friday, August 20, 1882, stating that Spring Lake was the choice location for "an
unusually large number of Presbyterians from Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere, many of whom are persons of high social standing and of large wealth. Many distinguished ministers also of that church spend their vacations there." This quote also provides more information as to why Mrs. Baird may have chosen Spring Lake.

Referred to as the owner of "one of the most elegant and beautiful squares on the Jersey coast" the article praised Mrs. Baird for her generosity in funding the church.

And as also was natural (to those who know her zeal for her church and her love for her Master), Mrs. Baird was prompt to use her opportunities and hold out her open purse to accomplish this end.

The building construction began in November 1882, and was completed the following spring. Dedication of the church occurred on July 17, 1883. Linfoot's church design retained Gothic style details in the stained glass windows and tall bell tower and utilized different color slate to create patterns in the roof. The building burned in the summer of 1976.

Mrs. Baird owned the Hastings Square complex until January, 1891, when she sold the property to Mrs. Susan Urie for $80,000. Mrs. Urie had been a proprietor of the Sussex Hotel and adjacent cottages. The 1889 Wolverton Map identifies her as a property owner on Sussex Avenue, opposite the Hastings Square cottages. Located in The Athenaeum collection is a pen and ink sketch on tissue paper, signed by Linfoot and labeled "Mrs. Urie's House.
The perspective view of the double cottage building contained a porch on three sides, with the use of half-timbering and different patterned shingled surfaces. The design was compatible with Linfoot’s other Hastings Square buildings and may have been built on Sussex Avenue. Other surviving buildings in Spring Lake and Mrs. Urie’s Twin Cottages suggest that Linfoot may have done additional work in the seaside community.  

In the early morning hours of Wednesday, September 19, 1900, a fire began in one of the Hastings Square cottages and quickly spread to adjacent buildings; it nearly destroyed Spring Lake. The disastrous fire burned two cottages on Essex Avenue and the Essex Hotel, at the corner of Essex and Ocean Avenues. Because of the northeast winds the fire spread south of Hastings Square and destroyed two other hotels (the Monmouth and Carlton Hotels), eight cottages and thirteen businesses. Newspaper accounts estimated the damage at a total of more than half-a-million dollars. Fortunately the fire occurred after most of the hotels and cottages had closed for the season and only a few renters were in the buildings. Fire companies from Asbury Park, Ocean Grove, Manasquan, and Sea Girt, in addition to the local Spring Lake fire company, fought the blaze.

Four of the leading Philadelphia newspapers carried the story (most featuring it on the front page), partly due to the number of prominent Philadelphians who vacationed and
owned property in Spring Lake. Some of the papers published first-person accounts which described the chaos and disaster. The fire started in a cottage leased by Mr. and Mrs. William Pusey, of the Pusey Shipping Company, Wilmington, Delaware. According to one witness, "Watchman Jacob Van Note" of the Monmouth Hotel, located across the street from the Pusey cottage, first saw the flames and alerted Miss Elizabeth Pusey and her servants. The newspapers estimated Mrs. Urie's loss of the three buildings to be around $50,000.

Prior to the fire on September 19, there had been two smaller fires; one in the stable of the Monmouth Hotel and the other involving the local lumber company. Both fires were suspicious in nature and a reward was offered for information. The Hastings Square fire began in the laundry area and was also of suspicious origin. (An arsonist was never apprehended for any of the fires.) Two more fires occurred in 1901 and in 1909; both fires destroyed more of Mrs. Urie's property, including some of the Hastings Square buildings along Sussex Avenue.

Mrs. Urie's Sussex Hotel and adjacent buildings on Sussex Avenue burned in January, 1901. It is possible that only the roof structure of the Sussex Hotel was damaged in the fire. An undated postcard shows two of the buildings (originally called "Surf Cottages" and "Sussex Hotel"), now located on Essex Avenue, in their original location along
Ocean Avenue. The post card view is of the corner of Sussex and Ocean Avenues, and visible along Sussex Avenue is the small mansard roof structure that Linfoot did not illustrate and the adjacent twin cottage. It appears that there is a building missing to the east of the mansard roof building (toward Ocean Avenue). The placement of the second story windows and projecting bay on the Sussex Avenue facade correspond to Linfoot's *Summer Quarters* sketch of the corner building. Also missing in the postcard view is the steeply pitched hipped roof and tall chimney stack. The roof is a lower hipped roof and on the Ocean Avenue facade, contains a large two-story porch with a pediment, supported by heavy columns with Corinthian capitals. No where else in the Hastings Square block do capitals or two-story porches exist. This suggests that someone salvaged the building, retaining some of the compatible design elements such as the exposed rafter ends and the attempt of half-timbering in the pediment. The architect or builder included elements that are primarily of a Colonial Revival style which was prevalent during the early part of the twentieth century. The lower roof and portico with classical detailing does not relate to the English-German-French-American style of Linfoot's original designs. Structural examination of the roof area might determine if this hypothesis is correct.

The third fire occurred in 1909 and destroyed portions of north and south Sussex Avenue. As a result of these
three devastating fires, very little remained of what had been one of New Jersey's finest resort complexes. In 1914 the Philadelphia architect Guy King was hired to design a large six storied structure, located along Ocean and Sussex Avenues. At some point, and it is not presently known exactly when or by whom, the two cottages on Ocean Avenue were moved to their present location on Essex Avenue, adjacent to Mrs. Baird's "Twin Cottages." 58 (See Plates 34 - 36.)

It must have been very upsetting for Linfoot to know of the outcome of his Hastings Square project, for by the time of his death in 1912, most of the block had been destroyed by fire. Likewise, Mrs. Baird may have felt a similar loss of her grand Spring Lake improvement.

Simultaneous with Linfoot's work at Spring Lake during this period were his commissions for two other New Jersey coastal communities--Ocean Beach and Atlantic City. Documentation of these commissions is limited to only a few magnificent surviving illustrations. They indicate Linfoot's skill and adaptation of his "American" style of architecture.
CHAPTER FIVE

The Hastings Square commission was a major turning point in the career of Benjamin Linfoot. It established his abilities as a designer, making possible the successful transition from engraver/delineator to architect. During the decade that followed he received several architectural commissions, and his rendering skills were recognized nationally with the publication of *Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink* and in the *American Architect and Building News*.

Linfoot’s summer cottages in Spring Lake were attractive and successful sea-shore homes. He retained this same "American" style with his other residential commissions, varying their design slightly by adding or subtracting a different porch, tower, projecting bay or gable formation. For some of the commissions, not located along the coast, Linfoot used stone and brick, retaining the same building style.

The pen and ink perspective "Summer Residence" in Ocean Beach, New Jersey, contains the different roof lines and asymmetrical quality reminiscent of the Hastings Square design. (See Plate 37.) Located in the left background is the adjacent carriage barn. Linfoot included several people in this illustration—either working, sitting on the porch or fence or walking past the building. This is a whimsical
scene, unlike Linfoot's other renderings, and suggests the idyllic enjoyment of summer time activities. Included in the upper left corner of the drawing is a first floor plan which contained a dining room, library, parlor and sitting room. The client of this building is not identified on the drawing; it is labeled only as "Summer Residence, Ocean Beach, New Jersey." It is signed in the lower right corner "Benj. Linfoot Architect, 719 Walnut St. /82 Phila." The drawing was included in the Summer Quarters booklet.

Two water color renderings of other Linfoot designed buildings in Ocean Beach survive. One narrow rectangular rendering depicts a perspective view of the block and illustrates several houses. Linfoot incorporated "new" elements into the Ocean Beach designs, most noticeably in one cottage that has a corner "onion dome" roof and a projecting Jacobean gable. The colors of this building are primarily red, with alternating white bands; the roof is a blue-gray slate color.

The other water color is labeled "Eben C. Jayne Residence" and is dated 1883. The three story building is basically square in plan with a rear corner tower and wrap-around porch. Located on the front facade is an applied decorative trim using Gothic style tracery. The colors include painted bands of pale red, olive green and with a similar blue-gray slate roof. Working drawings of this commission indicate there were revisions to the plan. The
date of the plan and revisions is September 1885, suggesting that the small watercolor of 1883 was a preliminary design, which evolved into the final design of 1885.

One of the more unusual large drawings in the Linfoot Collection at The Athenaeum, is the site plan and perspectives of "Idlerest" the Ocean Beach summer home of Thomas B. Bolles, of New York. The site plan (signed and dated July 11, 1882) indicates a large circular drive in front of the house, water color perspective views from the south and north, and plan of the building. None of the other surviving Linfoot drawings contain or present information in this arrangement. The Bolles residence, like the other Ocean Beach designs, echoes the same characteristics and coloring of the Hastings Square cottages.

The Atlantic City commission was for the Disston family. It has not yet been determined how Linfoot received this commission from the Disston family, who could be the saw manufacturers of Philadelphia. (See Plate 38.) Two perspective views of the building (one water color, the other pen and ink) present a unique comparison of the intended color scheme and the difference in design. The water color of the Disston cottage depicts a red and blue patterned slate roof with the area under gables painted rust. Other portions of the facade are light tan and the half timbering is painted white. Some of the wood trim is
also painted rust and cream. The dark brick chimney and other shades of rust and white make the cottage visually attractive. One assumes since Linfoot painted his own design, that he was accurate in the paint scheme.

The opportunity of comparing the water color with his pen and ink drawing is significant, as there are several different impressions presented in the overall style. The watercolor, because of the medium, appears light and summery and does not contain details of the building trim. The pen and ink perspective provides a greater sense of the light and dark contrasts of the building surfaces and patterns. Differences in the porch design are the most significant. The entry to the porch in the pen and ink perspective is on the corner and there is a simple decorative cornice trim on the porch. The water color drawing shows a side entry and large brackets on the porch posts. The building has many different roof lines and projecting second-story oriels, similar to the Hastings Square designs. One noticeable addition to this building is the tall tower with its steeply pitched hipped roof; a design element not found in Linfoot's other work.

The various sea-shore commissions must have been financially rewarding too, as Linfoot received favorable credit reports during this period. An entry of May 12th, 1882, stated:
An Englishman, middle aged, married, bears a good character and possess very good ability in bus. several years and is doing quite well. He has supervision over and has made plans for a large number of houses for Mrs. Baird at Spring Lake, near Long Branch. He is very well thought of and would be considered responsible...He is in easy finances, has good balance in bank....

It appears that from 1880 until 1884 Linfoot was working primarily on summer residential commissions. During 1884 he designed a pair of brick semi-detached buildings in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, for Thad. M. Mahon. The pen and ink perspective is dated September 1884 and is signed "Benjamin Linfoot, Architect" with the additional title "Pen and Ink." After 1884 many of Linfoot's drawings are signed in this manner, a reference perhaps to his publication in 1884, Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink.

Linfoot had thought for several years of publishing a book on architectural rendering methods and his published comment on why he wrote the book is revealing:

It is some years since I conceived the idea of publishing these pages. They are the result of effort and disgust with the subject, many times repeated, a page or two now and again, as the ideas occurred to me and time would allow of their being put upon paper.

The book covered various aspects of pen and ink techniques but perhaps more significantly, it explains how and why Linfoot created his illustrations and the materials he used. (See Plate 39.)

In the introduction, Linfoot wrote that in a career
spanning twenty-five years he recognized the skills an architect needed to possess in order to make and retain clients. The most important skill was to produce realistic renderings of the designs.

Drawings, nowadays, go a great way towards establishing a young man in business, and such men as Street, Scott, Burges, Bloomfield, Shaw, LeDuc, and, in fact, most of our leading architects of the immediate past and present, owe their eminent position and large fortunes to their individual power to draw in good and feeling manner what they proposed to execute for a discriminating public. Linfoot, always the realist, noted that possessing such skills was financially beneficial.

A draftsman can always command more salary with such knowledge; an architect with such gift, can, I know, make and retain clients which another without such faculty will not make, or make and cease to retain.

The informal tone of the book allowed Linfoot to express his opinions on various other architects and renderers who possessed admirable drawing skills and those whose abilities were lacking. In his final chapter, Linfoot took the examples of leading architects and critiqued and improved the illustrations. Often his comments are extremely harsh, as in the example of George Edmund Street's "Northeast View of Holmbury St. Mary's Church, Surrey." Linfoot exclaimed that the drawing had "utterly bad features of everything outside of the building proper." The lines of the trees, sky and clouds were poorly executed. Linfoot redrew the building and "corrected" the offensive mistakes.

In the example of John Carrer's "St. Mary's Tower at
Birnam," Linfoot stated it was a poor example with the sky and shadows inaccurate and people drawn in the incorrect proportion. Linfoot called the drawing "truly a raggety-jack appearance." (He also "improved" this drawing.)

Linfoot's text included numerous suggestions on how to create a well-balanced composition. His chapters on "Skies and Foliage" are of interest, as he describes his own method of depiction. (See Plate 40.) Trees were difficult to draw correctly, and Linfoot suggested to the reader that practice was the best solution. According to Linfoot, tree drawing was not very popular among other draftsman.

I have met and known intimately during my experience, probably one hundred and forty to fifty architectural draftsmen in different offices, cities and countries, and I am sure that, with three exceptions, none have never attempted it [practice drawings of trees]; yet, strange to say, most of them used to place trees in perspectives, and would groan about the difficulties and 'hardness' connected with them. 14

Another suggestion of Linfoot's (related to his early readings of Samuel Prout) was to create scrapbooks of various samples of other renderers work. William Bevan (Linfoot's co-worker at the York lithography firm) was greatly admired and cited by Linfoot for his vast collection of scrapbooks. Bevan's scrapbooks contained examples of figures to consult and copy. The concept of copying figures explains why the running dog, carriage and horse figures re-appear over and over again in Linfoot's work and in the work of others.
The chapter on "Methods and Appliances" is helpful in understanding drafting techniques. Linfoot "always used cold-pressed Whatman's paper for everything."\(^{15}\) Preparation of paper, ink and pen were described in this chapter. The chapter initial block contains a sketch of a man holding a pen, near a window to align the pen nibs, perhaps a self portrait. (See Plate 41.) Accompanying the detailed descriptions on filling the pen with ink and aligning the pen nibs, are instructions on how to hold the pen and a brush.

A review of the book appeared in the October 1884 issue of *Building*:

> We give it the highest praise we know how, and we congratulate Mr. Linfoot on having produced the first book ever published that is intended to distinctly raise the plane of the draughtsman's work from an artistic standpoint, and the only work of the kind that is exclusively for the architectural student.\(^{16}\)

The anonymous reviewer noted however, that:

> Mr. Linfoot undoubtedly shows 'how' a thing may be done much better than he can explain the reason 'why.' It is almost impossible to analyze artistic technique, and what Mr. Linfoot attempts in this direction is not satisfactory.

The arrangement of the text in the front of the book with the plates in the back made referencing "annoying" to the reviewer. The book was important, as it was the first of its kind published in the United States. One scholar has noted that it is the most important document on the draftsman in American architectural history.\(^{18}\)
While Linfoot's career was expanding in the direction of architectural commissions, developments in the architectural periodicals were occurring that indirectly influenced him. By the 1880s the AABN had clearly established its position as the leading periodical for architects. In this capacity it also served as a medium for publishing the works of different architectural renderers. 19 Beginning around 1880 and continuing throughout the decade, a shift in rendering styles occurred from the heavy and darker illustrations to a lighter and freer style. 20 Elimination of elaborate borders and decorative title blocks occurred only to be replaced by simple thin lines. 21 The absence of large decorative title blocks, as were found in the Hasting Square perspectives, is evident in most of Linfoot's drawings from this period. The perspectives of residential buildings done after 1884, for Mrs. Dickson, George Crawford, Mrs. Baird and others contain a simple lettering of the title of the project, the client's name and the location of the project. Borders, if they were included, were only a thin line. Linfoot usually signed his name in the lower right corner. One indication of the change in architectural rendering methods was the "Exhibition of Pen and Ink Drawings" published in the July 23, 1887, issue of the AABN.

The July issue was an exhibition and not a competition, clearly stated in the accompanying description.
Premising that these illustrations represent an exhibition pure and simple and in no sense a competition, we must say that in selecting those whom we desired to take part in the exhibition we picked from the ranks of the best workers those who seemed to have a pronounced individuality of style--that is, we refrained from securing a contribution from someone who worked in their favorite vein. In a general way the drawings have all the individuality we expected.  

Selection of participating artists was based on the criteria of the AABN editor, William R. Ware. The editor felt it important to include "artists of other professions" in the exhibit. These included illustrators Harry Fenn and J. D. Woodward and the renderers of the AABN staff: David Gregg and Eldon Deane. The other gentlemen were "architects or draughtsmen to whom the making of pen and ink drawing affords a grateful relief from the routine of daily office work." That Linfoot was included in this group is significant, as it provides evidence that his skills were recognized by the leading national architectural periodical.

The exhibit was conducted by providing each entrant with a small photograph of "Norman View" an unidentified European farm building with a pond located in front of it. Henry Fenn's illustration was the most similar to the photograph, in its clear detailed lines and depiction of various surface patterns. Henry Neu, C. Howard Walker, Henry Kirby, David Gregg and Wilson Eyre also tried to indicate the water reflection. Eyre's drawing appears to have been done quickly, with broad sweeping lines and little attention made to rendering surface details. Henry Kirby's
drawing is lightly drawn with a minimum use of lines.  

The mature, English trained exhibitors--Linfoot and Eldon Deane--used a darker rendering method. Linfoot's drawing is very heavy and does not contain the amount of surface detail normally found in his other work. As usual, he included an animal, in this example it was a cow drinking at the water's edge.

David A. Gregg was one of the participants whose career evolved similar to Linfoot's. Trained as a delineator, Gregg began work with the AABN in 1879, becoming its chief draftsman. Gregg briefly studied in England and worked in William Burges's London office. He was also an instructor at MIT. Gregg published one book on rendering, *Architectural Rendering in Pen and Ink* (1893).

Eldon Deane was the other significant renderer whose work appeared in AABN during the period 1883 to 1895. Deane studied in London, at the Architectural Association School. Often the work of Deane and Linfoot appear similar, due to their method of depicting figures and the landscape.

During the period 1885 to 1887, Linfoot worked again for Mrs. Matthew Baird; he was commissioned to design her residence in Merion, Pennsylvania. The large gray stone house called Bardwold, was located on top of a hill dominating the surrounding landscape. One of the featured elements of the building was the grand front entrance and elegant porte-cochere and the large conservatory in the
One of Linfoot’s finest renderings is of Bardwold, depicting two riders on the long drive leading to the main house, with a grouping of deer located along the wooded edge of the property. (See Plate 42.) The composition recalls the large paintings of English manor houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The brilliant colors of the rendering suggest the grandeur that Bardwold must have had.

The main block of the building was completed by 1885. The first floor contained a large receiving hall, picture gallery, dining, drawing, reception and music rooms. A contemporary description of the building noted the picture gallery "includes a number of Morans and a painting of Mrs. Baird by Matthew Wilson." The description mentioned the basement billiard room and the use of fine stained glass, oak paneling and stonework in the house.

There were several adjacent buildings for tenants, a greenhouse, coach-house and stables, referred to as "The Home Buildings." (See Plate 43.) Linfoot’s perspective of the home buildings was published in the November 30, 1889 issue of AABN. The accompanying article described the building materials and the elaborate mechanical systems such as the large underground cisterns. The total price of the home buildings was $52,000. Some of the working drawings for the home buildings are in The Athenaeum collection and provide limited information about their construction.
builder was Jacob Meyers and Son. The tenant house drawings are the most complete and are signed by Linfoot, Mrs. Baird and the builder with the date April 18, 1887. (The date of Linfoot's drawing, appearing next to his title block signature was February 21, 1887.) The building was constructed out of buff and brown brick with half-timbering.

Bardwold was one of numerous grand Main Line, Philadelphia houses built during this period. T. P. Chandler, G. W. and W. D. Hewitt, and Addison Hutton were some of the other Philadelphia architects who built similar large stone houses on the Main Line, for extremely wealthy clients. Samuel Hotchkin, a historian of the early twentieth century accurately described the role of the architect and client:

The capitalist finds means to construct a building, and the architect combines the idea of artist and builder; and his picture must stand wind and storm, and prove convenient in use. He cannot be a mere theorist, but must combine beauty and utility, which is no light task.

In the example of Bardwold, Linfoot succeeded in creating a grand house but it was demolished sometime during this century.

During the spring of 1887, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts held an exhibition of seventy-seven architectural drawings by local architects. Linfoot's rendering was an ariel perspective entitled "Design for Cottages on the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad." It depicted five large "cottages" similar to the Hastings
Square buildings. A review of the exhibit was published in the April 9, 1887 issue of the AABN. Linfoot's perspective was not favorably received by the critic: "...a large frame by Mr. Benjamin Linfoot, containing some good coarse line sketches, but much marred by a birds-eye view of several very red cottages, on a lawn of startling green." Exactly one hundred years later Linfoot's rendering was exhibited again at the Academy; this time it was praised for the talents of the renderer and the brilliant coloring and depiction of the buildings.

By the end of the 1880s Linfoot's architectural career was busy and profitable. He continued to work for Mrs. Baird until 1887 and eventually received a commission from her son Edgar, in 1893. Linfoot was one of thirty-five builders, architects and engineers interviewed by the Philadelphia Real Estate Record and Builders Guide (PRERBG) in November of 1888. The editors asked what the building prospects would be for the following year. Linfoot replied he had "plenty of work on hand, and enough to keep him busy next year." This quote followed immediately after Linfoot was awarded the commission for the Miners Hospital, in Hazelton, Pennsylvania.

The Miners Hospital was the only known institutional commission of Linfoot's career. His earlier competition entries in the Protestant Episcopal Home for Consumptives (1884) and the Proposed Hospital for the Insane,
Southeastern District (1877) were unsuccessful. The PRERBG announcement of the commission stated the cost of the building was $60,000.⁴⁰ Linfoot made later alterations to the original design in 1893.⁴¹

Linfoot did two large water colors of the hospital, dated June 4, 1888 and July 3, 1888. They depict a low horizontal brick building with a central section and side wings. One of the water colors was exhibited in the 60th Annual Exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, in 1890.

During the spring of 1888 Philadelphia had a major competition to re-design the Art Club. Twelve of the city's leading architects participated in the competition and Frank Miles Day was declared the winner.⁴² Using the pseudonym "Flaxton," Linfoot's entry was a solid re-interpretation of the Queen Anne style of his English contemporaries. Inspiration from Richard Norman Shaw was very clear in Linfoot's proposed design. It consisted of a three story high pitched roof that created an annex. The front facade was asymmetrical with its receding and projecting bays, balconies and windows, with the recommended exterior surface of yellow brick, Indiana limestone and white terra cotta. It is the applied decorative terra cotta designs that closely follow Shaw and other English architects. One of the common motifs on residential designs, especially found in the Bedford Park community, was the sunflower. Linfoot
included a large stylized geometric sunflower below a terra cotta spandrel. Other eclectic combinations occurred with Linfoot's design of Gothic details for the balcony between the first and second floor, the use of quoining for some of the windows, tall corbeled chimney stacks and a irregular roof line. The total projected cost for Linfoot's design was $91,043. Although Linfoot did not win the Art Club competition his invitation to participate was significant. It placed him in the same league as the other leading Philadelphia architects, some of whom were younger and had formal academic training.
CHAPTER SIX

The last decade of the nineteenth century was an active period in Linfoot's architectural career during which he entered two institutional competitions and designed several residences. His son, Benjamin Edis, also joined his office. The Miners Hospital commission, in Hazleton, kept him busy during the early portion of the 1890s. Because of its far-away location, Linfoot most likely spent a good amount of time traveling between Hazleton and Philadelphia to supervise the work. It is possible that he received two commissions as a result of his work in Hazleton.

One of the more unusual perspectives done by Linfoot is of the George B. Markle Mausoleum, located in Milton, Pennsylvania. (See Plate 44.) Linfoot signed the drawing "architect" and it is dated April 21, 1892. The building is of cut stone, of very simple design, built into the side of a hill. A gentleman wearing a long coat and top hat stands in front of the mausoleum, observing a nearby man with a shovel. This is the only known mausoleum design by Linfoot and presents several unanswered questions about its commission.¹ How Linfoot received the commission is not known. "House on West Broad Street, Hazleton" was the property of Alvan Markle, Esquire and the subject for Linfoot's perspective view dated March 1892. Perhaps George and Alvan Markle were relatives who learned of Linfoot's
work via The Miners Hospital commission. The Alvan Markle house also indicates a change in Linfoot's residential work; here he omits the half-timbering effects and the decorative wood trim of his Spring Lake designs. The building roof line is interrupted only by a projecting tower and large hipped dormer window. The design retains the wrap-around porch but with the use of solid brick posts supported by a low brick wall. The overall design is very solid and correct in scale and massing.

Another residential commission Linfoot received was for the Robert Kaighn house, located in Southwest Harbor, near Mt. Desert, Maine. An exclusive summer resort favored by wealthy Philadelphians, Mt. Desert featured a rugged landscape and natural beauty. Prominent architects who worked there included Frank Furness, Robert Swain Peabody, William Ralph Emerson, and Bruce Price and their work may have influenced Linfoot. The Kaighn residence combined several different building materials and used a large stone foundation wall and a combination of stone and shingle facade. Large stone lintels were used on the first story windows with other design features including a wrap-around porch, projecting pediments and "eyebrow" windows in the roof. The building contained a corner tower that did not relate in scale to the other portions of the structure. (The shape of the tower appears too small.) The elevations are signed and dated December 16, 1891, and contain
Linfoot's recommendations and notations for shingled surface areas and stained glass.

A pen and ink perspective, dated January 1892 depicts the facade of the Kaighn house. (See Plate 45.) Standing and sitting on the rock adjacent to the building are five children. The four girls and boy are Linfoot's nieces and nephew. Located in the E. F. Simons scrapbook is an undated photograph taken of the children of Dr. and Mrs. John B. Edis.² (See Plate 46.) This is the only documented example of Linfoot using a photograph as a source and of using family members for his perspective figures. It is possible that Linfoot did this in his other work.

From October 1886 until October 11, 1892, Linfoot was a member of the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter.³ The minutes of the Annual Meeting, on October 11, 1892, recorded: "The resignation of Mr. Benjamin Linfoot as Professional Member was accepted."⁴ There is no indication in the minute books as to why Linfoot resigned nor are there surviving family records on his resignation.⁵

One of the two competitions Linfoot entered during the final years of his career was for the new Carnegie library, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. (See Plate 47.) Held in 1891, Linfoot entered the competition with the assistance of his son. Also entered in the competition was Linfoot's former employer, Addison Hutton.⁶ Comparison of both building
schemes indicates two distinct stylistic approaches, and in the case of Linfoot, awkward compositional arrangement.

In his accompanying description of the building, Linfoot wrote that the building design was "Italian Renaissance." Dominating the library was a massive central tower, comprised of four smaller conical towers. The eclectic combination of classical elements and heavy massing of the tower makes the building appear busy and confusing. This was one of Linfoot’s attempts at the formal academic style and his misunderstanding how the various elements related to one another is evident. Local architects such as Walter Cope, John Stewardson, Frank Miles Day, Wilson Eyre, Horace Trumbauer and James C. M. Shirk were recognized leaders of this style of architecture, but all them had some formal academic education and training.

The proposed building materials were a granite base, with different color schemes of terra cotta and brick. Linfoot submitted a total of seventeen drawings of elevations, sections, plans and perspective views. "The perspective view from Northwest" is signed and dated October 29, 1891. Appearing in the foreground is a boy riding a bicycle, a subject that does not appear in any of his other perspectives. Linfoot, perhaps, was being a bit presumptuous with his perspective of the southwest which included as the only figure, a man photographing the building.
Addison Hutton's entry is no better than Linfoot's. Some of the renderings are dated November 1, 1891, and are signed by Charles Hillman, delineator. Hutton's entry is more of an identified Italian origin; reminiscent of the Doges Palace in Venice. The rounded window openings and rustication are proportionally correct. Hutton included a large tower, located on the north side and four smaller towers in the corners of the building. The final design selected was by the firm of Longfellow, Alden and Harlow and followed more of the traditional Beaux Arts approach.

There is a noticeable change in Linfoot's competition drawings, as they have extremely thin lines and appear to have been done with a controlled hand. The spontaneity and thicker lines of his other perspectives is lacking in the drawings dating from the early 1890s. It is possible that some of these drawings were done by Linfoot's son, Benjamin Edis.

Benjamin Edis Linfoot attended Central High School and graduated in 1893. It was most likely that after graduation, at the age of 15, he began architectural training with his father. The younger Linfoot remained in his father's office until 1900. The competition for the new municipal building at City Hall Park, New York, occurred in 1893. Benjamin Jr.'s signature appears on the perspective drawing with his father's with the label "Associate Architects" is written adjacent to their names. The lack of
figures included in the perspective suggests that Benjamin Edis may have been the delineator. The father and son referred to their entry as "adapted from the Classical Renaissance." The building, like the earlier Art Club design, contained a high pitched roof and decorative terra cotta panels. There was also a large central tower with a hipped roof. Once again, Linfoot tried to combine various classical design elements unsuccessfully.

During the period 1895 until 1900 both Linfoots were listed as architects in the city directories at 719 Walnut Street. In 1895 the PRERBG announced that Linfoot was preparing plans and receiving estimates for Edgar Baird's residence, in Merion. Drawings of this building have not been located but there are renderings of the stained glass window schemes for the house. The younger Linfoot may have been involved with assisting his father in the perspectives during this period. Located in The Athenaeum collection are smaller illustrations of projects for the Kaighn house, Carnegie Library, Markle Mausoleum, and Markle House which appear to have been done for publication. All contain Benjamin Linfoot's signature, office address and date in the lower right hand corner. Appearing in other portions of the illustration, usually hidden, are the interconnected initials "BL." Linfoot's (Senior) work prior to this did not contain his initials and this may be Benjamin Edis's indication of assistance.
In 1900 Benjamin Edis Linfoot joined his brother Ernest, in the manufacturing of wax paper and carbon paper; two years later he married Marion Wenzel. Her father was involved in manufacturing and Benjamin joined the company shortly after his marriage. Later in his career he worked for the architectural firms of Walter Ballinger and Fox Industries. Benjamin and Marion had one child, Benjamin Samuel Linfoot, who would eventually become a third generation architect in the family. Benjamin Samuel Linfoot attended architecture school at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating in 1934.

Linfoot's other son, Ernest Elliot Linfoot (1871 - 1926) pursued a career in the manufacturing of wax and carbon papers. He married Josephine Scott; they had no children. After their marriage they lived with his parents in the house at 750 Preston Street.

There are several family photographs taken during the latter half of Linfoot's life. In one photograph, he and his wife are sitting at the parlor table; Mrs. Linfoot appears to be working on some hand work and Benjamin is reading the paper. Another photograph was taken in Fairmount Park, with Linfoot standing on a bridge and the other taken in front of their house at 750 Preston Street. This photograph includes both Linfoot and his wife and another male relative.
The commission for Edgar Baird in 1895, may have been the last architectural project of Linfoot's career. After this period there are no references to his work in the PRERBG or any surviving drawings with later dates.

On Thursday, October 10, 1912, Benjamin Linfoot died; the cause of death was kidney failure. He was buried at Mt. Moriah cemetery on October 14. Obituary notices in the Inquirer and Public Ledger did not mention his occupation or family. Despite the significance of Linfoot's artistic and architectural talents, his death was not reported in the various architectural journals, both in the United States and in England. With his greatest architectural work destroyed by fire and only a few local Philadelphia commissions, Linfoot's buildings were not widely written about and recorded. Through the wisdom of Mr. Benjamin S. Linfoot's donation of his grandfather's architectural drawings and related materials to the Athenaeum, the exceptional talents and career of Benjamin Linfoot have been re-discovered by historians who have recognized his importance in Philadelphia architectural history.
CHAPTER SEVEN

In 1857, Benjamin Linfoot wrote to his sister that he was "getting along first-rate" in his early employment. Linfoot's career was comprised of several different phases and was, for the most part, a financially stable one. While most of Linfoot's buildings are now destroyed, the architectural drawings survive, clearly demonstrating his remarkable artistic abilities; they provide the best source of information on his career.

Linfoot's career began as an artist and lithographer. Exposure to European architecture and instruction in English rendering techniques were essential components in his early education and career. The appeal of greater job opportunities and advancement in the United States probably encouraged the young man to immigrate. By 1869 his signed engravings appeared in Philadelphia, primarily in Samuel Sloan's *Architectural Review and American Builder's Journal*. Linfoot's ambition is clearly indicated in 1870 when he launched the *American Architect and Builder's Monthly*. Although the publication lasted only a short period, it helped to establish Linfoot's name in Philadelphia, and most likely provided professional business contacts.

By 1874, when Linfoot was hired by Addison Hutton, he had begun to make the job transition from artist/engraver to
Formal academic training in architecture was not available to Linfoot and it appears that his training as an architect was "on the job." This was not unusual for the period, as many other architects also were trained through apprenticeships. Linfoot's artistic skills continued to serve him in his occupation as a practicing architect. He utilized his talents to their greatest extent and produced large pen and ink perspectives and renderings of his designs for clients and in his publication *Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink*.

Linfoot's architectural designs followed the stylistic norms established by other leading late-nineteenth century architects. His principal talent was as a render not as an innovative designer. The Hastings Square buildings, an early example of the American adaptation of the English Queen Anne and Elizabethan styles along the New Jersey coast, established his career as an architect. The subsequent residential commissions of the 1880s closely followed the Hastings Square designs, varying primarily in the use of different building materials. When compared with other illustrations of residential designs, such as those in the *American Architect and Building News*, Linfoot's architecture is "typical" of the period. Books on architectural design, interior decoration and room arrangement were widely available and owned by Linfoot, most likely influencing his designs.
Although he did not win, Linfoot competed in several major architectural competitions for institutional buildings in the cities of Philadelphia, New York and Pittsburgh. The competition entries document Linfoot's attempts to design in the formal academic mode. The Carnegie Library competition entry demonstrates Linfoot's unusual combination of different architectural components that did not yield a unified composition. Lack of formal academic training in proportion, scale, and design may indicate why Linfoot's competition entries for public buildings were unsuccessful. The larger the size of the building, the greater the difficulty he had in controlling its massing and shape, clearly defeating him; it appears that the smaller scale of residential designs better suited his talents.

Increased public awareness of Linfoot's artistic skills occurred in 1884, with the publication of Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink, and again in 1887, when he and ten other leading architects and renderers participated in a drawing exercise, published in the American Architect and Building News. By 1884, the ability to create accurate yet picturesque perspective views of buildings was a significant aspect of architectural education, and Linfoot's book certainly served as instruction for young architects. It also documents Linfoot's drawing techniques, preparation, and composition skills. The book was one of only a few devoted exclusively to rendering techniques and helped to
train the next generation of architects.¹

The career of Benjamin Linfoot spanned more than forty years. During this time, professional architectural training became established in Philadelphia, new building construction methods developed and a variety of styles appeared in architecture. Despite his resignation from the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter, Linfoot was part of the architectural "profession" in Philadelphia. In some respects, Linfoot's employment followed other prominent architectural renderers, such as David A. Gregg and F. Edward Ficken, evolving from renderer to architect. However, in two major aspects his career was unique. First, his publication of American Architect and Builder's Monthly was an important chapter in the early history of American architectural periodicals. Second, Linfoot's Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink was the first American book devoted to architectural rendering techniques and the one most significant aspect of his career. Benjamin Linfoot had a distinguished career that is clearly part of Philadelphia's architectural history in the late nineteenth century that deserves to be remembered.
Plate 2: Lithograph by Benjamin Linfoot, September 2, 1857. On the back is the letter sent to his sister. Linfoot family scrapbook, private collection.

Plate 5: Title page of scrapbook by Benjamin Linfoot for Elizabeth Fanny Simons, 1866. Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.


Plate 10: Benjamin Linfoot, 1870, 1871. Linfoot family scrapbook.
Plate 11: Rodef Shalom Synagogue by Fraser, Furness and Hewitt. Lithograph by Linfoot and Fleu, AABM March, 1870. The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
Plate 13: Centennial Fair, "Main Entrance to Exhibition Grounds From The Trans-Continental Hotel." Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

Plate 14: Centennial Fair, "Eastern Front Main Exhibition Building From Elm and Girard Avenues." Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.


Plate 29: "Pair of Semi-Detached Cottages." Located on Essex Avenue; fire may have started in this building. Illustrated in Summer Quarters. Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.


"Old Ebor" Folios.

Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink.

Judging from work seen there are a great many who are misled by the belief that fine
work is work of artists, others favor the thick scratch kind and still again others naturally
follow the instruments of their profession, shading most persistently to their ruling pen
and square for everything even for shading trees. Fine and coarse work are each to be admired
but intelligently executed. When we say "good work," we do not mean good or bad in the
best but rather the truthful representation and masterly method of doing it, of designating the
individual thing or object. Good work is work which appeals to our feelings.
In drawing trees, with a good lead pencil they can be done better than with any other
equipment as it admits of a light and dark stroke, or a fine and broad mark, at the slightest
inclination and almost spontaneously will. With pen and ink it is entirely different. A pen that
will take fine line will not make a wide one. It will neither carry ink enough for the seven, nor
will it, when a few times expanded at the nib for the purpose, go back again to its original
relation, but has to be thrown away. A wide pen, on the contrary, can be made to make compara-

tively fine marks by using on its side, and by its back, but it does not follow that it
ought to do so. I always use three kinds of pens, and all the examples in the present work
are executed in the following manner.

The broad marks and shadows were first

drawn in with a wide-nibbed Chancery pen, then

the shade with a Falcon pen, and finally, the

shaded markings and surface rendering with a No. 207

pen. In this manner the graduation of shade can

be more readily secured at than by any other means.

In making sketches of trees, I always make the

drawings with the pen hold as shown in Fig. 1. and

the adherence of the method will be found very advantageous,

as it gives a greater freedom in the work, and hence

Plate 40: Drawing trees correctly, from Architectural
Picture Making With Pen and Ink, chapter on
"Foliage." Linfoot Collection, The Athenæum of
Philadelphia.
Plate 41: Aligning the pen nib, from *Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink*, chapter on "Methods and Appliances." Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.


LIST OF COMMISSIONS

The following list is comprised of known commissions by Benjamin Linfoot.

November 4, 1880  Mrs. Anna Wright Baird  Hastings Square cottages  Spring Lake, New Jersey

1881  Disston Family  Disston Cottage  Atlantic City, New Jersey
Documentation:  Water color of cottage owned by Linfoot family; pen and ink perspective in the Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

May 25, 1882  Powelton Avenue Baptist Church  Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Documentation:  pen and ink perspective, plan, longitudinal and cross-section drawings, Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia; AABN October 14, 1882, Building Intelligence Report for Philadelphia.

July 11, 1882  Thomas B. Bolles  Idelrest  Ocean Beach, New Jersey
Documentation:  pen and ink perspective, large site plan and rendering, Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

1882-1885  Eben C. Jayne  Summer Cottages  Ocean Beach, New Jersey

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1885, 1887  Mrs. Anna Wright Baird  
Bardwold and Home Buildings  
Merion, Pennsylvania  

Documentation: rendering of Bardwold in private  
collection; description of property in Samuel Hotchkink Rural  
Pennsylvania; pen and ink perspective of porte-cochere,  
1885, (exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine  
Arts in 1885); Home Building illustrations and plans dated  
February 21, 1887 and April 18, 19, 1887; Linfoot  
Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

1886  George Crawford  
Homeacre  
Merion, Pennsylvania  

Documentation: pen and ink perspective, sketches dated  
1886, photograph in Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of  
Philadelphia; PRERBG February 1, 1886, Volume 1, p. 41 and  
April 19, 1886, Volume 1.

May 10, 1886  Carlton Hotel  
Spring Lake, New Jersey  

Documentation: PRERBG, May 10, 1886, Volume 1, p. 208, two  
story addition and "other improvements."

May 7, 1888  Brick Houses  
Brooklyn Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  

Documentation: PRERBG, Volume 3, 18, p. 118. Properties  
were mentioned in the will of Elizabeth F. S. Linfoot.

October 15, 1888  Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Board of  
Public Charities  
Miners Hospital  
Hazelton, Pennsylvania  

Documentation: PRERBG, Volume 3, p. 485; perspectives and  
renderings, dated June 4, 1888 and July 3, 1888, one of the  
water colors was exhibited in the 60th exhibition at the  
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1890, Linfoot  
Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia. Later additions  
and alterations done in 1893; see PRERBG, August 16, Volume  
8, p. 1 and August 30, 1893, Volume 8, p. 553.
September 1889  Houses
          Odgen Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Documentation  PRERBG, September 18, 1889, Volume 4, 37, p. 441 and September 25, 1889, Volume 4, 38, p. 452. Houses are mentioned in Elizabeth F. S. Linfoot's will.

Probable Commissions:

June 6, 1887  Mrs. Dixon House
              Merion, Pennsylvania

Documentation:  PRERBG, June 6, 1887, Volume 2, 22, mentions a "Frame and Stone shingle house, Merion Station;" pen and ink perspective of residence for "Mrs. H. W. Dickson, Merion, Pennsylvania," located in the Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia. Similarities of name and location suggest that this perspective is of the PRERBG reference.

1884  Mrs. Urie's Cottages
      Spring Lake, New Jersey


1895  Edgar Baird
      Residence
      Merion, Pennsylvania


More research is needed to confirm the following:

September 1884  Thad. Mahon
      Brick house
      Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

January 1892
Robert Kaighn
Pine Lodge
Southwest Harbor, Maine
Documentation: pen and ink drawing, Linfoot Collection,
The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

March 1892
Alvan Markle
House
Hazelton, Pennsylvania
Documentation: pen and ink drawing, Linfoot Collection,
The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

April 1892
Markle Mausoleum
Milton, Pennsylvania
Documentation: pen and ink drawing, Linfoot Collection,
The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
INTRODUCTION END NOTES


2 Eileen Manning Michels, "Developmental Study of the Drawings Published in the American Architect and in Inland Architect Through 1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971), p. 186. Ms. Michels noted that there was a large “number of historically useful collections of drawings resting virtually untouched in libraries, archives and private collections all over the country.” (Ibid. p. 186.) The Benjamin Linfoot Collection at The Athenaeum was donated from family descendents in the early 1980s.


4 Ibid., p. 148. This is the first entry in the catalog on Benjamin Linfoot, written by Dr. George E. Thomas. Those drawings featured in the exhibit included "Miss Townson’s Essex House" and "Design for Houses on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Line." These are illustrated in the catalog together with "Country Cottage Setting" and the title page of Architectural Picture Making with Pen and Ink, which were not in the exhibition.
There are references to the AABN illustrators in a specific instances. For example, in 1887, the AABN sponsored a drawing "exhibit" which featured the work of several leading renderers, including Benjamin Linfoot. The April 10, 1880, issue of AABN addressed the issue of specifying when a renderer could sign his name to a drawing.
Ibid., p. 149.

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The undated album appears to have been assembled sometime during the early twentieth century. It contains photographs taken when Linfoot and his wife were older and the photographs of various relatives and their children. The assembler of the album is unknown.

The album contains a memorial card for "Ellen Linfoot, the wife of Mark Linfoot of York," who died on April 26, 1878, at the age of 72 years. This may or may not be Linfoot's mother, as her name in the album is "Eliza." The age would be correct if it is—she would have been 34 years old when she gave birth to Benjamin. Perhaps Mark Linfoot was her husband and Benjamin Linfoot's father.

The dates accompany the glass plate photographs of Benjamin, Maria and Sarah, located on the inside back cover of the Linfoot family scrapbook.

Identified in the album as maternal aunt and uncle, are Mr. and Mrs. Cresser and Mr. Spurrier. Accompanying the photograph of Mr. Cresser is the note "Lord Mayor of Dublin." More research is needed to determine if Mr. Cresser was a "Lord Mayor." Preliminary research into prior Mayors of Dublin does not yield Cresser's name.

Linfoot's travels were perhaps a bit over indulgent; he commented on "having a spell at stomach pumping" on the way home. A mysterious passage in the letter refers to a stop in Manchester that "was well worth the trouble and expense." The implication of this suggests he did not want to stop in Manchester but did. Linfoot does not mention who he visited or why he stopped in the city. Mr. Benjamin S. Linfoot discussed this letter and it implications with the author on several occasions.
The portion of the letter addressed to "Dear Brother" concerns the "corners and borders" that were requested. Mark Richardson's occupation is presently unknown; perhaps he was a printer or publisher which would explain why Linfoot was sending him borders and corners. Nor is it known from where Linfoot sent this letter. A review of the Philadelphia city directories and the 1860 U.S. census for this period does reveal one Mark Richardson, whose occupation was a carpenter but the names of his wife and four children are not the same, and all were listed as being born in Pennsylvania. (1860 U.S. Census, Philadelphia, Ward 9, p.323. The entry for Mark Richardson identified his age as 33 and occupation as carpenter. Included in this entry were Margaret [wife], and children Thomas, Charles, Mary and William. All of the Richardsons were born in Pennsylvania.)

Benjamin Linfoot, Architectural Picture Making With Pen and Ink (Philadelphia: 1884), p. 13. Linfoot explained the tutor was referring to water color techniques but the phrase could apply to pen and ink rendering.


13 Lockett, p. 2.


16 Ibid., p. 8. Prout wrote that with rapid drawing there was a risk of inserting insignificant pencil strokes.

17 The Builder, October 4, 1856, p. 551.

18 Ibid., October 17, 1857, p. 600.

19 Ibid., April 5, 1858, p. 198.

20 For information about architectural education available in London at this period, consult the October 24, 1857, issue of The Builder (pp. 607-8), and the article “On the Public Libraries, Art Schools, Museums, and Buildings in London and the Advantages They Offer in Architectural Education.”

21 The Builder, March 7, 1857, p. 141.

22 A review of The Builder for the years 1856, 1857 and part of 1858 yielded no advertisements with the initials “BL.” There is still the possibility that Linfoot did advertise but used a pseudonym.

Ibid., p. 44. This is a letter published in the architectural journal, *The Architect*, from a resident of Leeds.

Ibid., p. 44.

One interesting feature of the scrapbook is the title page which states "Fanny E. Simons-A Birthday Present-November 14, 1866." However, a copy of Miss Simons birth register states that her name was Elizabeth Fanny Simons; the marriage certificate reversed the two first names. The birth register (located in the Linfoot family photograph album), gives her place of birth as Moor Street, Birmingham. Her father, John Simons, was a surgeon.

*Sketches by The Facsimile Society*, Vol. II, 1869, preface. A copy of Volume I has not been located in the United States, nor is date of publication of Volume I recorded. The British Museum Catalog may contain the date.

By 1866, Linfoot may have immigrated to this country which would explain why he would not be listed as a member in 1869 and 1873.

Because the author did not have the opportunity to conduct research in England, letters were sent to the various architectural and archeological associations. Some of the institutions responded but many did not. Those institutions who did respond but did not contain information on Benjamin Linfoot include: The Architectural and Archeological Society of Durham and Northumberland; Manchester School of Architecture; The British Architectural Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, including the drawing collection; and The London Architectural Association.

31. The Builder, December 3, 1870, p. 971.

32. The Builder, December 10, 1870, p. 992.

33. Ibid.

34. Conflicting the 1900 U.S. Census entry for Benjamin Linfoot is the 1910 census, which states he immigrated in 1867. The 1900 Census entry for Benjamin Linfoot is found in Volume 175, Enumeration 565, Line 25. The 1866 date for Linfoot's AABM engravings supports that date for his immigration.
CHAPTER TWO END NOTES

1 The Linfoot scrapbooks and albums and the immigration and naturalization papers are owned by the family. Unfortunately they could not be located prior to completion of this work. Once located, they may provide additional information regarding this early American period of Linfoot’s life.

2 Benjamin Linfoot and Elizabeth Fanny Simons did not marry until 1869, two or three years after their immigration.

3 The ship passenger lists for the Port of New York in the years 1866 and 1867 should be carefully reviewed. However, they are not indexed.

4 Interview with Mr. Benjamin S. Linfoot, December 4, 1987. Mr. Linfoot was told this information by his father, Benjamin Edis Linfoot. There were no records or examples of engraving from the American Bank Note Company in the Linfoot family albums or scrapbooks.

5 In 1858 seven engraving firms from New York and Philadelphia and other cities merged together to form the American Bank Note Company. The merging companies were: Toppan, Carpenter & Co.; Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edison; Danforth, Perkins & Co.; Jocelyn Draper & Welsh, Co.; Wellstood, Hay & Whiting; Bald, Cousland & Co.; and John E. Gavitt. Some of these firms had offices in Philadelphia and New York—Danforth, Perkins & Co., Bald, Cousland & Co., and Toppan, Carpenter & Co. (From The Story of The American Bank Note Company, by William H. Griffiths, [New York: American Bank Note Company, 1959], p. 31.) The author contacted the archivist of the American Bank Note Company who explained that the early company records from 1858 to the 1880s are rare. Those documents that do survive from this period contain no records of Benjamin Linfoot.

6 There are no entries in the New York city directories for Linfoot.


10 Harold Cooledge gives the dates of the Stewart/Sloan partnership as August 1852 to 1858. The Biographical Dictionary entry on Samuel Sloan provides the dates 1852-57; see page 730. (See Harold Cooledge, Samuel Sloan, Architect of Philadelphia, 1815-1884, Chapter V, "1852-1858: The Firm of Sloan and Stewart." Cooledge supports his date by stating the office lease [at 274 S. 3rd Street] expired in September of 1858. See pp. 64 - 65.)

11 Cooledge, Sloan, p. 84.

12 Ibid., p. 86.


14 Woods, p. 76, refers to AABN support from the A.I.A.

15 Ibid., p. 39.

16 Cooledge, Dissertation, 1963, p. 27. Cooledge states the influence of the ARABJ can still be seen today in current architectural periodicals.
17. *ARABJ*, July 1868, Prospectus, p. 1. This was the same office location as Addison Hutton’s office. According to Hutton’s brother Finley, Sloan shared the office space with Addison. Eventually Hutton moved his office into the new PSFS building. See Cooledge, *Sloan*, p. 86.

18. *ARABJ*, July 1868, Prospectus, p. 2. Woods and Cooledge have suggested that Sloan was aware of the *AMJ* but did not acknowledge it. Other reviewers mentioned that Sloan’s journal was the “first of its kind,” while completely ignoring the *AMJ*.

19. Ibid., p. 2.

20. Ibid., p. 2.

21. Ibid., p. 2.

22. July 1868, article by John Gibson on stained glass; August 1868, articles by William G. Rhoads on plumbing; American and Foreign Woods by George Henkle, and Lewis Leeds article on ventilation and heating systems. Also included in the August 1868 issue is a proposal to "restore" Mt. Vernon, involving the dismantling of the building and re-erecting it "correctly" to remove the imperfections.


27. Ibid., November 2, 1868. The author of the review acknowledged that Lukens “welds a nervous and controlled pen” and his ability to “convey his thoughts clearly.” The meaning and implication of the phrase "nervous pen" is unknown.
George Mason's article on the founding of the Philadelphia A.I.A. mentions Sloan's involvement with the PSA and his lack of involvement with the A.I.A. Mason describes the absence of not recording the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter formation and meetings when other chapters were frequently mentioned in the ARABJ. George Mason "Professional Ancestry of the Philadelphia Chapter of the A.I.A." *Journal of the A.I.A.*, Volume 1, No. 9, September 1913, pp. 371-386.

Carl Pfiesser's Metropolitan Savings Fund building, in New York, appeared in the November 1868 issue; William T. Potter's Church of the Good Shepherd, also in New York, appeared in the August 1869 issue, and Peter Bonnet Wight's article on fireproof construction was included in the April 1869 issue.

Twenty-one different firms were identified on all of the engravings during the three year period of publication.

*ARABJ*, July 1868, Prospectus, p. 3.


Van Ingen and Snyder Company archives have not been located; they may contain employee records.


*Gopsill's City Business Directory*, p. 359.

Correspondence between Addison Hutton and his brother Finley (November 6, 1868 and January 11 1869), identifies this commission. Quaker collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
For more examples of Linfoot's work, see the accompanying plates for Hastings Square, Spring Lake, New Jersey.


Woods, p. 209.

Michels, p. 50, comments on how this difference in rendering was evident in Boston and New York architects.


The irony is that Linfoot's publication also began in March 1870, which gives him the unique distinction of being published simultaneously in two Philadelphia architectural journals.

The Laudebach firm was the second company that Linfoot may have worked for; however, this is the only known illustration where his signature and Laudebach name appear together.


William Peachy is a relatively obscure English architect who does not appear in readily available architectural histories.

Published letter from William Peachy is dated November 4, 1868. It was published in the January 1869 issue, pages 434 and 435.

*ARABJ*, January 1869.

Ibid.

51 Villa and Cottage Architecture contained residential designs of moderate cost (£500 - £2500), by seventeen architects. There is an interesting note about the creation of the plates and how the editor selected the design, which was engraved and then checked several times for accuracy, including having the architect review the engraving. Accompanying the perspective view of the Sycamores were floor plans and building details such as chimney stack, cornice detail, etc. "R. Anderson and W. A. Beever were the engravers of the Sycamore plates.

52 Jussim, p. 158-159. Michels, p. 41, commented on how freehand work in pen and ink allowed for a personal style in rendering.


55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Cooledge, Sloan p. 131, footnote 1.

58 Sloan joined the Philadelphia chapter in November 1875. (See Philadelphia A.I.A. Minute books.) The elected A.I.A. officials of 1870 were not all from Philadelphia. Cooledge discusses the Review and the A.I.A. problems (Chapter IX). He does not state specifically the one cause of the publication's failure but he implies that the lack of A.I.A. support was significant.

59 ABJA, September 1869, p. 181.
60. ABJA, October 15, 1868, p. 7.

61. ABJA, January 1869, Prospectus, p. 44.


63. ABJA, October 15, 1868, p. 7.

64. Woods, p. 52.


66. ABJA, November 1872.


68. Ibid., March 1870, p. 1.

69. Ibid., March 1870, p. 1.

70. The 1871 City Directory listings is "Gtn." with no specific address identified. An 1872 entry lists Theodore and Conyers Button Fleu residing at Main near E. Walnut, Germantown. The 1873 entry lists Conyers Flue living at 5103 Germantown Avenue, the same residence as Theodore Flue.

71. Charles Flue, age 60, was probably the father of John Flue, age 41. U.S. Census, Philadelphia, Ward 22, page 88, line 14 and 17. An entry in the 1870 census, first enumeration, for "Fleu" or "Flue" could not be found.

72. Pennsylvania Volume 17, p. 18, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.
Linfoot chose to omit the passages Prout wrote for students to collect examples of other artists work. He also omitted another section which referred to copying illustrations to make companion pictures.

Minute Book, Philadelphia A.I.A. Chapter, June 27, 1870. "It was voted to subscribe to Mr. Linfoot's monthly periodical--the amount ($5) being taken from the Library fund." The chapter had established a reading room for books and periodical, located at The Athenaeum. Linfoot mentioned the formation of the Philadelphia A.I.A. chapter in May, 1870, and continued to include notices of chapter events and developments.

Minute Book, Philadelphia A.I.A. Chapter, October 10, 1870. The Chapter presented a "recommendation to thank Messrs. Linfoot and Fleu for their magazine 'The American Architect and Builder's Monthly'--which they contribute to the Reading Room gratuitously."

A unique advertisement appeared in the March issue; a young lady requested work in an architect's office to "execute tinting." (Traditionally women tinted plates for engravers and lithographers.) The advertisement noted her considerable experience and provided the address "Draftswoman, W.A.F., office of Architect and Builders Monthly." Although it was common for those requesting employment to use the magazine's office as a mailing address, as was the case with The Builder and AABM, the relatively small size of the publication suggests that the draftswoman was known to Linfoot and Fleu. A review of the 1870 city directory did not list a woman with the initials "W.A.F." employed in the architectural profession. There was a William Fitzgerald, listed as a lithographer, whose job address is not given. It is possible that Fitzgerald was employed as one of the lithographers for the AABM publication and perhaps advertised on behalf of a female friend or relative. Other job advertisements in the AABM primarily were for "qualified assistants" or notice of partnerships dissolving. The role of women draftsmen and architects in Philadelphia is a topic that has not yet been studied.

AABM, March 1870. The AABM frequently advertised the need for agents in every city and state to sell the AABM. See May 1870 issue for sample advertisement.
Eileen Michels noted the AABN published (in 1876) fourteen illustrations by the delineator S. J. Brown. Of those fourteen drawings there were eight different firms represented with a geographical distribution of the buildings from Boston to Chicago. Michels concluded that Brown could not have traveled to all of the cities whose work he drew, but instead was a free lance delineator, possibly working for the staff of AABN or employed by an architectural firm, utilizing photographs or poor quality drawings from which he made his renderings. She also stated that AABN readers would not have been concerned with Brown's professional status, but what would have been noticed was his uniform rendering style regardless of what he was drawing or for whom he was working. For further information consult "Developmental Study of the Drawings Published in the American Architect and in Inland Architect through 1895" pages 31-35; and "Late Nineteenth Century Published American Perspective Drawing," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, December 1972, pp. 293-4.

There were nine illustrations for New York state, six for Pennsylvania, five for Ohio, Massachusetts had four illustrations and New Jersey and Connecticut had three illustrations each.

Gilbert Bostwick Croff published several books on residential designs; Model Suburban Architecture was subtitled: "Dwellings of Moderate Cost $1400 to $5000." The AABM illustration appeared in the January 1871 issue.

The First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia appeared in the May, 1870 issue. The church is located at 21st and Walnut Streets. A copy of the Van Ingen and Snyder engraving is to be found in the Presbyterian Historical Society Archives, Philadelphia.

There were three other double plate illustrations in the AABM: Philadelphia City Hall by John McArthur, E. T. Potter's Baptist Church at Broad and Spruce Streets, and the truss and bridge design on the Hudson River, near Albany by Clark Reeves & Co. Builders, Phoenixville.

The illustration in AABM depicts the Sims tower.
84 AABM, March 1870, p. 5. James Miller McKim described the new synagogue in a letter to his son, Charles, on August 2, 1869. "Frank Furness is building a costly Jewish Temple. It is of course of the Saracenic style. Keep your eye out for a beauty of a Jewish synagogue and note it." (Quoted in Roth, p. 24.)

85 It is believed by Mr. Benjamin S. Linfoot and Dr. George E. Thomas, that the colored lithograph was used to raise money for the building fund. Research in the surviving synagogue's records may confirm this.

86 AABM, March 1870, p. 5.

87 AABM, August 1870. The October issue also contained an article about the Gothic style being correct for Masonic architecture.

88 Ibid., July 1870, p. 69.

89 Ibid., March 1870, p. 10.

90 An examination of English architectural journals and ABJA uncovered no reviews of the AABM.

91 Woods, p. 170.

92 Pennsylvania Volume 17, p. 18, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.

93 Ibid. The entry of November 27, 1881, stated the partnership was out of business.

94 For further information on the beginning of the American Architect and Building News, consult Woods and Michels.
The Philadelphia A.I.A. included as members several builders and engineers. See A.I.A. membership books for the period 1869 to 1876, located at The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

This biographical information is from Linfoot family records and from the Philadelphia Birth Register Index, Philadelphia City Archives, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia. There are two register listings for the children of Benjamin and Elizabeth: Ernest is listed on page 100, June, 1871 index and Frank B. "Linford" is listed on page 151 April, 1880.

Consult Philadelphia city directories for the period 1870 to 1912 for individual listings.

Although the birth register listed the last name as "Linford" other information regarding the parent names and occupation is correct. Wyoming Street is in the 24th Ward which is also the same ward where the 1880 census was taken for the family. An 1878 City Atlas (J. D. Scott) indicates that Wyoming Street was also called Preston Street and Antoinette Street. (To make matters more confusing, there are Wyoming Streets in the 22nd, 26th, and 25th Wards of the city.) The census entry contains incorrect information regarding the ages of the various family members but the ward identification is correct. (1880 U.S. Census, Philadelphia, Ward 24, District 498, p. 4.) Also listed in the census is a servant, Eliza Harner, age 25.

The incorrect listings in the city directory of 1881 and 1882 suggest caution must be used when referring to the earlier family locations. Unfortunately there is no other documentation for the family during the 1870s.

See footnote 98.

City directory entries for Charles Balderston from 1874 to 1877.

The author would like to thank Jeffrey Cohen for bringing this information to her attention.
CHAPTER THREE END NOTES

1Paul Glemser was another paid assistant although he is only mentioned a few times implying that he did not work for a long period. Addison Hutton, Diary, November 12, 1872, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

2Tatman and Moss, p. 585-586.


4Ord is mentioned in the diary as "expected" on April 6. Kennedy does not re-appear in the diary until the December 1874 record of payment. Dr. George E. Thomas has suggested that by hiring English and Scottish assistants Hutton was keeping abreast of the latest architectural styles in Great Britain.

5This may be the same Robert Kaighn for which Linfoot later designed a home in Maine.

6The water color is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin S. Linfoot.

7Cooledge, Sloan, p. 106 and 135; Tatman and Moss, p. 28.

8The first names of Bennet, Jackson and Richardson are not recorded. They could be John W. Bennet and J. Elvin Jackson.

9Hutton Diary, April 1, 1875.

10Young and Balderston would briefly become partners with Samuel Sloan from 1877-78. Young withdrew from the partnership in 1878 and Balderston remained until 1883. See Cooledge, Sloan, p.106 and 135, footnote 15.

The exact relationship between the two men is not certain, but Charles may have been the father, Davis, the son. See Tatman and Moss, p. 778.

Hutton Diary, April 11, 1879. It is not clear if Supplee was employed for the entire time from 1870 to 1875. He is not mentioned as an office worker but may have been the contractor for the Orphan’s Asylum project.

Presbyterian Historical Society file on Hollond Memorial Church and Chapel, contract and building specifications. Cooledge says Mark is the father of Charles, (see Sloan, p. 135, footnote 15); Tatman and Moss state the two men were brothers, see p. 28.

Presbyterian Historical Society file on Holland Memorial Church and Chapel, "Building Specifications."


City directory entries for Davis E. Supplee are as follows: 1865-67 carpenter; 1872-1880 architect; 1881-1886 builder; 1887-1892 architect; 1893 draughtsman; 1896-1897 contractor.

Charles Balderston was referred to several times in Hutton’s diary as preparing and overseeing the laying of the building foundation. Hutton diary, February 26, 1875.
There is also the possibility that Supplee hired Linfoot to do the drawing of the Harriet Hollond Sabbath School building in 1873, as the Linfoot drawing is not dated.

**AABN**, September 30, 1876. The renderer's initials are "TPC."

Hutton Diary, July 12, 1875.

A city ordinance was passed in June 1876, employing Supplee as the architect for all new police stations, alterations and repairs. (See letter from Jefferson Moak, City Archives, Philadelphia, in the Davis E. Supplee file, The Athenaeum.) One of Supplee's police sub stations was illustrated in the December 2, 1876, **AABN**. The renderer's initials were "TPC," possibly for Theophilus Parsons Chandler, Jr. (1845 - 1928), a Philadelphia contemporary of Linfoot. There are Supplee family members living in Philadelphia who may own such documents.

The Van Ingen and Snyder engravings differ in depiction from the sketches in the amount of detail engraved and usually provide more information on building material than Linfoot's sketches.

James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition*, (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1975), p. 293. An undated scrapbook of the architect Thomas U. Walter contains several of the different schemes presented in the competition for the Centennial buildings. One of the entrants was Samuel Sloan, whose elaborate plans finished in second place. Pasted into the scrapbook are prints of Sloan's plans, elevations and perspective views, some done in pen and ink and one in water color. The water color perspective illustration of Memorial Hall appears similar to Linfoot's rendering style but is not signed. Also in the scrapbook are other Sloan designs in water color with no signature of the renderer. Analysis of Sloan's drafting skills and the free lance renderers he hired might determine if Linfoot was hired to make these renderings. The scrapbook is located in the Rare Book Department, Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.
This could be possible, as there was a demand for engraving work due to the numerous publications on the Centennial. If he could not find work as an architect, Linfoot certainly retained the skills as an engraver.

AABN, March 4, 1876, p. 73.

AABN, May 27, 1876, p. 169.

Linfoot did however exhibit four drawings at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1876. The works were: "Church at Broad and Arch," "Among the Jersey Pines," "Landing of the Morning," and an untitled architectural drawing. The present location of these works is unknown. The Academy's archives have records of work exhibited by Linfoot. The "Church at Broad and Arch" may be the Lutheran Church of the Holy Communion, 1875, by Fraser, Furness, and Hewitt or Hutton's Arch Street Methodist Church, 1869.

The city directory entries for 1877 and 1878 list Linfoot's office at 424 Walnut Street. An office address does not re-appear until 1882, with the address 719 Walnut Street. Evidence from the Spring Lake drawings suggests that Linfoot was working out of his home for at least part of the period between 1879 and 1881.
CHAPTER FOUR END NOTES


2 Ocean Grove, a coastal town above Spring Lake, began primarily as a religious summer community. A legislative act of 1870 integrated the seaside improvement companies of Ocean Grove with the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal church. (Edwin Salter and George C. Beekman, Old Times in Old Monmouth [Freehold: James S. Yard, 1887], p. 196.) Salter and Beekman summarized the development and impact of the camps: "what was a dreary stretch of sand and scrub pines, only a few years ago, has become a thriving town, sometimes thronged by twenty thousand people when the camps are in progress."


4 Ibid., p. 14 - 15. The Reverend Albert A. Willits is listed in the Philadelphia city directories during this period but there is no church identified with him; his home address was 1700 Vine Street.

5 Ibid., p. 15, as quoted from incorporation statement.

6 Anspach is listed in the city directories as a civil engineer during the 1870s.

7 Wrege, p. 17. A gentleman by the name of Colonel Maltby purchased the Monmouth Hotel in 1878 for $250,000. (Public Ledger, Sept. 20, 1900.) The grand five-story hotel with its mansard roof and encircling balconies was a dominant structure in the community. Directly adjacent to the south of the Monmouth Hotel was the Carlton House, built in 1877. In contrast to the rectangular shape of the Monmouth Hotel was the Carlton House, with hexagonal four-story bay ends and projecting gables, covered in patterned shingles and continuous first story wrap-around porch.

The original architect of the Carlton House is not known. Linfoot appears in the Philadelphia Real Estate Record and Builder's Guide, May 10, 1886, listed as being in charge of the remodeling of the hotel; adding two stories, corner towers and other improvements for $20,000.

175
The Philadelphian. February 24, 1877, page 62, article written by W.V.R of Squan, New Jersey. Spring Lake Historical Society, Spring Lake, New Jersey

Ibid.

Monmouth County Recorder of Deeds: John Hunter to Anna Wright Baird, Deed Book 333, p. 130 (November 17, 1880); Deed Book 332, p. 292 (December 18, 1880); Deed Book 335, p. 293 (April 30, 1881).


A copy of this book is located in The Athenaeum collection. There is also a seasonal brochure, dated February 13, 1882, in the collection. This brochure further clarifies Linfoot’s role as the agent: "All applications and inquiries pertaining to Mrs. Baird’s Spring Lake Estate should be addressed [to Benjamin Linfoot], or who may be seen in person at Spring Lake on Tuesday of each week from now to the commencement of the season."

Linfoot also felt the circular would be of interest "to many who are not personally known to me, but are nevertheless interested in building and sanitation, especially at the sea shore."

Summer Quarters

Ibid., In the 1882 brochure Linfoot wrote the following regarding the high quality of life at Hastings Square. "From this it will be seen that there is now no necessity for so-journers at the sea-shore to leave their comfortable city homes (made such in a great measure by what are known as city conveniences) and at the coast relapse for ten or twelve weeks in each year into the semi-barbarous condition of the middle ages."

Ibid.

18 *Summer Quarters*

19 1882 Seasonal brochure. The plank walk is evident in the pen and ink drawings of the Hastings Square buildings.

20 Ibid.

21 Kerr was one of the founders of the London Architectural Association and taught there for several years. This is why he is referred to usually as "Professor Kerr." For more information about Kerr's influence on country house design and other English architects see Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

22 *Summer Quarters*. The "atmospheric action" was the disposal process used in the country of sewage fields acted upon by wind and weather.

23 Ibid.

24 1882 Seasonal Brochure

25 George L. Crawford commissioned Linfoot to design a house in 1886. Crawford's new house was located in Merion, Pennsylvania. It was very similar in design to the Hastings Square cottages but used different building materials such as stone and brick. The *Philadelphia Real Estate Record and Builder's Guide* contains two entries for this commission: February 15, 1886, and April 19, 1886. The April entry provides the following description of the building: "Benjamin Linfoot building an extensive dwelling for George Crawford. It will be after the English style, with stable and coach house attached at a cost of $25,000." Crawford's house, with its irregular projecting bays, gables, wrap-around porch and tall brick chimneys, was more formal and decorative than in Linfoot's design for the residence of Mrs. Dickson. (Mrs. Dickson was probably related to the renters Alex K. Dickson of Germantown or the Reverend Hugh S. Dickson of Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.)
Mrs. Dickson's house was commissioned in 1892, near the end of Linfoot's career. The plan of the building is reminiscent of Mrs. Baird's twin cottage with the rounded parlor, and large center hall with adjacent dining, sitting and drawing rooms. Pen and ink perspective drawings of both commissions are located in The Athenaeum collection. Benjamin Edis Linfoot did the perspective of Mrs. Dickson's house. There is a certain amount of restraint in his work not usually found in his father's drawing.

26 Summer Quarters

27 Ibid.


29 AARN, October 6, 1877, p. 320.

30 Ibid.

31 Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) and William Eden Nesfield (1835-1888) were two influential architects who worked during the later half of the nineteenth century. Born in Edinburgh, Shaw studied with the Scottish architect William Burns and at the British Royal Academy, winning the Academy's silver medal in 1853 and the gold medal in 1854. The gold medal also included a traveling fellowship. Shaw and Nesfield traveled the continent together, resulting in Shaw's publication of Sketches from the Continent (1858). (Henry Russell Hitchcock, Architecture Nineteenth and Twentieth Century [New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., reprinted edition 1981], p. 292.) Shaw began work in the London office of George Edmund Street in 1858.

Nesfield studied with an uncle, Anthony Salvin, who was an architect and with William Burns, where he met Shaw. The two men opened an office in 1862 and the partnership lasted five years, until 1868. During this period they designed a variety of structures, including churches and residential buildings. They developed their styles into two distinct approaches—one following the Elizabethan mode (Shaw) and the other, the Queen Anne (Nesfield). There are several major works on these architects and their students: Andrew Saint, Richard Norman Shaw (New Haven: Yale University

32. Hitchcock, p. 293.

33. Vincent Scully's *The Shingle Style and The Stick Style* contains an excellent collection of illustrations from these publications, allowing for comparison of design and rendering presentation.


35. Financed by Jonathan T. Carr, the Bedford Park project was started in 1875. E. W. Godwin was one of the principle architects. Financial problems occurred with Carr, and Shaw began designing some of the buildings by 1877. Other architects such as E. J. May and Maurice B. Adams became involved with the buildings; many of the architects chose to live in the community. Actors, artists, writers and architects were residents of Bedford Park providing for a very creative and eclectic atmosphere and community. (See Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, chapter on Community Planning) and Margaret Jones Bosterli, *The Early Community at Bedford Park: Corporate Happiness in the First Garden Suburb* (Ohio University Press: 1977).


37. *Summer Quarters*. The window was manufactured by the Keystone Stained Glass Works in Philadelphia.

38. Maurice Adams (1849-1933) can be thought of as Linfoot’s exact English contemporary, as both men were involved in their early careers as engravers and delineators, participated in the publication of architectural journals and eventually practiced architecture. Adams trained with Horatio Nelson Goulty of Brightons, and Sir William Emerson (who had trained under William Burges). In 1872 Adams joined the staff of *Building News*, eventually becoming a contributing editor with E. W.
Godwin. Adams worked for the journal until his retirement in 1923. The early engravings by Adams include almost identical methods of rendering styles, especially evident in the grouping of figures, horse riders and the "running dog." Adams’ early renderings included the work of many Yorkshire architects, and buildings. (For some of these examples see Building News, January 12, 1877, for the New Public Office in Leeds, by George Corson and July 7, 1876, for the Manchester Town Hall, by Alfred Waterhouse.)

His illustrations were for some of the leading architects of the period and most likely Adams knew them. For example, Adams illustrated several of Shaw’s designs for Bedford Park, and later, Adams designed several residences for the community. Adams traveled to the United States in the 1881 and 1882, and a note in the August 15, 1879, Building News stated he built a house for Mr. Edward Wilde in Bloomfield, New Jersey. One can’t help but wonder whether or not Adams and Linfoot shared the same English training and may have known one another. Research available in England on Adams may provide additional information on his career and clarify any connection to Linfoot’s training.

For further information on Adams, consult his obituary in the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Volume 40, p. 814-15 (September 9, 1933) and The Builder, Volume 145, p. 300 (August 25, 1933).

Sir Robert W. Edis may be indirectly related to Linfoot, as Linfoot’s sister Maria married Dr. John B. Edis. The unusual surname suggests the two Edis men were related to one another. Sir Robert Edis was born in 1839 and worked primarily in London on residential designs. Maurice B. Adams was a frequent illustrator of Edis’ work. If Sir Edis was related to Linfoot, it may have provided Linfoot with a direct contact with Edis’ British contemporaries. Additional genealogical research on Edis may establish the relationship.

Leland Roth states that White’s mature rendering style was heavily influenced by Richard Norman Shaw, who was also admired by Richardson. (See Roth, McKim, Mead and White, p. 29.)

George E. Thomas in James O'Gorman, et.al. Drawing Towards Building, p. 150.

Ibid., p. 150.

The three surviving buildings in the summer of 1987 were painted yellow (Mrs. Baird's "Twin Cottages"), blue ("Surf Cottage") and white (Sussex Hotel). The porch trim was painted white on all of the structures. A new roof on Mrs. Baird's "Twin Cottage" and lack of maintenance were evident.

Asbury Park Journal, April 23, 1881, Spring Lake Historical Society, Spring Lake, New Jersey.

Xerox on church dedication, Spring Lake Historical Society, Spring Lake, New Jersey. Article probably is from The Seaside paper of August 21, 1882.

Ibid.

Ellis, History of Monmouth County, p. 804 - 805.

Spring Lake Historical Society files on the Presbyterian church, Spring Lake, New Jersey. The church was 60' by 80', with an 80' bell tower and could seat 500 people.

An architectural survey of Spring Lake, done in 1986, by Monmouth County Division of Parks, did not confirm nor deny this possibility. There are several buildings of Linfoot’s "American" style. Further deed and historical research may indicate his involvement.


The Public Ledger and The Philadelphia Inquirer (September 20, 1901) contained John R. Fanshawe’s description of the fire. The headline for The Evening Telegraph read "Miss Pusey Fled in Night Robe."

The Public Ledger and The Philadelphia Record estimated Mrs. Urie’s loss at $50,000. The Philadelphia Inquirer however estimated the cost to be $75,000. Most of the newspaper accounts briefly mentioned the original builder of Hastings Square, describing the beauty of the block.

"Hastings Square... is a very handsome spot, and contained a number of very pretty cottages, just back of the Essex and Sussex Hotels, one of the highest grade summer resort hosterlies. The Essex and Sussex were built by Mrs. Anna Wright Baird, widow of Matthew Baird of Baldwin Locomotive Works. She took an active interest in Spring Lake and spent a great deal of money in improvements there."

[The Public Ledger, The Philadelphia Inquirer and The Evening Telegraph.]

Wrege, p. 33.

Ibid., The Philadelphia Inquirer, Thursday, September 20, 1901.

Post card is located in the Spring Lake Historical Society Collection and published in Wrege, p. 35.
For more information on the re-adaptive use of the large hotel complex and adjacent cottages consult: Marilou Ehler, unpublished Masters Thesis, Columbia University Preservation Program 1986, and Christine Scott, unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Pennsylvania Preservation Program, 1985. Linfoot mentioned in the 1882 brochure that the basement was entirely built above ground, suggesting that there were no deep building foundations. Therefore, moving a building, although very expensive and cumbersome, would not have been impossible.
CHAPTER FIVE END NOTES

1 A pen and ink perspective view of the cottage was also done, dated 1882. The figures included a man on a horse talking to a boy and dog.

2 The Disstons were a very prominent Philadelphians and it is possible that they knew Anna Wright Baird, who perhaps suggested hiring Linfoot to design a summer cottage.

3 The watercolor rendering of the Disston Cottage provides the best indication as to the color schemes possibly intended for Linfoot's other designs. The watercolor is larger and is more carefully done than the other renderings. The watercolor is owned by the Linfoot family.

4 Both illustrations contain different foreground figures. In the pen and ink rendering, dated 1881, there is a lady with parasol, child, man with a dog walking past the cottage. Missing in the rendering is the tree in the right foreground.

5 There is also a slight variation of a second story projecting bay--the pen and ink drawing indicates a larger bay than in the watercolor.


7 Linfoot did receive a commission for the Powelton Avenue Baptist Church in 1882. Drawings in The Athenaeum collection contain the date May 25, 1882. The "Building Intelligence" column in the October 14, 1882 issue of AABN stated "The Baptists are about to build a chapel on Powelton Avenue, near 37th Street; size 40' x 60' Benjamin Linfoot, architect." Location of church records and additional information on this commission were not found.

8 It is uncertain how Linfoot received this commission, as Chambersburg is located west of Harrisburg. Perhaps the client knew of Linfoot's work through visiting Spring Lake.

9 Linfoot, p. 23.
The chapters were: Elements of Pictorial Light, Shade and Balance; Qualities of Size, Location, Distance and Balance; Outline; Shading; Skies; Foliage; Methods and Appliances (Paper, ink, etc.); Figures (Should they be good copies or bad originals) and Comparative Examples (Application of the Preceding Principles to Examples from Current Periodicals).

Linfoot, p. 5.

As in the example of Linfoot's client, Mrs. Baird, this certainly was true. Linfoot's elaborate perspective drawings of the Hastings Square cottages, most likely influenced her to commission him for her Main Line home. Other Baird family members also hired Linfoot.

These architects may or may not have done the actual rendering or known that their work was being publicly critiqued.

Linfoot, p. 16.

This type of paper was recommended for its superb surface quality. Linfoot used this paper for his illustrations and wrote "What would become of us without Whatman?"

Building, October 1884, p. 10.

Ibid.

George E. Thomas, in James O'Gorman, et al., Drawings Towards Building, pp. 148-149. Eileen Michels discusses that when "handbooks of this sort were published by popular draftsmen, they merely systematized in one place the visual facts about the author's style that had already gained currency from his published drawings." (See Eileen Michels, "Late Nineteenth-Century Published American Perspective Drawing" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, December 1972, p. 301.)
Thomas identifies this shift and also that in Philadelphia the next generation of architects were becoming better trained, i.e. Eyre may have attended MIT. Frank Miles Day attended University of Pennsylvania, and John Stewardson attended the Ecole.

Michels, p. 229. She supports her statement by referring the Vincent Scully, The Shingle Style and The Stick Style.

Michels, p. 229.

Periodically the AABN had "sponsored" exhibitions or contests among architects and renderers. The prize was either monetary or books. (It is the opinion of Eileen Michels that the early competition work is not significant. [Michels, p. 64.])

The men who participated in the exhibition included: Francis Bacon, Eldon Deane, Wilson Eyre, Henry Penn, David A. Gregg, Henry Kirby, Benjamin Linfoot, Henry Neu, John Calvin Stevens, C. Howard Walker, and J. D. Woodward.

Kirby was one of several who illustrated in the AABN from 1877 to 1888, taught pen and ink instruction in New York City and published a book Architectural Composition (1892). (See Michels, p. 99.)

Michels, JSAH, December 1972, p. 301.


The porte-cochere illustration was exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1885. The drawing is in the Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

Samuel Hotchkin, Rural Pennsylvania, p. 58.
This may be the same large pastel portrait of Mrs. Baird, owned by her grandson, Charles H. Baird.

Ibid.

MM, November 30, 1889, p. 255. This illustration may have been exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1890. The Academy archives list the title of the work as "Home Buildings of Mrs. A. W. Baird."


Ibid., p. 173.

George E. Thomas in James O’Gorman, et.al., Drawing Towards Building, pp. 154 - 155. Linfoot’s technique of creating the drawing is explained.

During the period 1886 Linfoot unsuccessfully entered several church competitions. The competitions included: Messiah Universalist Church, water color and pen and ink elevation, both dated June 14, 1886; Park Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, pen and ink perspective, dated July 27, 1886. The design for the Park Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church was published in the August 14, 1886, issue of AABN.

Philadelphia Real Estate Record and Builders Guide, Vol. 3, 44, p. 523, November 5, 1888. Earlier, in May of 1888, the PRERBG noted Linfoot’s plans for four two-story brick houses located on the south side of Brooklyn Street, between 41st and 42nd Streets. (PRERBG May 7, 1888, Vol. 3, 18, p. 211.) The following year Linfoot built two houses on the south side of Ogden Street, west of 42nd Street. (PRERBG September 18, 1889, Vol. 4, 37, p. 441 and PRERBG September 25, 1889, Vol. 4, 38, p. 452.)
The PRERBG (October 15, 1888, Vol. 3, 18, p. 211) article stated: "Ben Linfoot has been awarded the plans for the Miners Hospital at Hazelton, before reported. The contracts for the foundation only have been let, those for the super structure will be awarded in the Spring. The building will cost 60K."

The PRERBG references to the later alterations are Vol. 8, 33, p. 1 (August 16, 1893) and Vol. 8, 35, p. 553, (August 30, 1893).


Art Club program, located in The Athenaeum collection.
CHAPTER SIX END NOTES

1 Linfoot exhibited a drawing in 1893 at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The Academy archives list the title of the work as "Mausoleum, which may or may not be the Markle mausoleum.

2 Maria Linfoot married Dr. John B. Edis and had five children: Ellen Elizabeth (b. 1874); Mary Gertrude (b. 1876); Sarah Winifred (b. 1878); Fanny Urbana (b. 1879); and Isaac Marcus (b. 1883). According to the Linfoot family scrapbook, the Edis family lived in Liverpool.

3 Entries on Linfoot appear beginning in October 1886, when he paid the $5 annual membership fee and is listed as paying the yearly dues until 1891. The 1892 column has written across it "Resigned." The chapter financial records listed the members and their dues payments. See A.I.A. Philadelphia Chapter Treasurer’s Book, pages 8, 18, 22, 45-46, 100 and 101. The entry on page 100 is the most complete; it indicates that Linfoot paid $5 in 1886 and 1887 and paid $10 from 1888 through 1891. Philadelphia Chapter A.I.A. archives, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

4 The minutes during the period Linfoot was a member do not record his name as attending any of the meetings. The only time his name appears is in a printed list of the members, December 17, 1889, and the Annual Meeting of October 11, 1892. Linfoot was listed as a "professional" and not as a member-at-large, or other category. Philadelphia Chapter A.I.A. Minute Books, 1884-1898, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

5 It may have indicated that he was retiring from the profession. However, after 1892 Linfoot was still fairly active in his career. Another possibility was his entering competitions that conflicted with the chapter policy. For example, Addison Hutton was expelled from the Philadelphia chapter for participation in the Pennsylvania State Capital competition in 1901. (See Tatman and Moss, p. 402.)

6 Presentation drawings for Linfoot’s and Hutton’s entries are in The Athenaeum collection. Through the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, a competition was held in the spring of 1890-91 with more that ninety-seven architects entering the competition. (See Theodore Wesley Koch, A Book of Carnegie Libraries, [New York: The H. W. Wilson Co.].)
7. The plan was "E" shaped, with a large square in the middle of the "E." In addition to providing library and reading room space, the plan included museum gallery space, classrooms and a large music hall. See competition program, Linfoot Collection, The Athenaeum.

8. There were four schemes presented for the walls: 1) dark mottled vulcan brick and brown terra cotta; 2) vulcan brick and white terra cotta; 3) buff brick and white terra cotta; and 4) red pressed brick and red terra cotta. Located in The Athenaeum collection is Linfoot's detailed program for the competition.

9. Linfoot's change in rendering technique is an example of what Michels referred to that occurred during the 1880s. See Chapter 5, footnote 20.

10. Tatman and Moss, pp. 481 - 482.


12. *PRERBG* Vol. 10, 26, p. 357 (June 26, 1895) and Vol. 10, 36, p. 1 (September 4, 1895). It is assumed that the entries were for Benjamin Linfoot Senior.

13. The water colors sketches dated February 1896, are located in The Athenaeum collection.

14. It is not known if these illustrations were ever published.


According to Linfoot’s will, all of his property and personal effects were given to Elizabeth. Witnesses to the will, dated March 25, 1890 were Ellen Street and Joseph Richardson, Linfoot’s niece and nephew. (Will 1912 #2505, Philadelphia Recorder of Wills, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.) Elizabeth Linfoot remained at the house on Preston Street until her death in 1919. Her will provides more information on the Linfoot household and their assets. Mentioned in her will is the York Cathedral water color, given to her son Ernest. The accompanying inventory does not provide a significant amount of detail. (Will 1919 #1849, Philadelphia Recorder of Wills, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.)
There is no clear method of determining how extensively Linfoot's book was used. The Athenaeum owns a copy of the book that once belonged to T. P. Chandler. Further research into library holdings of early architectural schools, such as MIT, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania and Columbia might indicate whether or not the book was available to architectural students.
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