The Moment of William Ralph Emerson's Art Club in Boston's Art Culture

By
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Bachelors of Architecture (1997)
Roger Williams University

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

This thesis will analyze the architect William Ralph Emerson's (1833-1917) Boston Art Club building (1881-82) and its station within Boston and New York's art culture. Even though there has been considerable research on the Gilded Age in general and certain art clubs specifically, this club remains a neglected element in art's social history. During the rising development of art culture, a small group of artists founded the Boston Art Club (1854-1950) as a vehicle for production, education and promotion of the arts. To assert their club's presence within patrons' circles, the members commissioned a flagship clubhouse adjacent to Art Square (now known as Copley Square). Emerson, primarily a residential architect and the first Shingle Style architect, won the competition with a unique amalgamation of Queen Anne and Richardson Romanesque styles, an alliance with the nearby Museum of Fine Arts and the Ruskin and the English Pre-Raphaelites. The resultant clubhouse was a declaration of the club's presence amid America's established art culture. Through this building design the Club asserted its status for the thirty years that the arts prevailed on Boston's Art Square. The Art Club's reign, along with the building's prominence, ended when the Museum deemed their building's architectural style out of date, among other reasons. That faithful decision to abandon Art Square and the revival Ruskinian Gothic style would take with it the reverence for the Art Club's building and, eventually, the club itself. Within forty years and through several other struggles the Art Club closed its doors, ending a chapter that began with the need for art in Boston, thrived within the culture of the Gilded Age and sank from the changing trends in architecture.

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To my inspiration, my strength and my love...
Introduction

This thesis will analyze the architect William Ralph Emerson's (1833-1917) Boston Art Club building (1881-82) and its place within Boston and New York's art culture. Even though there has been considerable research on the Gilded Age in general and certain art clubs specifically, this club remains a neglected element in the history of Boston. During the development of Boston's art culture, a small group of artists founded the Boston Art Club (1854-1950) as a vehicle for the production, education and promotion of the arts. To assert the club's presence to its patrons and its public, the members commissioned a clubhouse adjacent to Art Square (now known as Copley Square). This clubhouse was the first in the country designed expressly for a social club focused on art. Emerson, primarily a residential architect and the first so-called Shingle Style architect, won the competition with a unique and highly individualized amalgamation of English Queen Anne and Richardson Romanesque styles. The resultant building was a declaration of the club's presence amid America's evolving art culture. Through this building design the club asserted its status for the twenty-five years that the arts prevailed on Boston's Art Square.

At the time of the building's construction, the arts were expanding significantly. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts (the Museum) was recently incorporated and had constructed a Ruskinian Gothic revival style building on Art Square in 1876. In addition, commercial art galleries and art societies in Boston, as in New York, were being founded. The architecture of the Art Club's new building -- the façade articulation, massing and building organization -- along with the decision to select Emerson's competition design, were carefully calculated to situate this club in the world of its patrons' culture and its members' philosophies.
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The heyday of the Art Club building was short-lived; it followed the abandonment of the Museum of Fine Arts building. In 1909, the Museum moved out of Copley Square (renamed from Art Square in 1883) to the park at Fenway. This move was instigated for several reasons: firstly, the Fenway was becoming the new arts center, and secondly the architecture of the Museum building was outdated. The same architecture that the Art Club had emulated was so old-fashioned that the Museum discarded that style entirely for a purely classical, Beaux-Arts building situated in the park. This new design responded to the City Beautiful ideas. Boston social clubhouses before and after the turn of the century were being built in the Renaissance, Colonial revival and classical styles; no clubs were built as Queen Anne design. The Art Club found itself housed in an outdated style of architecture.

The objective of this investigation is to understand the issues surrounding the Art Club building and the motivations behind its design. American artists believed they were unfairly seen as less important than European artists. They believed that through art, they could elevate themselves, their viewers and their patrons. To accomplish this, the club would have to unite artist and patron. Before commissioning a clubhouse, the Art Club had established itself as an organization among Boston’s artists but not among its cultural elite. The Art Club was competing for artists against neighboring clubs as well as New York clubs while vying for consideration from patrons who attended the Museum.

The Art Club held an architectural competition for the design of its clubhouse. The members selected the most distinctive building design entry, the most dissimilar from its Back Bay neighbors, yet fully within the accepted styles of the time. Emerson could not yet offer an architectural reputation acclaimed in New York, but he was able to design a building

that captured the attention of Boston's cultural elite. Why did Emerson design a distinctive building in the heart of the Back Bay? Why did the members select this design? How did the architecture itself further the status of the club?

The Art Club played a pivotal role in Boston’s art culture. It was instrumental in creating a position for Boston's artists within the milieu of high society and in the eyes of New York. The Museum of Fine Arts established a location for exhibition but no place for the artists to organize; there was no haven in which to unite. Through this club, the artists gained a window into the highest of social circles. The clubhouse was designed as a medium in which the artist and the patron could interact, a meeting place for the patrons to comfortably exist with their Bohemian other. It was all the artists could do to unite, discuss their situations and sustain each other. Following their dreams and accepting their arduous lives were the criterion for being a ‘true artist,’ one who could be proud of his work, if not his stature. Emerson's Art Club design produced a building meant to re-position the lowly Boston artists to what they considered their true station.

There is a wealth of literature regarding the cultural changes in Boston and New York at this time but few scholars discuss the Art Club. Fortunately, some material related to the architectural competition does survive. This information can be evaluated to appreciate the architects' intentions and the members' expectations. Also valuable are early photographs of the building along with some fragmented textual accounts of the interiors. These resources help explain Emerson's design intentions and why his design was selected.

Primary information available regarding the Art Club, although fragmentary, will provide the context necessary to understand Emerson's objective. Guidebooks and dictionaries discuss the Art Club in general (briefly), but few mention Emerson beyond
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designating him the architect.\(^2\) There are newspaper articles detailing the club's exhibitions, but these rarely mention the building itself. The most complete clubhouse descriptions were written by Boston and New York newspapers and in periodicals at the time of its opening. As for built records, there are few other urban buildings designed by Emerson and no club precedents contain comparable issues or employ similar solutions. There are two secondary histories devoted to the club building, *The Boston Art Club Exhibition Record, 1873-1909*, written by Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel\(^3\) and *The Boston Art Club Building by William Ralph Emerson* by Barry Brensinger and Robert H. Owens.\(^4\) The former reviews Boston's surrounding culture and contextual issues although this history centers on the artists rather than the building. The latter provides a literal description of the building, deed history and detailed structural analysis. Cynthia Zaitzevsky's work *William Ralph Emerson 1833-1917* addresses the building only briefly but is a valuable bibliographic resource regarding Emerson's life and career.\(^5\) Compiling and synthesizing these primary and secondary sources will generate a rich framework for my analysis.

An important factor in the Art Club's design was New York's impression of Boston. Boston, at this time, was losing its finest artists to the promise of wealthy New York patrons.

\(^2\) One text did not recognize Emerson as the architect, but declared Cabot and Chandler the architects. This confusion was due to Cabot and Chandler listed on the Building Permit, probably to expedite the permit process while the competition for the architect was ongoing. See Charles S. Darrell, *A Half Century of Boston's Building* (Boston: Louis P. Hager, 1895), 59. However, *American Architect and Building News* advertised the permit for “Wm. R. Emerson,” *Boston (Building Permits),* *American Architect and Building News* IX, no. 262 (January 1, 1881), 11.


and Boston patrons could not compete. Periodical and newspaper articles from New York pitied Boston while comparing the two cities, systematically claiming New York superior. New York resources will also provide a second lens to analyze the trends of art culture and architecture in Boston. While Boston lost its avant garde artists to New York, the Art Club provided social support for the city’s remaining artists through the turn of the century.

Physical evidence is pivotal for comprehending the circumstances surrounding the Art Club since primary sources are scarce. The building still stands at the corner of Newbury and Dartmouth Streets. Although there have been four building renovations, many of the original features are discernible. The existing façade is virtually intact, the interior spaces and stairs are intact and the exhibition room, while now subdivided, still retains daylight from Emerson’s generous skylight. A lot can be learned from direct scrutiny of the building, its successes and failures, as it stands today.

This thesis will be organized according to the spheres of influence emerging from Boston’s art culture, New York’s critical eye, and Boston’s connection to England. The beginning of the nineteenth century nurtured the evolution of America’s art culture. The Civil War, coupled with the Centennial Exposition and then the establishment of the Museum of Fine Arts, further stimulated a broader cultural interest in art. Following the construction of the Art Club building, cultural influences and trends affected the club. For twenty-five years the club was at the top of its class; then it began an unstoppable decent to its deterioration. These spheres, both all-encompassing and telling, will serve as the organizational tool for this paper.

William Ralph Emerson’s Boston Art Club building has survived virtually unnoticed in the history of Boston’s art culture and American architecture, but the club building played a pivotal role in the lives of Boston’s artists and patrons. The distinctive architecture of the
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clubhouse not only served to further the station of Boston's artists and unite both artist and patron, but it led its city as well as its country as a social gathering space for art culture. The first of its kind in the country, this building legitimized social clubhouses for artists in America. Through the understanding of this building -- its maturing social and cultural context and its surrounding architectural styles -- we can understand the artists' attempts to redefine themselves in the eyes of their countrymen and women.
The Culture of Boston before the Boston Art Club

The catalyzing forces that created the Boston Art Club can be traced to art culture's formative years in Boston and other American cities. From the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American cities were vying for supremacy in their country while simultaneously trying to keep up with each other. Each city developed its own identifiable character through exploiting its unique contributions.

After the war for independence, Washington was undeniably America's capital of government, while New York, Boston and Philadelphia competed to be financial and cultural centers. Each city developed a distinct character as a result, in part, of these rivalries. Already by the beginning of the nineteenth century, New York was the country's center of commerce, trade and social culture. Boston had fallen to second or third in importance; its saving grace being its shipping connections to England, with which it still directly identified. Due to these connections and its close proximity to New York, Boston still remained a cultural contender.

Both Boston and Philadelphia struggled to be the intellectual center of the country, although following the War of 1812, Philadelphia forever fell behind Boston. The advent of Ralph Waldo Emerson's transcendental discussion group, the Saturday Club, one of the first

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7 "Familiar Epigram that 'Good Bostonians, When They Die, Go To Paris,'" *New York Times* (July 15, 1878), 4. New York, however, identified with the more fashionable Paris.
The Culture of Boston before the Boston Art Club

clubs in the country, established Boston as the intellectual and religious nucleus. The country was searching for leaders in theology and literature and Boston's intellectual circles filled this void. To compare Boston and New York's clubs is to understand more about the rivalry between cities. A later New York newspaper described the beginning of American clubs: "Boston was learned, witty, often priggish, and not unseldom monotonous; New York was gay, bright, full of color, and given over to feasting." This comparison suggested the lives of each cities' inhabitants: the cultural representations of Boston were subdued, pious and calculated, as opposed to their fun loving, social New York counterparts. New York dominated as the financial, merchant and social center, but Boston was retaining its intellectual and cultural high standing.

With artistic prominence came cultural significance; Europe was still and would continue as the leader of the American art world. Wealthy patrons only purchased work of European masters through the few existing commercial art galleries and purchased these pieces as status symbols. In the 1830's and 40's infrequent art sales induced few yearly exhibitions, yet art culture was rising in the highest circles of society. New York patrons were most likely to purchase American art. The country's artists included some trained in

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8 For more information regarding the Saturday Club, see M.A. DeWolfe Howe, Later Years of the Saturday Club 1870-1920 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927).
9 "Boston Art Notes," The Art Interchange XVI, no. 5 (February 27, 1886), 194. Also discussed are the moments that Bostonians ventured to New York City for "dangerous and strange diversions."
10 American artists "were the beggars at the feast, picking up the crumbs that fell from the tables where the European painters of fashionable reputation were feasting." E.P. Richardson, Painting in America, From 1502 to the Present (Second edition, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), 310.
11 The cultural elite purchased few American artworks. "The [American] art of our time has been, for the most part, produced for a public that did not want it and misunderstood it, by artists who disliked and despised the public for which they worked." Kenyon Cox, Artist and Public: And Other Essays on Art Subjects (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), 1-2.
Europe who brought their skills back to America along with the artists they trained. The few American art education institutions were staffed by artists in these two groups.\textsuperscript{12}

Art production, most often in studios, was a difficult trial.\textsuperscript{13} Studios were problematic to secure. Few landlords rented spaces affordable to artists when they could obtain higher rents for commercial tenants.\textsuperscript{14} Artists frequently worked and lived in the same quarters to save money, which meant that their studios either needed amenities or the artist had to manage without. At night studios were dark, dangerous places. Artists needed a respite to forget their difficult lives, eat a hot meal and enjoy the company of other artists.\textsuperscript{15} A period artist-author explained that it was not painting but connections to the cultural elite that led to success.\textsuperscript{16} Artists also needed professional services, including some means of introducing artists and patrons in a manner comfortable for both parties, the buying power of many artists for unique art supplies, and a location to safeguard their valuable work.\textsuperscript{17} The artists' needs were not being met by their community and their scant patrons were not interested in experiencing their life, just their art. The art creation itself was the reward that inspired the artist to continue.

\textsuperscript{12} This difficulty of selling and homogeneity of training led American artists to flock to New York for the promise of sales.
\textsuperscript{13} A period address attempted to clarify the artists' need in relation to their patrons: "If he truly loves his art, his pecuniary wants will be few, and the wise and the virtuous will be happy to administer to those wants, in a fair exchange of their products for his, as equals, giving benefit for benefit." William Dunlap, \textit{Address to the Students of the National Academy of Design} (New York: Clayton and Van Norden, 1831), 8.
\textsuperscript{14} As a matter of fact, \textit{American Architect and Building News} cited the lack of adequate studios for Boston artists as the primary reason why the city lost artistic prominence to New York. "Naturally, Boston is peculiarly well adapted as a working centre for artists, and we believe that if landlords and real estate owners had found it profitable to cater to the needs of the class Boston would still be, as it once was, the chief artistic center of the country." "The Rights of Artists to Fair Studio Accommodation," \textit{American Architect and Building News} LXXXVI, no. 1508 (November 19, 1904), 57.
\textsuperscript{15} "The Tile Club at Work," \textit{Scribner's Monthly} 17 (January 1879), 406.
\textsuperscript{17} "The Museum Building," \textit{American Architect and Building News} VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 206. This source provides a valuable glimpse into the life of the "starving artist."
In Boston art was exalted as the savior, the elevator of culture through Ralph Waldo Emerson's writings. Art was a status symbol for the cultural elite, a purchase to decorate life but more importantly a tool of salvation from the mundane effects of the industrialized world. "Sensitive persons who have experienced a high delight in the presence of a beautiful painting may be aware of an intense, even exalted integration of mind and feeling."\(^{18}\) Emerson described the path the artist must follow to be elevated: create art, enjoy the aesthetic experience, then share the exaltation with fellow artists and patrons.\(^{19}\) This process forced artistic creation to remain an aspect misunderstood by patrons. Patrons believed in art as a tool to elevate the soul but did not understand the artist's role.

In 1807, to advance the elite's love of art, music and literature, a small group of intellectuals founded the Boston Athenaeum, which led Boston intellectually through the mid-1800s.\(^{20}\) The library at the Athenaeum became one of the most distinguished in America while "the annual exhibitions held in the picture gallery... did more than anything else to foster in this community of knowledge and love of art."\(^{21}\) This institution flourished in the milieu of Boston cultural elite for many years without any competition.

The significance of the Athenaeum solidified Boston as an intellectual center. Nevertheless, throughout this century Boston would have to compete with New York for supremacy. Many of the choices Boston leaders made were intended to reestablish or reposition themselves in the eyes

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\(^{19}\) Ibid., 225.

\(^{20}\) The Athenaeum was founded April 7, 1807. Josiah Quincy, *The History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Cambridge, MA: Metcalf and Company, 1851), 23. This source is a systematic, thorough account of the Athenaeum's first forty-four years.

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In 1854 a small group of artists organized to form the Boston Art Club. It was based on William Morris and John Ruskin's principles: to further the love of art, elevate artists and patrons through art's creation and appreciation, and function as the social component to the members' lives. These artists required an organization to aid in selling their art, the art of the American artist, and to allow members to socially and critically interact with each other while financially interacting with their patrons. Also important was the construction of a comfortable mediator between environs -- the opulent life of the patron and the difficult, meager life of the artist -- allowing for both to meet on common ground comfortably. These artists believed that this club would raise its members into their

22 Proceedings at the Opening of the New Club House of the Boston Art Club, March 4, 1882 (Boston: Mills, Knight & Company, Printers, 1882), 26. The majority of sources that discuss the young Art Club cite its commencement in 1855 but this primary source listed the original intentions of organization occurring in 1854, with the first club meeting on the first day of 1855. For this reason, I will employ the earlier date. Note: there are sources that incorrectly cited other years for the Club's establishment, for example 1857. Frederick Pope, Some Prominent Buildings in the Newer Boston (Boston: Copley Square Hotel, 1903), no page number.

23 Through all my research, just two sources referenced the original name of the organization: the Nutshell Club. Samuel Lancaster Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art (Boston: Unpublished manuscript, 1885), 1; and Diana Korzenik, Drawn To Art: A Nineteenth-Century American Dream (With forward by Rudolf Arnheim, Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), 148. According to Diana Korzenik, a member suggested the 'Nutshell Club' since the new club incorporated many aspects of art. She continued to state that Horace H. Moses, George D. Russell and Charles C. Perkins, however, voted for the 'Boston Art Club' and that name was instituted upon club incorporation in 1871. Further research proved the latter part of this statement false. The name the 'Boston Art Club' was instituted before 1871. For pre-1871 articles referring to the Boston Art Club, see: Anonymous, "Letter in 'Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon (April 1857), 121-22; and "Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon IV, Part 1 (January 1857), 25-28.

24 "To the artist it is absolutely necessary to be of the family, to use the same materials, to share in the nice and intimate correlation between the inner and spiritual grace of his mental conception, and the outward and visible sign of the skill of his hand." Will H. Low, A Painter's Progress (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 4-5.

25 Charles O. Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1903. Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel, Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991. Charles Vogel cited the club as "the oldest art club in America (p. 17)." While I have not been able to prove this statement, I also have not been able to disprove it, assuming that an 'art club' was defined as a social club for artists (and those interested in art).
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desired position. 27 "The economy of abundance and the radical re-ordering of human relationships [were] familiar goals" in artists' utopias. 28

The organization of the early Art Club was meager indeed. The first meeting, on January 1, 1855, took place in member Frederick Dickinson Williams' studio at 24 Tremont Row. 29 The members were at ease meeting in a studio as opposed to a formal space since they did not have to placate their patrons. The twenty original members represented all branches of the arts from art to painting to architecture and from sculpture to engraving. 30 They were the best of Boston's artists, distinguished by their distinct taste for beauty and culture, as well as progress and wealth. 31

26 The intention was not only to elevate the artists' and maintain the patron's standings but also to carefully regulate the parties' interactions to maintain constancy. See also David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden, editors, Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 206.
27 The discussion of whether or not artists envied their patrons' status will not be discussed directly except to reference a lecture given years prior to art students in which the speaker warned the audience not to be jealous of their future patrons. William Dunlap, Address to the Students of the National Academy of Design (New York: Clayton and Van Norden, 1831), 4.
29 Many of the original members had exhibited their work in 1852 under the auspices of the New England Art Union at 38 Tremont Row. Charles O. Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 11. Unfortunately, not much is known about this early organization. This area was and continued to be a popular enclave for artists' studios (see Appendix A). At some time after the first meeting, the early regular meetings were at Chester Harding's studio and the Athenaeum. "Sixty-One Years Ago," Boston Art Club Bulletin I, no. 2 (November, 1915), 3.
30 Nineteen of the twenty original members were "Joseph Ames, Gilbert Atwood, Charles A. Barry, Edward A. Brackett, E.L. Brown, Benjamin Champney..., Francis Sheed Frost, Samuel Lancaster Gerry, Samuel W. Griggs, A.C. Hamlin, Albert G. Hoit, William Lee, Horace H. Moses, Alfred Ordway, Edward Pressey, C.F. Sleeper, Merrill Greene Wheelock, Frederick Dickinson Williams and Moses Wright." Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 11. Walter M. Brackett was listed as the twentieth member by Ralph Davoll, "The Boston Art Club," The New England Magazine (January 1911), 433. R.H. Gammell suggested that William Morris Hunt was a founder: "This association had recently been founded at the instigation of Hunt himself, a commanding personality whose presence in Boston sufficed to make the city the artistic focus of the United States," although Art Club documents do not support this. R.H. Ives Gammell, The Boston Painters, 1900-1930 (Elizabeth Ives Hunter, editor, Orleans, MA: Parnassus Imprints, 1986), 15. For a complete list of officers and members at specific years see Chadbourne, Gabosh and Vogel, The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record, Appendix V and VI, pp. 463-64 or refer to the club's Constitution and By-Laws.
The Art Club was organized to enhance the artists' station within society. Its goals were to "advance the knowledge and love of Art, and tend to the elevating and refining of social intercourse among ourselves." These objectives were imperative since Boston patrons were focused on European masters, often travelling to Europe to purchase art. Patrons had little interest in purchasing American art. The Art Club set out to induce patrons to appreciate American art and therefore improve the artists' financial standing.

Finanically speaking, Boston artists were not successfully selling their work in studios. Boston had a building devoted to artists' studios, the Studio Building, opened in 1861, and located at Tremont and Bromfield Streets in the art center, but it was not nearly as profitable as its New York contemporary, the Tenth Street Studio. The Boston studios

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32 This source was a later Art Club text but this goal was their credo from the beginning. (43) Proceedings..., 25.
33 American artists were, first and foremost, interested in making a living. In the following decades, however, many artists allied themselves with the notion that art can elevate the soul. There were a few later articles that discussed art as an elevating factor. "The New Home of the Boston Art Club," Boston Evening Transcript (March 6, 1882), 2; "Evolution of Artistic Taste," Scribners Magazine 20 (September 1896), 389-90; and Royal Cortissoz, "Egotism in Contemporary Art," Atlantic Monthly 73 (May 1894), 650.
35 This was an area within the city that artists and art suppliers congregated. See Edward Stanwood, Boston Illustrated (Fourth printing, Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co., 1878), 76-77.
36 For a comprehensive history of the Tenth Street Studio, the prosperity of its artists and the building's sought-after studio spaces, see Annette Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists (Southampton, NY: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997). See also Mary Sayre Haverstock, "The Tenth Street Studios," Art in America 54 (September 1966), 48-57.
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lacked the elegance of the exhibition space of its New York precedent. Throughout Boston rents were high, locations near patronage were atypical, and the poor living conditions in or adjacent to studios made it unacceptable for artists to invite patrons to their workspaces. Studios were not proper selling locations but most artists could not get to the few Boston commercial art galleries to display their work. If an artist was fortunate enough to attract a commercial art gallery, who was also more interested in European art, he could hardly afford the gallery’s mark-up. The Art Club would function as an intermediate location for artists and patrons to interact socially and financially.

38 In the 1850’s, studio communities were located on Beacon Hill and near Washington Street (near the Studio Building). By 1860, there were studios at 16 Summer Street and Tremont Row, both located near art suppliers and commercial art galleries (see Appendix A). Patrons, however, lived on Beacon Hill, but would soon move to the Back Bay.
39 The solution to inadequate studios, and therefore poor selling spaces, was to lavishly decorate each studio creating a spectacle. William Merritt Chase’s New York studio defined this genre through a highly designed space filled with artwork, exotic carpets, lavish plants and impressive artifacts. A criticism of American artists who did not follow this trend was as follows: “And the artists, in their indifference to the fashionable world, are retarding the progress of art in this country by failing to enlist the sympathy and support of wealth.” Elizabeth Brisland, “The Studios of New York,” The Cosmopolitan VII, no. 1 (May 1889), 10. See also Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building, and Ronald G. Pisano, William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916: A Leading Spirit in American Art (Seattle: University of Washington, 1983). For a primary description of decorated studios see “At The Studios,” Appleton’s Journal 13 (March 27, 1875), 409-10.
40 Some Boston commercial art galleries were Williams and Everett, begun 1810 and located at 508 Washington Street, which ran the only free gallery in Boston at this time (Twenty-Sixth Exhibition of the Boston Art Club, 1882 (Mills, Knight and Company, 1882), no page number), A.A. Childs and Company, Adler and Vose (Harris, The Artist in American Society, 261) and Doll and Richards at 2 Park Street (Edwin M. Bacon, Bacon’s Dictionary of Boston (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1886), 25). Commercial art galleries “made it fashionable to buy European works. For a list of commercial art galleries in New York see E.P. Richardson, Painting in America, From 1502 to the Present (Second edition, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), 309-10. Artists represented by commercial art galleries were immediately successful. Gammell, The Boston Painters, 1.
41 Americans who preferred American pictures were considered to be ‘off color;’ there could not be anything more degrading that to be an American artist.” G.W. Sheldon, American Painters (Enlarged edition, First edition: 1835, New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972), 42-43.
42 Rarely would a painting be sold unframed, therefore the artist had to incur the additional overhead. Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building, 94. For information about the rarely discussed artists’ financial expenses of art creation, see L’Estampe, “What the Arts Cost,” American Architect and Building News XIV, no. 410 (November 3, 1883), 210. By the 1850’s, Boston had about a half dozen commercial art galleries that sold art, art supplies and frames.
The first exhibition of the Art Club, which opened on April 13, 1855, occurred at its intellectual counterpart, the Athenaeum, as a joint exhibition with the Athenaeum's artist members. The Athenaeum had a strong art component with many members interested in or practicing art, but at this time, this institution was not a competitor of the Art Club, but a partner. The show proved lucrative for the Art Club, so the members organized their next exhibition as a solo show. In 1856, the second club show, in rented rooms on Bedford Street, was tragically overshadowed by a burglary of four pictures. Later a similar incident occurred at an exhibition on Essex Street, when 13 paintings were stolen. These incidents forced the new club into near bankruptcy. To pay the artists the club organized a series of lectures on art and culture, which proved a great success. Nevertheless, the Art Club barely survived these unfortunate incidents on the heels of their first exhibitions.

43 Scant information about this exhibition survives so it is difficult to understand its composition.
44 The stolen pictures were worth $700 combined. Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 12. Different sources described what might be either one or two burglaries. Benjamin Champney, Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists (H. Barbara Weinberg, editor, reprint of 1900 edition, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 171. Most importantly, the club was in debt to certain exhibition artists for more than its value.
45 According to this account, the Art Club's restoration came in the form of the well-known actress Mrs. Fanny Kemble Butler, who performed a fundraising recitation of Shakespeare in the Tremont Temple, which yielded $1200. Champney, Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists, 170. The primary source "Sixty-One Years Ago" recorded the fundraising at $600. "Sixty-One Years Ago," Boston Art Club Bulletin I, no. 2 (November, 1915), 3
46 William Howe Downes, "Boston Painters and Paintings III: Old Galleries and New Lights," Atlantic Monthly LXII, no. CCCLXXI (September 1888), 387. This well-attended lecture series was hosted at the Bedford Street exhibition hall. For a critique of the lectures and why one critic thought it inappropriate for an art club to offer a variety of lecture topics, see Anonymous, "Letter in 'Domestic Art Gossip." This journalist argued that there were not enough public art institutions to attract the public's attention, let alone interest for lectures focused on art. The public could not yet understand that the education and appreciation of art would elevate them, therefore the series would have poor attendance. As an alternative, this journalist suggested lectures given only to the members of the club. "The only good that the course has done is, that the Art Club have been brought through it into more notice with the public, who have learned that there is a body of artists in their midst, and they, in turn, have gathered from its want of success, experience for their future guidance (p. 122)." These lectures, given at the Melodeon (possibly on Bedford Street) occurred as follows: January 8, 1857 by Reverend F.H. Hedge, D.D., January 10 by Reverend Henry Giles, January 15 by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, January 22 by Reverend Dr. Osgood, January 29 by Reverend Alger, February 5 by D. Huntington, Esq. and February 12 by Dr. S. Parkman Tuckerman (p. 27).
Founding of the Boston Art Club

There were few initial rivals for the Art Club. The Athenaeum, sharing many of its members with the Art Club, functioned as its father figure.47 There were many Boston clubs which contained art components, but most did not present a threat. These clubs were the Society of Arts,48 the Boston Artists' Association49 and the New England Art Union.50 The only club that jeopardized the Art Club’s prominence in Boston was the Allston Club. This organization was founded in 1866 by William Morris Hunt to direct Boston’s patronage toward France.51 The climax of competition was when the members combined their efforts to purchase Courbet’s masterpiece The Quarry. The Allston Club was a threatening powerhouse in Boston for its short life. New York’s many established clubs, such as the

47 Vogel, “History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950,” 12. Some of the Art Club artists were also members of the Athenaeum. For instance, Alfred Ordway, the Club’s first Secretary, was curator at the Athenaeum’s art department and considered “a link between the artist community and its wealthy patrons.” Harris, The Artist in American Society, 267.
48 This club was founded in 1754 and contained 354 members in 1854 (a considerable membership for the time). “The Hundredth Year of the Society of Arts,” The Builder XII, no. 593 (June 17, 1854), 322. Unfortunately, the scope of this paper does not allow for more than a mention of this society and the clubs to follow.
49 There is conflicting information about this club. The primary source William Howe Downes stated that the club was organized in 1842, twelve years prior to the Boston Art Club, but exhibited – at Harding’s New Gallery on School Street – for only three years. Downes, “Boston Painters and Paintings III: Old Galleries and New Lights,” 384. However, Leah Lipton’s article described the little known group in more detail. This organization was founded on December 2, 1841 at 5-1/2 Tremont Row (p. 45). The artists organized to exhibit art (p. 46), not to compete with the Athenaeum but to force the Athenaeum to better represent Boston artists there. Lipton agreed that the artists exhibited at Harding’s Gallery and the gallery was at 22 School Street. This group was incorporated on April 20, 1847 “for the cultural and promotion of the Fine Arts in the City of Boston (p. 47).” There was a Drawing School at the Boston Artists’ Association. For more information, see Leah Lipton, “The Boston Artists’ Association, 1841-1851,” American Art Journal 15 (Autumn 1983), 45-57.
50 This club’s first exhibition was in 1852 and its clubhouse was rented space at 38 Tremont Row. The club was only open for one year. Downes, “Boston Painters and Paintings III: Old Galleries and New Lights,” 386-87.
51 Shannon, Boston Days of William Morris Hunt, 86. The Allston Club members “were among the first American painters to feel, and in their turn to disseminate, the new and potent influences which have been ever since such important factors in the devotion of American art.” Downes, “Boston Painters and Paintings III: Old Galleries and New Lights,” 389. Some of the members were Ames, Albion H. Bicknell, Joseph F. Cole, Walter Gray, John LaFarge, Robinson and Vedder, and most were trained in France. Shannon, Boston Days of William Morris Hunt, 86. For more information about Hunt, see Helen M. Knowlton, Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900).
National Academy of Design and the Century Association did not encroach on the Art Club's activities but acted as precedents. At this time there were no clubs that permanently disrupted the path of the Boston art.

The Art Club functioned to allow the artists to unite toward the common purpose of patronage while providing an alternative to the gallery at the Athenaeum. "Although the Art Club had no quarters for many years, it managed to unite the city's artists together for social occasions and solidify professional associations and interests." The Club aided its artists' reputations while fighting the stigma of American art. "Art being the last and best manifestation of the spirit of humanity, artists are the last class which humanity recognizes." It would take significant advances in Boston's art culture to begin to transform the opinion of patrons and viewers.

The Civil War halted the club meetings, as it did for most social organizations in the country. After the war, however, the club received more interest from artists, patrons and

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55 Harris, *The Artist in American Society*, 267.

56 "Domestic Art Gossip," 27.

57 One of the meetings during the War was attended by of only eleven members so meetings were suspended all together (Davoll, "The Boston Art Club," 433) from 1862-66. Clara Erskine Clement
Founding of the Boston Art Club

the general public. America was about to rebound from the War and to embrace the industrial revolution.

A Time of Great Transition

With the end of the Civil War came a new prosperity for Americans. A class of newly wealthy emerged, forming their own rank within the cultural elite. Those with new wealth and power committed themselves to uplift those they considered without culture: the poor. The ideals of Emerson's Transcendentalism were replaced by the lure of money. "With no social conscience, no concern for civilization, no head for the future of democracy it talked so much about, the Gilded Age threw itself into the business of money-getting." Wealthy Americans searched for a symbol to represent their prosperity. The pursuit of leisure became a favorite means of spending time and money. Henry Tuckerman's Book of Artists, stated: "the entire relation of Art to the public has changed within the last ten years; its products are a more familiar commodity; studio-buildings, artist-receptions, auction sales of special productions, the influence of the press, constant exhibitions... these and many other circumstances have greatly increased the mercantile and social importance of Art." Art patronage was the cultural elite's outlet for spending its time and wealth.

The Athenaeum still served as Boston's intellectual and social center and its leader in matters of taste and fashion after the War. The Art Club, still in its infant stage, played a lesser role in high culture. "Both institutions thus found mutual support in each other. One was young, needed paintings and sculptures for its galleries; the other, much older, found it

58 "Life is sweeter, even to the poor, under a civilization which is favorable to the growth and cultivation of the artistic perception." "Museums of Art as a Means of Instruction," Appleton's Journal 3 (January 15, 1870), 80.
60 "Material accomplishment was a means of attaining other goals, particularly 'ease of mind.'" Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860," American Quarterly XVIII, no. 3 (Fall 1966), 437-51. It should be noted that with these sweeping changes in art culture came the separation of a younger generation.
A Time of Great Transition
could not play two roles at once; walls where paintings had hung were filled up with
books.\textsuperscript{62} By this time the Athenaeum's library component had run out of stack and reading
space, and its gallery had a similar problem. Boston Tech (MIT), with its large collection of
architectural casts, and Harvard College, with its art collection, needed display space.\textsuperscript{63} In
1866, the Athenaeum decided that its Fine Arts division needed to find exhibition space
elsewhere, a move that would allow the library component to fill the vacancy, therefore
transforming the Athenaeum into a purely literary and scholarly institution.\textsuperscript{64} On February 4,
1870,\textsuperscript{65} the Museum of Fine Arts was founded to function as a continuation of the
Athenaeum's art department; in fact, it shared many of its predecessor's board members.\textsuperscript{66}
This new institution was modeled after the revered South Kensington Museum.\textsuperscript{67} The
Museum of Fine Arts (the Museum) planned to satisfy the elite's call for an institution of
higher culture and to create a platform in which everyone could appreciate art.

In May of 1870 the Trustees of the Museum acquired land in the newly built Back
Bay area of Boston at the intersection of prominent Dartmouth Street and St. James

\textsuperscript{61} This quote came from 'Tuckerman's p. 22, 1867,' and was incompletely cited in Blaugrund, \textit{The Tenth Street Studio Building}, 34.
\textsuperscript{64} "The Museum which has thus become the Depository of the Athenaeum Fine Art Collection... is carrying on the work which has been done here for nearly fifty years, but with greater facility and higher aims... In no other way could the conflicting wants of the Galleries and the Extension of the Libraries have been so happily reconciled." Catherina Slautterback, \textit{Designing the Boston Athenaeum 10-1/2 at 150} (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1999), 62-63.
\textsuperscript{65} Whitehill, \textit{Museum of Fine Arts Boston}, 10.
\textsuperscript{66} There has been no discussion about other museums in America thus far because the Museum of Fine Arts was the first, by a matter of a few months, to organize on this agenda.
The construction of the Back Bay was a project the city had undertaken thirty years earlier to alleviate the housing shortage and to clean up the problematic Mill Dam swamp area west of the city. The rich quickly located their opulent residences on this new land. The site for the proposed museum was at the junction of the regular grid of the Back Bay and the skewed South End. Although locations in the Back Bay were much sought after, the property at the intersection proved difficult to sell due to its remoteness from the city center and its non-rectilinearity. The decision to locate the Museum at this square and on Dartmouth Street, the proposed tree-lined Parisian boulevard linking the Back Bay and the South End, would prove profitable for surrounding landowners and establish a center for

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68 The Boston Water Power Company, a large landowner in the area donated the land. Moses King, King’s How To See Boston: A Trustworthy Guide Book (Third edition, Boston: Moses King, 1881), 117. For an in-depth secondary history of the Back Bay see Mona Domosh, Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth Century New York and Boston (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 7-10 and throughout. In 1812, the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation built two dams to create the Mill Pond to the Charles River and the opportunity for water power. By the 1840’s Mill Pond was an unhealthy eyesore filled with sewage and garbage. Many New York newspapers criticized these filthy living conditions. For instance, “What Makes Boston’s Waters So Bad,” New York Times (November 24, 1881), 4:7. Beacon Hill could no longer expand its wealthy residential district toward the Pond because of the filth but the commercial center of Boston was encroach Beacon Hill from the other side. The picturesque mentality of the rich forced them to solve the problem as opposed to the city. Some Beacon Hill residents formed the Boston Associates; a political group who wanted to better Bostonians’ living conditions. Construction began in the 1840’s and by 1870 the project had already filled land up to the present day Exeter Street. See Whitehall, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 14.

69 For the evolution of the city's attempts at cleaning up the shores and swamps to creating the Back Bay, see Donald Freeman, Boston Architecture (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press and The Boston Society of Architects, 1970).

70 “Social superiority” was evident from the location of a given Back Bay residence. Listing streets running east/west from the Charles River southward: Beacon Street was inhabited by those with family name and wealth, Marlborough Street for those with family name but little wealth, Commonwealth Avenue for those with wealth but who lacked a family name. The sun side of the street and the waterside of Beacon Street were the most sought-after. Freeman, Boston Architecture, 28. Mona Domosh cited a 1900 study that polled fifty families living on Commonwealth Avenue. Forty belonged to the same clubs and were on the social register while seventeen attended Harvard College. Domosh, Invented Cities, 11.

the arts that would last the life of the Museum on the Square. With the acquisition of land nearby through donation and purchase by the Museum, MIT, Harvard Medical and the Museum of Natural History, this square and the surrounding area would become the cultural center of Boston and America.

Sturgis and Brigham won the competition for the design of the Museum. Construction began on the new museum in 1871 and the building was opened on July 3, 1876 (see Figure 1). Following the current architectural trends in London, the Museum was built in the Ruskinian Gothic style. The building conveyed the institution's theories of art: honesty in materials and an intricacy in decoration, referencing artistic traditions of the past and pride in craftsmanship. This architecture resisted all reference to the modern spirit of industrialization. The 'striking' red and white terra cotta work on the façade represented handcrafted ornament. The interiors were elaborately decorated with

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72 This site was previously used for an educational purpose: the temporary exhibition of the National Peace Jubilee in 1869. Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 15.
73 Freeman, Boston Architecture, 28. The Boston Public Library would receive a similar land grant April 22, 1880. Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 70.
74 The competition closed November 1, 1870 and the building permit was issued October 4, 1871. "The Museum Building," American Architect and Building News VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 206. For more information on the New York based architect Russell Sturgis, see Karin May Elizabeth Alexis, Russell Sturgis: Critic and Architect (Published Ph.D. Dissertation in Philosophy, University of Virginia, 1986).
75 The Museum exhibited even without its own gallery space. Its first exhibition was held at the jewelers Messrs. Bigelow, Kennard and Company. Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, p. 19. Its last exhibition was held in the spring of 1873 as a partnership with the Athenaeum. (11) Hoyle and Booth, A Climate for Art, 6; and "The Exhibition of Contemporary Art in Boston," American Architect and Building News V, no. 176 (May 10, 1878), 149-50.
76 "The Museum Building," American Architect and Building News, 206; and Brimmer, "The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," 3. The building was not completed for its opening date and, in fact, there was a second building campaign, finished in 1879 that completed the Dartmouth Street façade. But, by that time, it was evident that the St. James Street façade, since fronting Art Square, would be its primary entrance. Nicholaeff, The Planning and Development of Copley Square, 57.
78 "The Museum Building," American Architect and Building News, 206. This terra cotta, while it was mass produced, represented the traditions of the craftsmen of hundreds of years earlier.
A Time of Great Transition

Pompeian red walls and yellow orange trim. The Trustees had decided against a classical style building previously identified with institutions, though uncommon for the residential Back Bay. The Museum's allegiance was to artists, not to industry. *American Architect and Building News* reviewed the Museum building: "the architecture... is in good character, and needs no inscription to announce the purpose of the building." Evidently the architectural representations of Ruskin and the craftsman's ideal communicated the building's function.

Months after the Museum of Fine Arts was founded, New York opened the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met). Boston had triumphantly defeated New York: the Met had its opening ceremonies four years after the Museum of Fine Arts. Unlike Boston, not merely the elite but also a cooperative of clubs, artist groups and commercial art galleries founded the Met. Calvert Vaux designed the Ruskinian Gothic style building in 1880 that followed similar philosophies of the Boston Museum (see Figure 2).

Having established a permanent house, the Boston Museum expanded its credo on art culture. Its institution expressed the impression of a religious temple of art worship. The

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83 The Tenth Street Studio artists helped found the Museum as did area commercial art galleries (Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 86) and the Union Club (Lerman, *The Museum*, 13).
institution symbolized the Gilded Age's prosperity and the availability to the lower classes of an education in the arts. From its onset the Museum held Saturdays and holidays as free admission days. Those days brought more visitors than the new building could hold. By popular request and practical need, the Museum extended this policy to Sundays by 1877. The availability of great works of art educated the general public's taste, while perfecting the eye of the cultural elite.

The great master works of the Museum also drew artists to attend, which was essential to its function. This in turn inspired the artists to produce work to exhibit at the Museum. The institution offered a platform for the donor to achieve the pinnacle of his social life, a "guarantee of immortality." Through its philosophies and aims, its cultural connections to Boston's most established institution, its location and architecture, the Museum helped to redefine art culture, appreciation, education and, of course, social intercourse in Boston.

Through this growing interest in art came a rise in commercial art galleries, institutions and clubs. Commercial art galleries were thriving in Boston, locating

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85 This was stipulated in the Museum's charter. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 40.
86 There were heated debates about opening on Sundays since that day was reserved for religious worship. People of the lower classes worked six days a week, every day but Sunday, so they were excluded from this enlightenment. It was believed, however, that art was another form of religion, a toll to elevate the soul. The Met soon followed with free Sundays, opening its doors on May 18, 1891. See Lerman, *The Museum*, 71. See also a political satirist's image depicting the Met's dispute (p. 70). If the viewing of art was not allowed on Sundays then the connection between art and religion would be nullified; art would have been considered profane. Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 9.
87 Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, 57.
89 There were additional commercial art galleries in Boston at this time although the gallery began functioning with a different role after the Museum opened. The price of art was rising due to the prominence of art culture so, to cut costs, the commercial art galleries ended their informal roles as
themselves near artists and patrons: in the Washington Street and Public Garden areas and on Newbury Street.\(^9\) Two teaching institutions were formed, both created by the Trustees of the Museum: the Massachusetts Normal School and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts School. The Art Club also opened an art school, to teach life drawing.\(^9\) Lastly, the Cowles Art School, founded in 1882 was established as an alternative to the Museum School.\(^9\)

The Normal School, begun in 1873,\(^9\) was an institution "where art masters may be properly trained and where artists and artisans may obtain instruction in the art of design."\(^9\) The building, completed in 1883, was designed by Henry Hobson Richardson and was located at the corner of Newbury and Exeter Streets.\(^9\) The Museum School was opened January 2, 1877\(^9\) by William Morris Hunt, John LaFarge and Frances B. Millet and designed to be a force in Boston art education. "[This] signaled the fact that the cause of art had


\(^9\) For a partial list of the new commercial art galleries in Boston see Bacon, *Bacon's Dictionary of Boston*, 25. See also Appendix A.

\(^9\) It is unclear the dates of the Art Club's school. I found a reference dating the founding before 1873. "Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 32, no. CXCI (September 1873), 376. One source even stated that Ernest L. Major started the drawing school as late as November 14, 1898. Levy, *American Art Annual 1898*, 100. An article from 1894 mentioned that the Drawing School was currently offering classes. Waters and Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century*, xxxv. Charles Vogel cited the end of the Drawing School at 1905. Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 14.

\(^9\) Two years after its founding, the Cowles Art School moved to the Copley area. G., "The Copley Square Museum," 43.


\(^9\) Unfortunately, this building was demolished in 1969 but the institution still functions today, now as the Massachusetts College of Art. Lewis Mumford and Walter Muir Whitehill, *Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969), 80.


been taken up by America’s mercantile and academic leaders, and that a crusade would begin to bring the arts into the realm of civic responsibility.”97 This school was also founded on Morris and Ruskin’s principles that craftsmanship would elevate not only the artist but the patron as well.98 This institution was intended to be the Boston equivalent to the National Academy of Design. However, it did not charge tuition; instead it paid its interns. The educational component furthered the development of the Museum through the establishment of an American art school in Boston.

The Art Club’s Life Drawing School completed the club’s original objectives: to “advance the knowledge and love of Art, and tend to the elevating and refining of social intercourse among ourselves.”99 The famous artist Childe Hassam100 studied at the Art Club.

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98 Sheehan, Boston Museum School, 19; and Fairbrother, “Painting in Boston,” 31. For more information on art schools in Boston, see Korzenik, Drawn To Art; and Emily Gephart, Winslow Homer’s Blackboard: Lessons to be Learned (Unpublished paper for Eric Rosenberg’s class, Boston: Tufts University, 1988). The Museum School was not the first art school in Boston. The Lowell Institute was established in 1866 to study life models. Sheehan, Boston Museum School, 8. Bacon cited the Lowell Institute closed in 1888. (102) Edwin M. Bacon, The Book of Boston: Fifty Years’ Recollections of the New England Metropolis (Boston: The Book of Boston, 1916), 253. Bacon may have been referencing just the art department of the school since the Lowell Institute continued to flourish for years.
99 Proceeding…, 25. The club’s intentions to establish a school were present from the beginning, but there was no action until about 1874. Thinking that they could entice an Academy graduate to begin teaching the Academy’s system of instruction in Boston, Perkins, as president, together with Walter Smith, William R. Ware, Edward E. Hale, and, their prominent members, circulated a petition in August, 1874, to have a drawing school established in the Art Club. The movement was vetoed because a school in the rented clubhouse would inconvenience the members. They instead decided to wait for the Museum to open and would pursue this idea there (p. 15). In fact, an amendment to the club’s (much later) 1884 Constitution rewrote the intentions more explicitly: “1) To supplement academic training and painting at the Museum of Fine Arts, 2) To assist its members in their artistic career and 3) To cultivate a spirit of fraternity among art students.” Sheehan, Boston Museum School,15. There were even some classes offered free of charge. Beta, “The Art Club of Boston,” Art Amateur 11, no. 5 (October 1884), 102.
100 For more information about Hassam see William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, Pub., 1984); and Warren Adelson, Jay E. Cantor and William H. Gerdts, Childe Hassam: Impressionist (New York: Abbeville Press, 1999). Hassam studied first at the Lowell Institute (p. 9). He exhibited at the Art Club frequently, as well as Boston commercial art galleries (p. 8). He was also an active member of the Paint and Clay Club until he left Boston for New York.
A Time of Great Transition

School in the late 1870's under the esteemed William Morris Hunt. The Life Drawing School was not as successful as the club had hoped; it did not even rival the Museum School. After Hunt left, the Life Drawing School lost its prominence. "The Art Club cannot be an academy, and have only the serious purposes of such an institution; it is a club, and the artists should be glad to improve the opportunities a club affords to come upon intimate terms with their Maecenases [patrons or saints]." The club would revisit the importance of an art school in the coming decade.

Several new Boston clubs were established after the War, although none of them concentrated on art. New York had several newly established clubs, the most important


The few articles I was able to locate that referenced the school were negative. For instance: "...[A] number of charcoal drawings by pupils of M. William Hunt... were interesting as specimens of novice-work..." "Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 32, no. CXCI (September 1873), 376. On a side note, this article suggested that the Art Club's school contained strong French influences of Hunt. These influences, however, would contradict the Art Club's alliance with the English.

"Formerly it was out of the question for anyone who wished to study art seriously to remain in Boston, if he could afford to cross the Atlantic. A few determined spirits frequented the spasmodic Life School opened in the cellar of the Art Club, and here and there isolated efforts showed the need of more ample care for artistic needs, but none of an adequate character was taken until the Museum and the Drawing School joined hands, and made this city as good a place of residence for the art students as any of the cities of Europe, excepting the great capital." This quote came from a report of the Committee on the Museum in 1877. Whitehill, Walter Muir. *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 42.


The school would have its own clubrooms when the Art Club's clubhouse was built in 1882, formally reopening the school in the winter of 1883

The Boston Society of Architects was founded in 1867. Levy, *American Art Annual 1898*, 109. The Somerset club, formally named the Travelers Club, started much earlier but moved to 42 Beacon Street in 1872. This was a purely social club for only the "bluest blood." Bacon, *The Book of Boston*, 52; and Marjorie Drake Ross, *The Book of Boston: The Victorian Period, 1837 to 1901* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1964), 112. The Union, formed out of the Union League Club in New York, was established in 1863 to support of the Union before, during and after the Civil War. Bacon, *The Book of Boston*, 52.
being the Lotos Club, a social club for those interested in art, the Society of American Artists, the New York Etching Club and the Salmagundi Club. Of these clubs, the Salmagundi most closely resembled the Boston Art Club. Its members were vying for prominence and exhibiting and selling their work through their club. As of yet, though, there was no rivalry between these New York clubs and their Boston counterparts.

The Boston Art Club saw the potential for great prosperity in the founding of the museums and clubs in Boston and New York. The club's membership was increasing in the beginning of the 1870's, even without dedicated exhibition or meeting space. The directors recognized the growing membership and popularity of their club so they made key decisions: to incorporate the club and to open membership to professionals (non-artists) with interests in art. "We shall thus attract to our membership these who, having like taste, will appreciate the social element of the club, but who will chiefly appreciate the opportunity for increasing their knowledge and love of the beautiful." The title of

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107 The Lotos Club began in 1870 at 2 Irving Place. See Boyer, Manhattan Manners, 84.
108 Organized in 1877 and established by Augustus St. Gaudens, Wyatt Eaton, Helena de Kay Gilden and others, this club promoted member exhibitions and sales. Sarah Burns, Inventing the Modern Artists: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America (New York: Yale University Press, 1996), 27-28. These were the cultural elite artists hoping to rival the National Academy of Design.
109 This club was founded on May 2, 1877. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 56-57.
110 The Salmagundi Club began as the Sketch Club in the fall of 1871 in Jonathan Scott Hartley's studio at 596 Broadway. William Henry Shelton, The History of the Salmagundi Club as it Appeared in the New York Herald Tribune Magazine on Sunday December 18, 1927 (Privately Printed, 1927), 1. The artists Will H. Low, Frederick S. Church, Joseph Hartley and W.H. Shelton began this club as a social club at which members ate, drank and critiqued each other's work. Burns, Inventing the Modern Artist, 28.
111 The act included a clause that limited the club's property holdings to $100,000, which would soon become a limiting factor. See Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 12.
112 This shift occurred through the incorporation in March 1871. Note: throughout this thesis I will refer to the two factions of the Art Club membership as artists and professionals. The professionals, usually patrons, were people interested in but not practicing art. The Art Club referred to these people as professionals so I am maintaining that definition.
113 Proceedings..., 28. The italicized word 'chiefly' indicated the club's recognized oncoming struggle between the artist and the professionals as to the sociability of the organization.
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'professional' may be quite telling for this group of members and the club. These people were patrons, art lovers, lawyers, laymen and amateurs, yet they resided under such a flattering term. This day marked the end of what the Art Club itself considered its "real art club." Membership immediately increased, creating the need for a cap at 800. The artists were fast becoming the minority in their own club. Friction developed between the artists and the non-artist professionals even though their combined numbers brought great power to the once fledgling club. This revenue increase allowed the club to rent its own rooms for meetings and exhibitions in a converted residence at 64 Boylston Street.

The club's headquarters were located opposite the Boston Common near the enclave of artists' studios, art supply stores, commercial art galleries and within a short walk of the Museum site. The clubhouse contained a library, a double parlor, a dining room and a gallery. The Art Club finally had a home, a physical location within Boston's art culture.

By 1873, the Art Club had established itself at its Boylston Street address. The death of a club member, Joseph Andrews (1806-1873) was memorialized at a special meeting, for which a catalog was produced. The catalog provides an interesting view into the club, its brotherhood and its weaknesses, along with the social position of its artist

115 May 9, 1881 the Boston Evening Transcript announced that the Art Club membership had just reached 800. “Brieflets,” Boston Evening Transcript (May 9, 1881), 1:4.
116 Samuel Gerry, an Art Club member who wrote two later histories of the club, described the time before professionals were allowed to govern the club. “Those were the days when artists were good enough to be the figureheads of the club.” Samuel L. Gerry, “The Old Masters of Boston,” The New England Magazine III, no. 6 (February 1891), 694.
117 Most sources agreed that the club was located at the 64 Boylston Street address, however, the article “Art and Artists,” incorrectly cited a 54 Boylston Street address. “Art and Artists,” Boston Evening Transcript (June 7, 1880): 6.
118 Proceedings..., 30. Most of these books were donated from club members.
119 A gallery was built in the rear of the rented building at a construction cost of $15,000. Vogel, “History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950,” 12.
members. The members expressed repeated dismay about their unchanging position in art culture. The typical American artist was still working for less money and fame than his European counterpart. He was still struggling to live in his poor studio and sell his art. The club used this opportunity to muster its artists to unity. "Not that the artist should despise the world's verdict — far less think himself superior to it — but that he should aim at doing the very best which is in him without reference to final issues, being well assumed that if his work be good it will sooner or later find due recognition."120 The artist, like the population, was looking for an escape, a utopic ideal to treasure through the harshness of the modern world. To be an artist meant that no alternate (or 'normal') life was achievable. Art was all consuming in this utopian shelter; the members lived, produced and became art. Given the character of art in the industrialized world, many American artists were classified as divergent, remote and individual.121 Art was being incorporated to the modern, industrialized world, but only through the wealthy, that is, those that could afford to counteract modernity if they desired. The common man did not understand the artist's relationship to the utopia outside of industrialization, the common man only knew their x hours a day, six days a week job. The conception of difference nurtured the artists' principle of uniting for a desirable end. Already at this time artists valued themselves as an entity that could react against, communicate with, and facilitate progress in American society. Artists could then, finally, deem themselves 'normal' and erect their ultimate community.122 Boston's Art Club viewed itself a type of Pilgrim community, as a group huddled together in a field of savages.123 The

120 Proceedings..., 32.
121 I am not, of course, discussing all artists. See Walsh, From Utopia to Nightmare, 25.
122 It is not appropriate to use the word 'normal,' the artists merely focussed on being accepted into the world of their patrons, and therefore the rest of the world.
artists and the club’s mission was to elevate themselves and the club, their patrons and the public through the creation of Art. Andrew’s memorial proved to be a battle cry for the club, a vehicle to unite against their station in the modern world.

The Art Club frequently held exhibitions showcasing its members and New York artists. In keeping with its credo, it directed members to look to American art before European.\textsuperscript{124} Exhibitions were very well attended by both men and women\textsuperscript{125} and a great percentage of Boston artists were Art Club members.\textsuperscript{126} Although art culture had become popular in Boston and New York, sales were not as high as they would become in the next few years and the club exhibitions were not very profitable.

With incorporation came the edict that allowed artist members to supplement entry fees with an original work of art while professionals still had to pay the monetary fee.\textsuperscript{127} This occurred for two reasons: first, the club wanted to increase its art holdings and second, the artists had to be members of this club to sell their work. The professionals only wanted to be members since the club was a good medium to increase their personal art collections.\textsuperscript{128} This shift, this delineation between the artist and the professional members would drastically alter the makeup of the club drastically and cause strife through the rest of its years. From

\textsuperscript{124} Most of the exhibitions were either held in January or February and March, April or May of each year, therefore comprising annual winter and spring shows. Refer to Chadbourne, Gabosh and Vogel, \textit{The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record} for a complete list of exhibitions. In particular, the opening night receptions were frequently showcased in the media.

\textsuperscript{125} Stanwood, \textit{Boston Illustrated}, 77.

\textsuperscript{126} Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," 100.

\textsuperscript{127} See the club’s Constitution and By-Laws and Korzenik, \textit{Drawn To Art}, 148. This, of course, greatly increased its art holdings.

\textsuperscript{128} In fact, professionals used their influence with the Hanging Committee to reserve the best show places for the New York artists then notify New York artists ahead of time to procure the best paintings. Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," 101.
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the beginning, professional members disagreed with the requirement to pay the entrance fee.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ "The history of the Boston Art Club enables us to observe a growing tension about artists and money." Korzenik, *Drawn To Art*, 148. This policy was also practiced at New York's Lotos Club. Tom Girtin, *The Abominable Clubman* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1964), 149.
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Figure 1: The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1876.

Figure 2: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Calvert Vaux, 1879.
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The rise of Boston's art culture, coupled with the Museum's prosperity, created a climate of great success for the club in the 1870's. Membership was at a record high, exhibits were well attended, if not always well sold, and the club enjoyed increasing importance within Boston and New York. The directors made a tactical decision to attach an image to their organization: they were going to build a clubhouse. They were in an environment where public money was being spent for the construction of public art and education buildings. An "English enthusiast... wrote in 1853: 'Eternally these Clubs are amongst the most magnificent buildings in the metropolis and insofar the most as outward as well as inward splendor is concerned some of them even throw the residences of the leading noblesse and even of the sovereign into shade.'" The gallery would act as the mediator between the rich and the artists, allowing each party to feel comfortable while benefiting from art's exaltation. With the rise of two more Boston clubs interested in art; action was needed to confirm the Art Club's position in Boston and New York.

The Art Club needed a signature building; architecture to announce its existence in the eyes of Boston's cultural elite. While many of its exhibitions in the late 1870s were highly praised by Boston newspapers and acknowledged in American Architect and Building News.

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132 Also, three other American art clubs established at this time: the St. Louis Sketch Club, established in 1878 +/-, the San Francisco ("Clubs and Societies," The American Art Review (1879-1880), 270-71), and the Providence Art Club, established in 1875. William McKenzie Woodward and Edward F. Sanderson, Providence: A Citywide Survey of Historic Resources (David Chase, editor, Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, 1986), 146.
133 A Boston periodical remarked that the club's Spring 1875 exhibition was better than the recent exhibition at New York's National Academy. "Art," Atlantic Monthly XXXV, no. CCXII (June 1875), 751. See also "The Exhibition of the Boston Art Club," American Architect and Building News (February 5, 1876). This journalist believed that the Hanging Committee did a fine job balancing the lack of foreign artists with better American artists. Also, the critic remarked that the American entries
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Building News and the New York Times, there were some criticisms. Two overarching comments were that exhibitions were too well attended to allow ample viewing space and that there was a lack of local participation in the shows. While its exhibitions were announced in New York papers and magazines before the new clubhouse opened, the club would also be featured in the media afterwards.

The St. Botolph Club, founded in 1880, "may have been conceived quite deliberately as an 'improvement' over the Art Club." The St. Botolph clubhouse was located at 85 showed French influences (p. 48). Another article praised the Art Club for representing European artists. This journalist also said, "these receptions are a most excellent device for bringing together the artist that must represent, and the public that must support, art in this city (p. 4)." "The Art Club Reception," Boston Evening Transcript (January 13, 1876), 4. Lastly, this critic degraded the club for its use of Boston artists, stating that by merely adding more Boston artists to a Boston exhibition does not make it a better show. A., "The Art-Club Exhibition – The Exhibition of Etchings at the Museum of Fine Arts," American Architect and Building News V, no. 163 (February 8, 1879), 46 and Doris A. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," Archives of American Art Journal 31, no. 3 (1991), 27. See bibliography for additional sources.


This was a common criticism of the Art Club at 64 Boylston Street. At the January 1878 exhibition works hung in every room on the first floor, even the reception room. "The Boston Art Club," Boston Evening Transcript (January 17, 1778), 1.

There were too few European artists represented; the artists' faction was demanding more exposure. Boston artists won the battle this time. "Art and Artists," Boston Evening Transcript (January 18, 1877), 3. Half of the work contributed by artists was not for sale but by patrons from private collections. "The Boston Art Club," (January 17, 1778), 1. An article written before the opening of the November 1880 show indicated that the Club intentionally included a myriad of American art. "The Boston Exhibition," New York Times, 10. It is difficult to know whether these exhibits changed the make-up between exhibitions or the critics varied their opinions.

Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," 27. Also, Birmingham cited its founding in 1879 but the others agreed with the 1880 date. For instance: Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," Art Amateur 11, no. 5 (October 1884), 102. In late December 1879, the founders invited 300 of Boston's elite to become members. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," 26. A secondary source wrote: "Only the Museum of Fine Arts could match the St Botolph in the number of exhibitions in Boston during this era (p. 30)." This club was known for its quality and variety of shows as well as its daring content (it would soon house the Impressionists in Boston) and as an alternative to the Art Club's stale shows (p. 28). This club was founded January 3, 1880. Talcott Miner Banks, Jr., St. Botolph Club: Highlights from the First Forty Years 1880-circa 1920, 3. Some of the attendees were Charles Perkins, Edward Cabot, Francis Chandler, Carl
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Boylston Street facing the Public Garden, near the Art Club, in a rented building converted from a residence. The membership was comprised of cultural elite men: doctors, lawyers, politicians, most of whom were interested in art. The St. Botolph Club carried a powerful art component through its early years, maintaining an art gallery on the premises with esteemed annual exhibitions. The “best known artists” were also members and met regularly at this club while only a few were members of the Art Club. The St. Botolph Club membership was restricted to create a less accessible club for artists. This rule provided the most important members of the cultural elite with a haven from the lower classes.

Boston established another new artists’ club in 1880, the Paint and Clay Club. This was the antithesis of the St. Botolph Club; it was a club for working artists, sculptors, architects and musicians of Boston, not for patrons. This club organized and hosted regular meetings in a rented clubhouse at 419 Washington Street. The club contained a


138 A comparison of club entrance fees infers that the St. Botolph contained a higher class of members. In 1883, the Art Club charged $20 entrance fee and $20 annually for professionals; the St. Botolph Club charged a $50 entrance fee and $30 annually. See Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club (Boston: Mills, Knight and Company, 1883), 16; and Moses King, King's How To See Boston: A Trustworthy Guide Book (Third edition, Boston: Moses King, 1881), 228, respectively.

139 King, King's How To See Boston, 228.

140 "Boston has Just Opened its New Club – Saint Botolph...," 4. Some of these members that have or will factor into this discussion are Cabot and Chandler, Carl Fehmer, William Gibbons Preston, (Constitution and By-Laws of the St. Botolph Club in Boston (Boston: St. Botolph Club, February 1898), 28, 31, 37 respectively) and Charles Perkins. Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," 28. The artists maintained many of influential positions in this club, as similar to the Art Club.

141 Tickets for visitors to attend exhibitions were much more difficult to procure at the St. Botolph Club than the Art Club. Also, only two new members were permitted to enter annually with an overall cap on membership of 350. (450) S.R. Koehler, The United States Art Directory and Yearbook (New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Company, 1882), 18.

142 Edwin M. Bacon, Bacon's Dictionary of Boston (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1886). 298. The analysis of Paint and Clay Club members was as follows: two-thirds were painters and one-third were other artists and art professionals. One source listed this club’s founding in 1881 but the majority cited 1880. The deviating source was again Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," 102.
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richly appointed gallery with a skylight, Pompeian red tinted walls and terra cotta sculpture, a theme already found in the Museum. Membership was restricted to only 40 members with a $15 entrance fee and $15 annually, less than competing clubs. It organized yearly exhibitions, some of which would take place in the Boston Art Club gallery. "As the most purely artistic club in the city, the Paint and Clay [had] from its foundation been regarded with uncommon interest." This club was distinguished from its competitors, was considered more modern than the Art Club and less formal and social than St. Botolph Club.

Simultaneous with the establishment of the St. Botolph Club and the Paint and Clay Club was the Art Club's decision to reassert its presence within Boston. By 1879, the Art Club's Boylston address was above capacity with a record 800 members, a large section of Boston's art community. On June 5, 1880 "it was unanimously voted to authorize the Board of Government to construct a building for the use of the club on the corner of Dartmouth and Newbury streets [sic.], at an expense not exceeding $75,000 for both land and building and to employ such architects as they may see fit to prepare plans for the same." The club formed the Building Committee to oversee the competition for the architect and the construction of the building. This committee was comprised of important

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143 Bacon, Bacon's Dictionary of Boston, 298.
144 Ibid.; and The Paint and Clay Club Catalogue 1885 (Boston: Paint and Clay Club, 1885), no page number.
145 Bacon, Bacon's Dictionary of Boston, 298. Little secondary research has been conducted on this club.
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club members: Edward Clarke Cabot, C.C. Perkins, Thomas O. Richardson, Weston Lewis, Asa Potter and George E. Foster, who died during his term and was replaced by George P. Denny. Some of these men purchased art from the club exhibitions and all of these men were members, but not listed as artist members. The architect Cabot was...

149 Edward C. Cabot (1818-1901) was an artist and engineer (and architect) best known for his Boston Athenaeum building of 1847. Margaret Henderson Floyd, Architectural Education and Boston: Centennial Publication of the Boston Architectural Center, 1889-1889 (Boston: Boston Architectural Center, 1989), 8. He was a long-standing member of the Art Club and a good watercolorist. "Death of Edward C. Cabot," American Architect and Building News LXXI, no. 1307 (January 12, 1901), 9. Cabot also helped to form the Boston Society of Architects (the BSA) and served as President from 1867-1896. Catherina Slautterback, Designing the Boston Athenaeum 10-1/2 at 150 (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1999), 91. He was complimented after his death: there was "no taint of Bohemianism in his composition" and that he had no "artistic temperament." "The Lesson of Mr. Cabot's Life," American Architect and Building News LXXI, no. 1311 (February 9, 1901), 41. See also "Edward C. Cabot," American Architect and Building News LXXI, no. 1311 (February 9, 1901), 45-46. Francis W. Chandler (1844-September 5, 1925) formed a partnership in an architectural firm with Cabot 1875-1888. Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased), (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, Inc., 1970), 117; and Directory of Boston Architects, 1849-1970 (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records, 1984), 16. Chandler was not formally listed as a Building Committee member but was listed on the building permit.

150 Perkins (1823-86) was a critic, a philanthropist and an administrator and was involved in many Boston societies. He was the President of the Art Club from 1869-79, its Chairman from 1870-80 and on the Boston School Board 1871-84. For a biography on Perkins see: Robert L. Gale, "Charles Callahan Perkins," American National Biography (John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, editors, Volume 17, New York: Oxford Press, 1999), 334-35.


153 Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel, The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991), 446. They were all listed as club members in 1878. Richardson, Lewis, Potter and Foster were not listed in the 'Artists Index,' however. Thos. O. and T.O. Richardson (presumed by the authors to be the same person) were listed as having bought art in 1881 and 1886 (p. 434). I will assume these men were all professional members.
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probably appointed to the committee so that he could use his influence and firm name to expedite the building permits in lieu of a chosen competition architect.\(^{154}\)

The members utilized their expertise to transform the fundamentals of constructing a building into an identifiable image for their club. This building was intended to represent the club’s ideals to America for many years. Unfortunately for the committee, no art clubs, either in New York or London, had already built their own clubhouses; all existing clubs were either without a home or leasing space.\(^{155}\) There were, however, buildings that acted as indirect models such as the Boston and New York studio buildings and museums and the New York and Philadelphia academies. Nevertheless, the Art Club building had no absolute precedents; it was the first social art society to build its own clubhouse.\(^{156}\)

The club members raised the funds for the new clubhouse. On February 7, 1880, the club issued $500 in bonds, of which 49 were purchased almost immediately and the rest


\(^{155}\) Greta, "The New Art Galleries – The New House of the Boston Art Club...," *The Art Amateur* V, no. 2 (July 1881), 30. "Of course, an art club cannot rival the lavish expenditure of your Union League of bankers, merchants, and capitalists; but this building and the land will cost not far from a hundred thousand dollars. Is there another art club anywhere in the New World or the Old? If there is, I have not heard of it; and the club’s committee on the new house inspected many club-houses on both sides of the water without finding any existing model for what the club aims at – namely, to be at once a club and sort of public institution." Greta, "Greta’s Boston Letter," *Art Amateur* (July 5, 1881), 30. My research of Boston, New York, other major American cities, as well as London and European club buildings purpose built art clubs agree with this statement. There was one design for an art club in Dresden, published in *American Architect and Building News* in December of 1881 (after the design competition for the Art Club) which stated that the club had been designed for a year but was not yet under construction. "Artists’ Club-House, Dresden, Germany. Messrs. R.W. Eltzner and A. Hauschild, Architects," *American Architect and Building News* X, no. 312 (December 17, 1881), 290 and pl. 312.

\(^{156}\) There were, of course, public and academic institutions that built their own buildings before the Art Club: the Museum, the Met, the South Kensington Museum, the National Academy of Art and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art. These, too, had specific agendas to fulfill in the design and location of their buildings, but none of these agendas included a social club.
of the money was solicited in smaller increments.\textsuperscript{157} Two plots of land, one fronting Dartmouth Street and another on an adjacent plot on Newbury Street, were bought in the spring of 1880 for a total of $27,408.\textsuperscript{158} At this time, the cost of the land and the building's construction was allotted at $80,000.\textsuperscript{159}

The club's decision to site the new clubhouse at the corner of Dartmouth and Newbury Streets would prove pivotal.\textsuperscript{160} A site in the Back Bay was noteworthy; the Art Club moved away from the established 'old' center of the arts in the city and into the new, fashionable residential area.\textsuperscript{161} The hotels that comprised the social center of the Back Bay were located near the Art Club site: the Hotel Vendome on Commonwealth Avenue and Dartmouth Street,\textsuperscript{162} the Hotel Brunswick on Art Square\textsuperscript{163} and the Hotel Victoria across

\textsuperscript{157} Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," 14. For two Art Club versions of the campaign to raise construction funds, see "Sixty-One Years Ago," \textit{Boston Art Club Bulletin} I, no. 2 (November, 1915), 3; and "Our Family History," \textit{Boston Art Club Bulletin} I, no. 8 (May 1916), 7-8. The latter source listed the subscribers. I would like to thank Janice Chadbourne for making the two Art Club histories available for this thesis.

\textsuperscript{158} The Newbury Street lot (24 feet by 112 feet) was purchased on March 17, 1880 for $9,408 from Isaac T. Burr and Henry P. Hyde (the trustees of James B. Pickett who had four years earlier bought the land from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts). The Dartmouth Street lot (30 feet by 112 feet) was purchased on June 1, 1880 for $18,000 from the Commonwealth. Barry Brensinger and Robert H. Owens, \textit{The Boston Art Club Building by William Ralph Emerson} (Unpublished for Professor Sekler's class, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Visual Studies 163, December 19, 1974), 2. I am grateful to Brensinger and Owens for their deed research on the clubhouse.

\textsuperscript{159} Edwin M. Bacon, \textit{Bacon's Dictionary of Boston} (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1886), 23. There are conflicting reports about the cost of the building and land verses the budget. See Brensinger and Owens, \textit{The Boston Art Club Building}, 7.

\textsuperscript{160} One later primary history discussed an alternate site, at the corner of St. James Avenue and Clarendon Streets. This site was favored but not purchased. This source is the only one that mentioned the second site. This site would have been closer to the Museum, Art Square and Boston center but further from the Back Bay. "Our Family History," \textit{Boston Art Club Bulletin} I, no. 8 (May 1916), 8. Although it was considerably more money than an interior lot, the corner lot was ideal for the Art Club.

\textsuperscript{161} See Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{162} William Gibbons Preston designed the Hotel Vendome in 1871 at the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Dartmouth Street. It was an exclusive resident hotel with a vogue restaurant. Pauline Chase Harrell and Margaret Supplee Smith, \textit{Victorian Boston Today: Ten Walking Tours} (Boston: New England Chapter of the Victorian Society of America, 1975), 48. This building was the first in all of New England to have incandescent lights (more than a decade after the hotel was built). Marjorie Drake Ross, \textit{The Book of Boston: The Victorian Period, 1837 to 1901} (New York: Hastings House
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Dartmouth Street. More important was the disproportional amount of public buildings in the immediate vicinity: the Museum of Natural History, MIT, the Museum of Fine Arts, the New Old South Church, Trinity Church, Harvard Medical School and the soon to be constructed Boston Public Library, which would front Dartmouth Street. “So many important public and private buildings are by a singular chance gathered around this little triangle [Art Square], so many broad and long avenues diverge from it, and it is so in the centre of the newest quarter of the city.”

Publishers, 1964), 111. The façade is extant on Commonwealth Avenue but the building proper burned down (see Figure 3).

Peabody and Stearns designed the Hotel Brunswick on Art Square in 1874. Douglass Shand-Tocci, Built in Boston: City and Suburb 1800-1950 (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 47.

The Hotel Victoria was built in 1886 at 275 Dartmouth Street and designed by J.L. Faxon. Its restaurant was considered “the Delmonico's of Boston,” the most socially important restaurant. Harrell and Smith, Victorian Boston Today, 48; and Moses King, King's How To See Boston: A Trustworthy Guide Book (Fifth edition, Boston: Moses King, 1895), 148.


The Hotel Victoria was designed by J.L. Faxon and built in 1864 at Newbury and Boylston Streets.

Sears and Cummings designed the New Old South Church in 1874-77 at the corner of Dartmouth and Boylston Streets. This building was “Boston’s most prominent... triumph of the High Victorian Gothic.” Harrell and Smith, Victorian Boston Today, 45. The terra cotta ornament of this church was similar to that of the Museum. Refer to Paul Hogarth, Walking Tours of Old Boston (New York: Brandewine Press, 1978), 139. This source labeled the building North Italian Gothic or Ruskinian Gothic (see Figure 4).

Trinity Church was designed by Henry Hobson Richardson 1872-77 and is extant at Copley Square, Boston. For more information about the competition for its design see Margaret Henderson Floyd, Henry Hobson Richardson: A Genius for Architecture (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 44-51.

Harvard Medical School was designed by Ware and van Brunt and built in 1877 at the corner of Boylston and Exeter Streets. Marvin E. Goody and Robert P. Walsh, editors, Boston Society of Architects, The First One Hundred Years 1867-1967 (Boston: Boston Society of Architects, 1967), 41.

The Library was designed by McKim of McKim, Mead and White in 1887 and opened in February 1895. The land, however, was given to the Trustees of the Library in 1880, the same time the Art Club's Building Committee was searching for a site. See Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Public Library: A Centennial History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 164; and Hogarth, Walking Tours of Old Boston. 138.

“The Art Club Exhibition," American Architect and Building News II, no. 127 (June 1, 1878), 195. The square referred to as Art Square was named as such in an article in Boston Illustrated in 1878. Doreve Nicholeaef, The Planning and Development of Copley Square (Unpublished SMArchS Thesis, Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1979), 46. This square was only officially named Copley Square in 1883 after
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By relocating to Art Square, the Art Club moved away from its neighbor, the St. Botolph Club, allowing the artists to find an identity outside of the St. Botolph Club's shadow. The new site was in view of much of Art Square, including the Museum. The site physically allied the club with the Museum, the architecture would soon follow. Newbury Street was a fashionable residential street with none of the unspoken rules the cultural elite imposed on the other streets parallel with the Charles River. Dartmouth Street was slated to be another Commonwealth Avenue, a monumental connection from the Charles River to the equally fashionable South End. The directors of the Art Club located their new clubhouse in the realm of their patrons, near the Museum, the most important art building in the city. With an understanding of the club's intentions for the design of their new clubhouse, I will look at the competition process, the winning architect and the winning design.

the artist John Singleton Copley (1737-1815) considered the first American born painter. I will refer to this area as Art Square before 1883 and Copley Square after 1883. The grand width of Dartmouth Street can still be seen today; the New Old South Church, the Boston Public Library and the Art Club all are set off the street a similar distance to account for a median strip of trees although that median was never constructed, the South End quickly lost its prominence to the Back Bay and has not since regained it. In fact, at this time it could be argued that Dartmouth Street was the most important in the new Back Bay. See also Nicholaeff, The Planning and Development of Copley Square, 79.
Figure 3: Hotel Vendome with Boston Art Club under construction (far left), William Gibbons Preston, Commonwealth Avenue and Dartmouth Street, 1871.

Figure 4: New Old South Church with Boston Art Club under construction (far right), Sears and Cummings, Dartmouth and Boylston Streets, 1874-77.
The Competition for the New Clubhouse

Many important American buildings were products of architectural competitions. It was commonly believed in the late nineteenth century that only competitions could attract famous architects. However, there was controversy regarding the architect's role and whether, indeed, the competition process would in fact produce the best possible building. Amid the swirling discussions about whether or not competitions were a reasonable practice, the Art Club announced the competition for its clubhouse. Even though this building had a comparatively small program and budget, the Art Club members chose to follow the Museum, the Met and Trinity Church by holding a design competition.

Many architects spoke out against the competition process through period magazines. Competition announcements explained the project's intentions but frequently were not detailed enough to enable architects to produce a complete design. Some competitions required that the architects guarantee the building cost, therefore forcing the architect to be financially responsible for any discrepancies. While inexpensive for the client, competitions were quite costly for the architects since they worked diligently on designs for which they were not guaranteed remuneration. Architects quickly learned that an artfully prepared presentation would win the votes of the non-architect clients; therefore

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173 There was a wealth of period articles discussing architectural competitions. An area of further research would be a qualitative analysis of period competition designs verses designs built through the traditional (non-competition) processes.  
174 "As to the objections to competitions..." American Architect and Building News VII, no. 219 (March 6, 1880), 90.  
175 "Unsatisfactory Competition Programmes and the Only Way to Abolish Them," American Architect and Building News LXXI, no. 1311 (February 9, 1901), 41.  
176 B., "Unrestricted Competition," American Architect and Building News VII, no. 228 (May 8, 1880), 203. Also, an article in the English periodical The Builder explored the evils of competitions through the architect's financial losses. The mean number of competition entries submitted was twenty-three and, with eight drawings per entry, the average prize yielded a mere forty pounds per drawing.
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entries began containing more glamour than substance. This effect, of course, led to a poorer quality product. An outraged architect wrote: “It is the constant cry that the public abuses and takes advantage of the weakness of the profession as no other profession would endure.” There was no guarantee that the winning design would be constructed. Architects frequently found their designs either altered without consent or even redesigned by another architect. Competitions were degrading the architects’ final products and their profession.

"Considering that the regulation of architectural competitions," American Architect and Building News VII, no. 219 (March 6, 1880), 89. This article suggested that architects hold posts on building committees to eliminate this problem. "The Discussions which followed Mr. Porter’s paper..." American Architect and Building News VII, no. 219 (March 6, 1880), 89. "Abandon at the outset all ideas of a competition in plans or designs. No architect of standing will enter a competition, except on the conditions laid down by the [AIA], and these conditions include, among other things, an advisory architect..." Oswald C. Herring, Designing and Building the Chapter House (Menasha, WA: George Banta Publishing Company, 1931), 23. See also "As to the objections to competitions..." 90. "Persuasion, Not Coercion, A Cure for the Evils of Modern Competition," American Architect and Building News XVII, no. 478 (February 21, 1885), 93. Another article suggested the winning architect should share the prize money between all of the entrants. "Persuasion, Not Coercion, A Cure for the Evils of Modern Competition," American Architect and Building News XVII, no. 481 (March 14, 1885), 121. Also: "All evils which hamper the efforts to the regular architect cluster about, or originate in competitions." John A. Fox, "Architectural Competitions," American Architect and Building News XIV, no. 404 (September 22, 1883), 135. A few years later, American architects rallied against competitions, uniting to boycott this costly and degrading process. "The Conduct of Competition," American Architect and Building News XV, no. 443 (June 21, 1884), 294. American Architect and Building News requested that all architects abstain from entering the Richmond City-Hall competition. "Persuasion, Not Coercion, A Cure for the Evils of Modern Competition," 121. F.S. Allen, "Architects Responsible For Competitions," American Architect and Building News XXII, no. 602 (July 9, 1887), 23. One of the most publicized cases of an unrealized competition was for the Boston Public Library. The building committee chose a winning entry but did not award the full prize or build the design but threw out all the entries and held another competition. Reportedly, the guidelines were too relaxed; none of the designs were “suitable for execution," suggesting that the field of competitors were not famous enough. See G. Palmer Graves, "The Boston Public Library Competition," American Architect and Building News XVI, no. 470 (December 20, 1884): 298; "The Competition for the Boston Public Library Decided," American Architect and Building News XVII, no. 474 (January 24, 1885), 37; "Sketches From the Premiated Designs for the Proposed Public Library, Boston, Mass," American Architect and Building News XVII, no. 477 (February 14, 1885), pl. 477; and Charles V. Whitten, "Public Library Building [At Boston, Mass.]" American Architect and Building News XV, no. 420 (January 12, 1884), 25. A great commentator was: "The Boston Public Library Competition," American Architect and Building News XV, no. 423 (February 2, 1884), 58. Clef, "Competitions," American Architect and Building News XVII, no. 483 (March 28, 1885), 153. Clef preached that architects should be highly regarded like doctors and lawyers. 56
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The competition process yielded few negative aspects for the client except the time the client wasted by not hiring an architect outright. On the other hand, a limited time frame often resulted in architects not closely following the rules and frequently not designing a building in accordance with the client’s wishes.181 Theoretically, competitions expected the best architects to design for a nominal prize when, in reality, many of the best architects did not waste their time and resources by entering.182 Competitions could be favorable, however, since they allowed young and un-established architects to prove themselves. These architects generally accepted competitions as a right of passage.

On June 7, 1880 the members of the Art Club voted to build a new clubhouse.183 By June 19, 1880, the American Architect and Building News published an article, “The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building,” that detailed the competition guidelines and entries already submitted.184 While the official competition guidelines do not survive, this article mentions some of the rules: the building must have two entrances, one for the members and one for the public, and there must be a billiard room in the design.185 No specific prizes were mentioned, yet Moses King, a well-respected author of city guides, referenced prizes (plural).186 The article “The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building” stated that half the entries did not follow the guidelines and were thrown out and the

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182 “Persuasion, Not Coercion, A Cure for the Evils of Modern Competition,” 121.
183 “Art and Artists,” (June 7, 1880), 6.
184 This article explained that another newspaper published detailed guidelines, specifically a Boston Herald article that drew considerable attention to some entries but I have not been able to locate that article. R.B., “The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building,” American Architect and Building News VII, no. 234 (June 19, 1880), 275-76. Page by page research in Boston newspapers should yield more entry information but I was only able to find a few articles.
186 Moses King, Back Bay District: The Vendome (Boston: Moses King, 1880), 21.
remaining three entries did not yield much of a choice.\textsuperscript{187} The best Boston and New York architects were not represented by them\textsuperscript{188} and the Art Club should have expected its competition might not have attracted the best architects.\textsuperscript{189} The Art Club reportedly designed the competition guidelines to aid the architect in design. But, instead, they created a competition without stringent rules and possibly without enough breadth to attract the best architects.\textsuperscript{190}

Bostonians wrote a series of articles and “Letters to the Editor” regarding this project, specifically discussing the delay in choosing a competition winner.\textsuperscript{191} The Art Club leaders’ decision was delayed because they decided to hold a second competition, asking the original entrants to submit redesigns.\textsuperscript{192} Architects were instructed to incorporate the best aspects of their competitors’ designs. While no other textual evidence of this unusual second competition survives, evidence is found in the two surviving design entries from the architect William Gibbons Preston (1801-1888).\textsuperscript{193} There are considerable differences between what I have determined as his first entry and his second entry, therefore validating the Art Club’s reported instructions to meld the first competition entries.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{187} R.B., “The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building,” 276. As with the entire document, no names are mentioned as to whose project did not follow the guidelines.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., 275. This article did not name the ‘best architects’ but we can suppose they were H.H. Richardson, Peabody & Stearns, Ware and Van Brunt, Richard Morris Hunt, and McKim, Mead & White, to name a few.

\textsuperscript{189} This is not entirely true; some of the best architects did enter competitions (but not the Art Club competition), although these competitions were usually of a higher profile.


\textsuperscript{191} “Competition for the Boston Art-Club Clubhouse,” \textit{American Architect and Building News} VII, no. 232 (June 5, 1880), 251; and “The Art Club have selected the architect for their new clubhouse…”


\textsuperscript{193} R.B., “The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building.”

\textsuperscript{194} Preston’s first competition entry was quite different than Emerson’s while Preston’s second closely resembled parts of Emerson’s. Preston was the son of the Boston builder Jonathan Preston, and coincidentally the architect who Emerson apprenticed with. See “William Gibbons Preston Collection – Drawings, Boston Art Club Competition Drawings,” (Cabinet 1.1, Special Collections, Fine Arts
The competition designs encompassed a variety of current architectural styles. Among those represented were: Queen Anne, Renaissance and Gothic revival. There were six entrants, Emerson, Preston and four others currently unknown. The building committee's decision would be based on which style best represented the club. Gothic revival traditionally symbolized religious buildings,\textsuperscript{195} Renaissance was primarily for public buildings and the Queen Anne represented large-scale residences.\textsuperscript{196} The symbolism inherent in the winning design would determine the Art Club's public identity.

The article "The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building" in \textit{American Architect and Building News} referenced the Renaissance designs but did not identify the competing architects. The massing of these designs was over-scaled compared to its entrances, although this flaw was consistent in many of the entries. Some of the designs -- presumably the Renaissance designs -- contained unsuccessful relief and sculptures and one of the designs had pilasters and windows only on the ground floor.\textsuperscript{197} The article's tone suggested that these designs were not the most favorable.

\textsuperscript{195} This alliance with religion, as continued with the Museum building, proved fruitful.
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The Queen Anne designs, of which two survive, were Emerson and Preston's competition drawings. While clubhouses most closely resembled residential building types, at least one contemporary mentioned that the Art Club building specifically should not be residential. The Art Club wanted to identify with its Back Bay patrons but also to stand out from rather than blend into the surrounding Queen Anne and revival residences. The members were searching for a design to represent their club, a building that would "be as beautiful and refined as art [could] make it." Emerson's entry took the Queen Anne style to its extreme, possibly to distinguish his design from the area residences. Some of the methods he utilized were references to the Art Club's philosophies, therefore allying his architecture with the Art Club's goals. Emerson, a former member of the Art Club and Preston, a future club member, both designed in the Queen Anne style and both had their designs published independently in *American Architect and Building News*.

For the bulk of the article, many of the competition entries were discussed in general terms, yet this description yields some understanding of their character. Most designs had poor massing, inadequate articulation on the gallery's exterior wall, and were stronger in

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198 It is interesting to note that both of the Queen Anne entries and no others were published in *American Architect and Building News*.
200 Ibid. The journalist commented that the building should represent a club for art, not a house.
201 Ibid., 275. This journalist hinted that most of the submitted designs do not contain this quality.
202 Emerson was listed as a member in 1873. Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel, *The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991), 443. It is unknown why Emerson was not a member or an honorary member during the clubhouse construction. Preston was listed in 1887 and 1890. *Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club* (Boston: Mills, Knight and Company, 1887); and *Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club* (Boston: Mills, Knight and Company, 1890).
203 There have been no sources uncovered to suggest that Preston took second place in the competition but it is safe to assume that there was respect for his entry since it was published. See Emerson's entry, Figure 5 and "Club-House of the Boston Art Club, Boston, MA: Mr. W. R. Emerson, Architect, Boston, MA," *American Architect and Building News XI* (June 3, 1882), pl. 336. See also Preston's entry, Figure 6 and "Competitive Sketch for the Building for the Boston Art Club," *American Architect and Building News XI* (June 3, 1882), pl. 336.
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plan than in elevation. All of the designs placed the gallery in different locations, one of which located it on the first floor. Two designs located the staircase at the corner of Newbury and Dartmouth Streets, while one had the public and private stairs in the same space yet separate from each other.\(^{204}\)

The Building Committee had a daunting task in front of them. They had to determine the most suitable style for their club. The entries' styles presumably influenced the final decision, because this building would face the Museum, Art Square and the Back Bay. There is some indication that Emerson's winning design might actually be a combination of entries, since all second competition entrants were instructed to combine aspects of all designs. However, many elements of characteristically Emerson designs are evident in the design as built. Therefore, it is difficult to delineate Emerson's hand from a combination of entries except that Emerson's entry was published in *American Architect and Building News* after the second competition, and Emerson's exterior sketch is very similar to the design as built.\(^{205}\) By October 27, 1880, the *Boston Evening Transcript* announced that the architect was chosen and the club would "lose no time in erecting a building adapted to their wants and ornamental to the city."\(^{206}\)

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\(^{206}\) "The Art Club have selected the architect for their new clubhouse," *Boston Evening Transcript* (October 27, 1880), 6.
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Figure 5: "Club-House of the Boston Art Club, Boston, MA: Mr. W. R. Emerson, Architect, Boston, MA," 1882.

Figure 6: William Gibbons Preston's "Competitive Sketch for the Building for the Boston Art Club," 1880.
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Figure 7: William Gibbons Preston's competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition.

Figure 8: Plan: First Floor, William Gibbons Preston's competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition.
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Figure 9: Plan: Second Floor, William Gibbons Preston's competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition.

Figure 10: Plan: Third Floor, William Gibbons Preston's competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition.
Figure 11: Plan: Basement, William Gibbons Preston's competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition.
The Winner: The Architect William Ralph Emerson

The winning architect was William Ralph Emerson. He won, in part, due to his involvement in the club and his stature in the community. But mostly, Emerson won for his unique clubhouse design. He was an accomplished, although not yet famous, architect known in Boston and New England.

The background of this architect begins to explain his unique contribution to this competition. William Ralph Emerson was born on March 11, 1833 to Dr. William Samuel Emerson and Olive Bourne, both from Kennebunk, Maine. His father died when William Ralph was only four. During his school years, William Ralph spent much of each year in Boston with his Uncle George B. Emerson (1797-1881), an educator, and the rest of the year in Maine with his mother. Through the education of George B., William Ralph learned the ways of his distant relative Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). Cynthia Zaitzevsky, the noted William Ralph Emerson scholar, stated that William Ralph identified


209 Zaitzevsky described his family ties best: “William Ralph Emerson and Ralph Waldo Emerson were both seventh-generation descendants although Ralph Waldo was the elder by thirty years) of a Thomas Emerson, who settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts in the middle of the seventeenth century... They were both descended from Thomas Emerson’s third child, Joseph, a minister in Milton, Massachusetts, making them fourth cousins on the direct descent. However, in 1744, William Ralph’s great-grandfather, Daniel Emerson, married Hannah Emerson, the sister of Ralph Waldo’s grandfather, William Emerson thus making the philosopher and the architect third cousins once removed.” Zaitzevsky continued “It is not known what contact, if any, there was between Ralph Waldo and William Ralph Emerson, but Ralph Waldo and George B. Emerson visited and corresponded.” Zaitzevsky, *The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson*, 89. For this reason, it is
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with Ralph Waldo’s essay “Self-Reliance.” In “Self-Reliance,” Ralph Waldo Emerson stated that: “It is easy in the world to live after the world’s opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.” The philosopher continued: “Every true man is a cause, a country, and an age; requires infinite spaces and numbers and time fully to accomplish his design; and posterity seem to follow his steps as a train of clients.” And, lastly, “Insist on yourself; never imitate. Your own gift can present every moment with the accumulative force of a whole life’s cultivation; but of the adopted talent of another you have only an extemporaneous half possession.” These teachings, however they reached Emerson, were evident in his architecture.

William Ralph was educated in Boston schools then apprenticed with the Boston builder Jonathan Preston. Preston was known for the MIT building on Boylston Street, its neighbor the Museum of Natural History and the Boston Theatre. Emerson learned construction and building in Preston’s studio. In 1857, Emerson was made a partner in
Preston's firm, but this alliance lasted only four years, until Emerson established his own firm.216

Little is known about Emerson's firm in the early 1860's.217 Few graphic or built records survive from this period. Emerson practiced architecture by himself from 1862-63 and then formed a partnership with the architect Carl Fehmer218 in 1864, which lasted until 1873.219 Zaitzevsky suggested that this partnership consisted of Emerson designing the suburban residential commissions and Fehmer the commercial and urban projects.220 Once the partnership ended in 1873 Fehmer continued designing in Boston221 while Emerson continued designing in suburban and rural areas.222 An excerpt from Emerson's obituary

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216 Regrettably, little biographical information remains on Emerson. The most complete summary of his life is by Cynthia Zaitzevsky. Several biographical texts discuss Emerson but most merely reference this author. Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson.

217 Unfortunately, I have found no collection of Emerson's drawings.


220 Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson, 4. Pearson disagreed with this hypothesis stating that since Emerson was two years Fehmer's senior, he probably maintained control of the office and its designs. Eleanor Pearson, "Book Review: Cynthia Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (October 1973), 252. Aside from the age difference, I think the firm's architecture illustrated a division of power between the two architects through urban and suburban projects. Further analysis of each architect's known work verses the work of the firm might yield an understanding of each partner's design influence in the firm.

221 Fehmer maintained a strong connection to Boston architecture designing many buildings through the years. At the time of the Art Club competition he was building a Ruskinian Gothic residence in the area, for Edmund Dwight at 191 Marlborough Street in 1881. The following year he participated in (but lost) a competition against among others, Richardson for Oliver Ames' Boston town house. Bainbridge Bunting, Houses of Boston's Back Bay (Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 203 and 212 respectively.

222 Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson, 4. For example, the Emerson and Fehmer "Venetian Renaissance" at One Winthrop Square building. Pauline Chase Harrell and
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provides a window into his personality: he would be found in his studio “leaning over the table, cigar a tilt, the long, silky, flaxen hair, luxuriant as ever, the same soft and gracious eyes... and a table covered with picturesque sketches.”

Emerson was a charter member of the Boston Society of Architects, an institution that he would participate in for the rest of his life. This group, founded in 1870, would provide a platform for Emerson to preach his beliefs to the architects of Boston. It was through the Boston Society of Architects that Emerson explained some of his architectural ideas, specifically regarding ‘Colonial architecture’ as the only true American architecture produced prior to his time. He also utilized MIT’s Technology Architectural Review as a platform to describe education: “If the spirit is in him, the master will come; in fact, he will never be absent from him; he will be his own teacher.” Emerson legitimized his own education by stating that schooling is important but the pupil can learn more through practice and experience. Lastly, Emerson published one book, The Architecture and Furniture of the Spanish Colonies During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, in

Margaret Supplee Smith, Victorian Boston Today: Ten Walking Tours (Boston: New England Chapter of the Victorian Society of America, 1975), 5-6. This building does not resemble Emerson’s urban Victorian Gothic Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital (1875-76) on East Concord Street (p. 20).

Charles A. Rich, “William Ralph Emerson: An Appreciation,” American Architect and Building News CXII, no. 2192 (December 26, 1917), 475-76. This author and famous architect interned for Emerson. For a rare image of Emerson, see Figure 12.

Fehmer was also a charter member. Withey and Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects, 206.


William Ralph Emerson, “Freehand Drawing: Books for Young Draughtsmen,” Technology Architectural Review II, no. 7 (November 16, 1889), 37. This was a philosophy Emerson shared with his relative Ralph Waldo.

William Ralph Emerson, “Freehanding,” Technology Architectural Review II, no. 5 (September 7, 1889), 25. These Technology Architectural Review sources were difficult to locate since the periodical later changed its name to Architectural Review.
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which he highlighted "original creation[s] [where] Roman and Moorish domes, Spanish
towers, and bell turrets are united in one picturesque group."228 This book contained
sketches of buildings with details that also appear in some of his buildings. While not much
about Emerson’s life is known, his few writings allow a glance into his philosophies.

In the late 1870’s most of Emerson’s projects were designed in locations outside of
Boston and in the resort communities of Bar Harbor and Mount Desert Island, Maine.229
Emerson made a name for himself with the residence “Redwood” in Bar Harbor in 1879.230
This project was highlighted in American Architect and Building News231 while other projects
were illustrated in Architectural Sketch Book.232 Emerson received attention in architecture

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228 William Ralph Emerson, The Architecture and Furniture of the Spanish Colonies During the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Boston: George H. Polley and Co., 1901), no page number.
229 As a matter of fact, in "A Start in Art Development", there was an advertisement for the Boston
230 Emerson, "Redwood," Charles J. Morrill Cottage, Bar Harbor, 1879. The best images for this
building are in Roger G. Reed, The Maine Summer Architecture of William R. Emerson: A Delight to
All Who Know It (Portland, ME: Maine Citizens for Historic Preservation, 1995), 16 and 25-29. The
architectural historian James Kornwolf characterized this building in reference to Richardson’s Watts
Sherman house. “Redwood is second only to the W. Watts Sherman House [1874-76] in manifesting
the new manner before 1880, particularly with regard to the planning and massing of interior and
exterior volumes. Its blend of Queen Anne, Colonial, and Shingle style elements was approached
after 1880 only by certain works of McKim, Mead and White and Wilson Eyre (1858-1944). Redwood
also has the distinction of being one of the first buildings to be covered entirely with wood shingles.”
James D. Kornwolf, “American Architecture and the Aesthetic Movement,” In Pursuit of Beauty:
America and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rizzoli, 1986),
355. See also Scully, The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from
Downing to the Origins of Wright, 84. Refer to the American Architect and Building News sketch by
Emerson: “House at Mt. Desert, ME, Wm. Ralph Emerson, Architect,” American Architect and
Building News V, no. 169 (March 22, 1879). See Figure 13.
231 See “House at Milton Hill, Wm. Ralph Emerson, Architect,” American Architect and Building News
IV, no. 130 (November 9, 1878), pl. 130; “House at Mt. Desert, ME, Wm. Ralph Emerson, Architect,”
Building News VI, no. 188 (August 2, 1879), pl. 188; and “Houses at Jamaica Plain for J. Greenough,
Esq., Designed and Drawn by W.R. Emerson, Architect,” American Architect and Building News VII,
no. 214 (January 31, 1880); pl. 214.
232 Also see Reed, The Maine Summer Architecture of William R. Emerson for the Design for Country
Ralph Emerson illustrates another Rich sketch for “Three Pines,” The Misses Forbes House, Milton,
MA, 1876 from a drawing in Architectural Sketchbook (April 1876), pl. 3. This house design, early in
Emerson’s career, indicated the architect’s design progression through the so-called Stick Style, to
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magazines while he developed a reputation in the social circles of Boston. One notable project was a competition for the Milton Town Hall, Massachusetts, held in 1878. Emerson, along with Ware and Van Brunt, lost the competition to Hartwell and Tilden; nonetheless, Emerson's Queen Anne entry was published (see Figure 14).233 Prior to the competition for the Art Club, Emerson primarily designed large-scale residences.234 His personal style can be characterized as a development from the so-called Stick Style to the Queen Anne and then, later, to the so-called Shingle Style.235 It is important that he did not copy styles but reincorporated them to become his own. "Avoiding stylistic cliches, Emerson decorated... with pattern: the wavy layers of shingles at the top of the gable and the scalloped ones below, the fragile latticework of the balcony, the methodical rhythm of the corner voids, the reiteration of the dormer to the right."236 The Gilded Age's growing economy increasing

Queen Anne then to the so-called Shingle Style. Refer to Scully, The Shingle Style and the Stick Style, 82-88.

233 "Design for the Town Hall at Milton, Mass. Mr. William Ralph Emerson, Architect, Boston," American Architect and Building News, no. 140 (August 31, 1878), pl. 140. This perspective sketch was also published in the secondary source: Susan Maycock Vogel, "Hartwell and Richardson: An Introduction to Their Work," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XXXII, no. 2 (May 1973), 133. Ware and van Brunt's Dutch style entry was also published: "Study for Milton Town Hall, Ware and van Brunt, Architects, Boston," American Architect and Building News IV, no. 134 (July 20, 1878), 134.

234 Zaitzevsky stated that Emerson actually designed four clubhouses. Zaitzevsky, The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson, 1. She did not explain this fact further other than to list a Reading Room design, the Mount Desert Reading Room, 1887, Bar Harbor, ME (p. 82), two unbuilt casinos (one published in the Boston Society of Architects Exhibition Catalogue, 1886, no. 101, illustration 16), and the Riverside Casino (published in the Boston Architectural Club Catalogue of the Special Exhibition, 1897, 27, number 84 listed on page 85) that she might have included under the heading 'clubs.' I have found one drawing in American Architect and Building News, an Art Club furniture drawing and one drawing in the Athenaeum archives regarding a detail for a library desk that might have been misconstrued as additional clubhouse designs. The library desk drawing is cataloged in the Athenaeum's archives as 6/B/40. See An Interim Catalog of Boston Buildings (The Architectural Records of the Smithsonian Institution, March 1969).

235 See Scully's book The Shingle Style and the Stick Style for an understanding of what he considers the 'Shingle Style' and the 'Stick Style.' These terms have been coined by Scully and basically accepted into architectural taxonomy.

236 Arnold Lewis, American Country Houses of the Gilded Age (Sheldon's "Artistic Country-Seats"), (First published 1886-87, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1982), pl. 49. This quote is describing
wealthy clients, and the desire for an American architectural style, quite possibly Queen Anne, made Emerson's designs popular.

Emerson designed many important country houses in the two years of the Art Club's design and construction. Some of the most telling residences were the William Ellery Channing Eustis House, \(^{237}\) "The Briars," \(^{238}\) and the Alexander Cochrane House. \(^{239}\) Emerson's developing style can be read through the progression of these residences, especially as compared to the clubhouse. Although these building types (residential and social) differ formally, Emerson used similar design approaches in both. \(^{240}\) His unique "American style" was becoming evident through this architecture. \(^{241}\) As early as the 1940s the architectural historian Robert Anderson cited Emerson and Richardson as the two architects responsible for simplifying the American country house from half-style revivals and jumbled mixtures through a filter of English Queen Anne into a distinctly American type. \(^{242}\) For instance, Redwood exemplified Emerson's early Queen Anne influences through English half-timbering, decorated chimney stacks, varying window size and details, and massing organization as well as his American modifications of mass encompassing the Mary Hemenway residence, Manchester-by-the-Sea, MA, 1884, specifically but can be generalized throughout Emerson's work.

\(^{237}\) William Ellery Channing Eustis House, Milton, MA, 1878. Zaitzevsky, *The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson*, pl. 4-7. Information and images regarding this house and many of Emerson's Massachusetts buildings were found in this book (see 14).

\(^{238}\) "The Briars," J. Montgomery Sears Cottage and Servants' House, Bar Harbor, 1881. See Reed, *The Maine Summer Architecture*, 32-33. This book has the widest and most complete catalog of images and plans of his Maine houses (see Figure 16).

\(^{239}\) The Alexander Cochrane House, Pride's Crossing, Beverly, MA, 1881 (see Figure 17). Zaitzevsky, *The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson*, pl. 11-12.

\(^{240}\) This idea will be fully developed in following chapters.

\(^{241}\) A., "Architecture at the Exhibition of Contemporary Art," *American Architect and Building News* V, no. 177 (May 17, 1879), 159. This exhibition description credits Emerson and other Boston firms - Cabot and Chandler and Carl Pfeiffer - for great improvement. Also, the journalist criticized Charles Follen McKim (partner of McKim, Mead and White) for his uncomfortable integration of his stylized hand and the lifestyles of his modern clients.
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verandas and shingled exterior. The climatic and traditional alterations from its English
counterpart began defining his style as American. It was this inventiveness that separated
Emerson's early work from other architecture and his early work from his later work.
Zaitzevsky, in a later article, wrote 'the prevailing academicism of the 1890's was foreign to
Emerson's temperament. Although his later buildings are always well designed, they lack
his earlier inventiveness.'

It is not known why Emerson entered the Art Club competition, what alerted him to
the competition, and what made him decide to compete. Possibly he entered because he
had been a member of the club some years before. Perhaps he felt he could best anticipate
the club's needs and wants. Conceivably the club solicited Emerson's expertise due to his
club affiliation. Furthermore, he had exhibited work there already, which made him an artist
member. Damie Stillman, in Architecture & Ornament in Late 19th Century America, wrote
that Emerson believed that architecture should stand for social reform, therefore allying
this architect with his fellow Art Club members. Unfortunately, no records exist explaining
Emerson's initial interest in the competition.

Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 2, no. 3 (July 1942), 24.
244 It is not until about 1893 that the Art Club delineated artists from professionals in its Constitution
and By-Laws. Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club (Boston, 1893), no page number. It
is unknown if the artists considered Emerson an artist or a professional.
245 Damie Stillman, editor, Architecture & Ornament in Late 19th Century America (Delaware:
Figure 12: Portrait of William Ralph Emerson, 1855.

Figure 13: William Ralph Emerson, "Redwood," Charles J. Morrill Cottage, Bar Harbor, 1879.
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Figure 14: William Ralph Emerson, "Design for the Town Hall at Milton, Mass. Mr. William Ralph Emerson, Architect, Boston," 1878.

Figure 15: William Ralph Emerson, William Ellery Channing Eustis House, Milton, MA, 1878.
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Figure 16: William Ralph Emerson, “The Briars,” J. Montgomery Sears Cottage and Servants’ House, Bar Harbor, 1881.

Figure 17: William Ralph Emerson, Alexander Cochrane House, Pride’s Crossing, Beverly, MA, 1881.
The Queen Anne Style

A close examination of the winning Queen Anne entry yields an understanding of the cultural circumstances surrounding the Art Club’s competition. The style meshed with the Back Bay residential architecture, yet challenged its area revival buildings. Through this style, the Art Club assumed its desired stature in Boston.

To adequately understand the Art Club building we must first understand the Queen Anne architectural style -- its origins and surrounding politics. Critics of the time called for a “true American style,” not a style revived or adapted. The “true American style” emerged from the Gothic revival (1850's and 1860's), began in the 1870's but flourished in the 1880's. Along with the many revivals built in Boston, architects developed discomfort with European styles. American Architect and Building News and The Builder carried one of the most heated debates surrounding the new style. An important twentieth century analysis of the style, Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright, will also aid this discussion. The best way

246 For a good secondary text of the Gothic revival style, see Chris Brooks, The Gothic Revival (Phaidon, 1999).
247 For more information on American Architect and Building News, see Mary Norman Woods, The American Architect and Building News, 1876-1907 (Ph.D. dissertation for Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York: Columbia University, 1983). This source analyzed architecture periodicals in the nineteenth century. Wood cited this periodical as the most influential architecture periodical at this time in America. I will focus my research in American Architect and Building News since the position of The Builder (an English architecture periodical) about the Queen Anne style, wavered; it spent two years criticizing it then endorsed it. Mark Girouard, Sweetness and Light: The “Queen Anne” Movement 1860-1900 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 57. On a side note about American Architect and Building News, I would like to highlight the index for the first ten years of the periodical that appears at the beginning of the first year on microfilm.
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to understand this style is to look at the conflict between those who admired the style and those who did not.\textsuperscript{249}

The Queen Anne style in America began when Americans noticed the architects Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) and William Morris's (1834-96) revivalist work of the vernacular and country house architecture of the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14).\textsuperscript{250} These English architects, and in particular Morris who initiated the Arts and Crafts movement, revived the ideals of the craftsman. They believed the industrial revolution had to be counteracted, that modernity was creating despair and hardship. By returning to the ways of the craftsmen, people could return to a better way of life. Machines were mechanizing every part of life, and so reducing men to a piece of the machinery. Instead, these architects and artists called for a return to the craftsman ideal, the pride taken in handicraft and most of all the individuality of every product. A period autobiography described this connection between the act and reward of art as: "the joy of doing the work that counts with the artist, far beyond any other reward he may receive; and in this he differs from the majority of mankind who find in their labour little joy."\textsuperscript{251} They believed that people should live this total way of life, through which they could cope with the realities of modern life.\textsuperscript{252} Nevertheless, since the craftsman's product was more expensive than a machine-made product, this utopian ideal did not succeed. Only the wealthy could afford Morris's complete visions: a handcrafted house filled with craftsmen made furniture, wallpaper, carpeting and art. Shaw, on the other hand, focused on the architecture of the craftsman: the vernacular cottage style

\textsuperscript{249} Further research should be conducted in this area to better understand the context of the Queen Anne within the critiques of the style.
\textsuperscript{252} This polemic continued throughout the turn of the century.
of Queen Anne's rule. These buildings were handcrafted at every turn: asymmetrical, molded brick, windows with small panes of glass and a variety of chimneystacks. The teaching of these two men yield an understanding of these artists' finished work.

Many common details were associated with the Arts and Crafts movement and the Queen Anne style. Some of the most important elements were large, inviting windows divided by small (frequently colored) panes of glass, decorative panels of hand molded brick and deep, hand-carved woodwork on the interior. Other elements were brackets that represented structure, numerous chimneys built of ribbed bricks, brick sills and aprons that decorated doorways and windows, and wrought iron railings forged by hand. While there are many buildings that represent these qualities, the most telling are Phillip Webb's Red House, Bexley Heath, Kent (1859-61) and Shaw's (and others') Bedford Park community, Turnham Green, London, begun in 1875. The Red House was designed so that every interior function was represented on the exterior by the massing and fenestration, which proved to be a complete honesty in design and materials. Girouard, the architectural historian and author of *Sweetness and Light*, believed that Webb, while using the Queen Anne as a base, "gave every element an individual character so that the total result was completely original." Universal with these architects was a composition designed to accommodate the contemporary user, not the user of Queen Anne's era; therefore the

254 For a text that expounds on these characteristics see Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*.
256 Jonathan T. Carr (1845-1915) was the community's founder. Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, 160. For information on Bedford Park see Girouard's chapter VII: "Two 'Queen Anne' Communities," 160-81.
257 Ibid., 23.
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layout and proportions of the buildings were nineteenth century while the details were seventeenth century.258

Bedford Park was built, in part, as a community where artists could live, work and socialize. Studios were built adjacent to homes and a social club was built in the center of the community. While many of the floor plans and elevations of the houses at Bedford Park were similar, the architects allowed the craftsmen the license to build every house differently. One of the unifying characteristics was a flower panel installed on the exterior of most of the houses. This flower panel, typically a sunflower, represented the community’s shared ideals: the individuality of craftsman-designed living spaces and the total design of the artists’ lives. Artists wanted to live in this symbol of the craftsman’s ideals.259 English artists were flocking toward architect-designed Queen Anne buildings.260

The other figure integral in the discussion of origins of these styles was John Ruskin.261 Ruskin was also interested in the honesty of construction, but he concentrated on the way the building was constructed and how it expressed that construction through the its details, massing and façades.262 He wanted earlier construction techniques and craftsmanship to read in contemporary architecture.263 With this interest in craftsmanship

258 Ibid., 28.
259 Ibid., 92.
260 “Some Artists’ Houses,” American Architect and Building News (October 28, 1876), 350. This article described that English artists were attracted to the Queen Anne because of its honesty in construction.
261 Many articles were available to Emerson about Ruskin and his theories in American Architect and Building News. For instance (288) G.C. Mason, “The Use of Moulded Brick II.,” American Architect and Building News (April 29, 1876), 141-42.
263 See also (75) Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, Ruskin on Architecture: His Thought and Influence (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973).
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came a link with moral influence and societal reform. He believed that reforming the
mundane tasks of the industrial worker into the art of the craftsman would transform the
working class into craftsmen elevated through their work. He also believed that every
country had its own cultural and climatic issues, among many others, and therefore each
country should have its own architecture. The theories of Ruskin, along with the
architecture of Webb and Shaw, attracted the attention of many Americans. Eileen Boris in
Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsmen Ideal in America stated that “Ruskin and
Morris offered a critique of the existing society and a hope for a better future that appealed
to a wide spectrum of the late-Victorian public. Through the practice of craftsmanship, they
hoped to unite art and labor, mental effort and manual achievement, work and play,
counteracting the fragmentation of social life endemic to the emerging corporate order.”

The revivals of medieval and Gothic architecture were popular in England and in
America. The 1870's was a decade of revivals from traditional (English) Gothic to Victorian
Gothic to John Ruskin’s “North Italian.” Also added to the list of revival buildings in
Boston, which happen to be represented at Art Square was Richardson’s Trinity Church,
which represented Richardson’s creative reinterpretation of the Romanesque. In addition,
the Hotel Victoria (1886), located across the street from the Art Club site, was a Moorish

264 In Pursuit of Beauty: America and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 54. At this
point Ruskin deviated from the Queen Anne by denouncing imitation. Raymond Williams, Culture
265 Boris, Art and Labor, 3-4.
266 Walter H. Kilham, Boston After Bulfinch: An Account of its Architecture 1800-1900 (Cambridge,
MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 75. Many of the Back Bay’s best examples of High Victorian
architecture were constructed at Dartmouth Street between Art Square and Commonwealth Avenue.
Shand-Tucci, Built in Boston, 46.
267 Lewis Mumford saw Richardson’s architecture as a new architecture, the beginning of a modern
architecture, and a move away from revivals: “How did this Change come about? In back of it stands
a colossal man, [Richardson], an architect who almost singlehanded created out of a confusion which
was actually worse than a mere void the beginnings of a new architecture.” Lewis Mumford, The
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Lastly, there was a medieval revival residence that stood across Newbury Street from the Art Club. On Boston’s newest land, there were built the high styles of the time in the form of revivals, to maintain the elite’s status and, paradoxically, to pay homage to pre-industrial forms.

The next revival, and the style that combined the revivals in England and America was the Queen Anne. This style developed from a boredom with the Gothic and medieval revivals and with the difficulty of adapting the Gothic revival’s tall and slender proportions to residential architecture. Nevertheless, the American Queen Anne was based on similar architectural elements that were altered to accommodate the needs of American clients. For instance, the American style placed a greater emphasis on unique dormers, large windows and the expression of interior functions on the exterior. The classical ideal of symmetry was sometimes incorporated into the façade, although not outright; implied


E.O. Stanley, Boston and its Suburbs: A Guide Book (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888), 24; and Edwin M. Bacon, The Book of Boston: Fifty Years’ Recollections of the New England Metropolis (Boston: The Book of Boston, 1916), 492. This building, built by the obscure architect J.L. Faxon, is extant at 275 Dartmouth Street, and still contains much of its original façade. Built only four years after the Art Club, many of its components were mass-produced: its windows were purchased from a catalog and its molding is repeated throughout the building. Pauline Chase Harrell and Margaret Supplee Smith, Victorian Boston Today: Ten Walking Tours (Boston: New England Chapter of the Victorian Society of America, 1975), 48.


“A Few More Words About Queen Anne,” American Architect and Building News (October 6, 1877), 320.

“The preference for a triglyph over a trefoil is not revolutionary, even if it were novel; nor is the preference for a lintel over an arch.” “Concerning Queen Anne,” American Architect and Building News (December 16, 1876), 404.

Queen Anne, coincidentally, followed the Medieval and the Gothic revival styles in the nineteenth century as did the reign of Queen Anne and the architecture of the (non-revival) medieval period. More research could be done to determine if the chronology of revivalist architecture correlated or coincided with history.
symmetry was most common. Many times the overall façade would be asymmetrical with an “informal comfort” in the massing to imply organization. A “Letter to the Editor” in *American Architect and Building News* summarized: “This style is the outgrowth of an attempted union of certain classical or Renaissance features with the antagonistic Gothic, and it may be broadly defined as partaking in the general of the latter style as regards form, and of the former as regards detail.” The massing was another component particular to the American counterpart. These architects artfully designed their buildings as a whole, but with well-proportioned parts. However, the ornamentation of the Queen Anne style was its most recognizable attribute. Countless shapes of molded brick, stained glass windows and massing elements all worked together to represent the handicraft of its builders. Queen Anne could be best characterized as a collection of architectural elements artfully designed to incorporate all the ideals of the style while communicating the hand of the builder.

Between 1873 and 1885, there were many heated debates regarding the Queen Anne’s validity. The BSA held several lectures regarding this style, which suggested architects’ impressions of it and their hopes that it was merely a passing fad. In 1876, an article in *American Architect and Building News*, “In Search of a Style,” attempted to broaden the definition of honesty in materials to allow artists to ally themselves with styles other than the Queen Anne. “The things essential to artistic progress are, that a people

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273 This article referred to Queen Anne as ‘free classic,’ but that name did not continue. Mason, “The Use of Moulded Brick II.,” 142.
275 F.A.W., “The ‘Queen Anne’ Style,” *American Architect and Building News* VII, no. 215 (February 7, 1880), 49 (F.A.W.’s italics). This Letter continued as a plea for architects to define the style more rigidly, to give it boundaries in the hopes that the boundaries will assist the style find its own harmony.
276 Although it is important to stress that the Queen Anne is a hybrid of revival styles from both countries.
277 W. Knight Sturgis, “The Long Shadow of Norman Shaw,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* IX, no. 4 (December 1950), 16. This passing fad occurred during the construction of many

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should have a common feeling for art, and right principle in the practice of it; that they
should agree together how they will go to work at it." Many architects and patrons were
very interested in this style yet many of them were highly criticized for pursuing it.

The criticism of Queen Anne, in many cases, is more telling than the praises. Two
types of criticism were raised: the first was having to do with the style as a fad and the
second with its architectural features. At the head of the argument about fad were those
who criticized the style for its lifestyle presumptions. The Queen Anne had developed
from style, through fashion, to pure madness. People took their quest for fashion to an
extreme by supposedly replacing their current newspapers with those written hundreds of
years ago. Another criticism regarded the origin of this revival: "We are not permitted to
forget that we are Americans and not Englishmen and that our comparative freedom from
the tyranny of archaeology is a national privilege. We may master it, but it cannot master
us. It is too far off." In 1877, H. Hudson Holly suggested that American architects follow
England’s lead in looking at archaeology but, instead, the Americans should look to their

Back Bay residences so, in effect, Boston was well represented. “In the Style of Queen Anne,”
American Architect and Building News XVI, no. 461 (October 25, 1884), 204.
278 “In Search of a Style,” American Architect and Building News (August 12, 1876), 259.
279 There were many intellectuals opposed to the Queen Anne. I refer to intellectuals since those are
the communicators opposing the style. Although, one article contradicts this notion stating that those
with "refined and educational minds" deserved the Queen Anne style. Russell Lynes, The
280 A primary quote that enriches the discussion was from “Concerning Queen Anne.” “But of the
work of its practitioners it may be safely said, that what of its good is not Queen Anne, and what is
Queen Anne is not good: that it has no sort of validity or standing as a style: and that beginning as an
attempt to re-establish a mere fashion which had gone irrevocably by, it is likely to end as a
masquerade (p. 405).”
281 “Queen Anne,” American Architect and Building News (October 21, 1876), 344. The journalist
continued: "As to the women who have been bitten, there is no end to their extravagances; and one
lady, who looked as if she had just stepped out of one of Romney’s pictures, gravely assured me this
week, that she preferred a spinet to a piano...”
47. This argument, of course, could be extended to all revivals thus discussed.
own colonists' archaeology. He was, in effect, calling for a revival of the colonial American style instead of an English style. Also, a letter from one practitioner to another in England stated that "style means copyism, the test of good work would be an absence of style." The article, "Concerning Queen Anne" expanded this argument by stating that the Queen Anne was not actually a style, at least not of the time, since it incorporated no new techniques or innovations. Why did Queen Anne receive such harsh criticism for reviving an older style while Gothic and medieval revivals were praised for their products? "Unlike the Greek and Gothic revivals which preceded it, this revival was not representative of any deep national aspiration, nor was it popularized by any alliance with forces of liberation or conservatism. No Ruskin came to the defense of this style whose antecedents were so little known, indeed, that the very name, 'Queen Anne,' is a misnomer." One perception, then, was that the Queen Anne, in its quest for fashion, had departed from the ideological basis of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The second category of criticism was purely architectural. This criticism was directed toward the architectural characteristics of the building, towards what was considered the "anti-architectural" elements. The comments focused on the myriad of elements used in Queen Anne buildings. Critics were discontented with the architectural elements, their composition and their execution. They disparaged the process of piling on massing, stylistic elements, ornamentation and textures on a building façade, that is, piling on as much as the building could hold. The article "Concerning Queen Anne" argued that a style was not

284 Girouard, Sweetness and Light, 18. Unfortunately, this quote was not fully cited by the author.
285 "Concerning Queen Anne," 404.
286 Sturges, "The Long Shadow of Norman Shaw," 15. These truths account for the break from the Gothic revival and the separation from Victorian all together.
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created by the act of plenty, of affixing element upon element to the building. Each Queen
Anne building was a cluttered composition of roof forms, towers, varying windows,
brickwork, ornamental terra cotta and varying dormer forms. The architectural historian
Mark Girouard stated: "It was a kind of architectural cocktail, with a little genuine Queen
Anne in it, a little Dutch, a little Flemish, a squeeze of Robert Adam, a generous dash of
Wren, and a touch of Francois Ier." Many of the critics mislabeled Queen Anne buildings
as classical buildings with Gothic design principles.

Some critics also maintained that a revival should only revive what they considered a
successful style (of which the Queen Anne was not). Progress with older forms could only
be achieved only when innovations were interjected. Reviving an English style in America
would not be successful merely due to the difference between cultures. Critics called for
architectural modifications to fit the New England climate: the addition of verandas and
projections and cornices were lessened since American construction focused on masonry
as opposed to the wood construction of England. Specific to the Art Club, Cabot

287 S., "Concerning Queen Anne," American Architect and Building News (December 16, 1876), 404.
288 For what might be the ultimate example of varied window openings, see William Ralph Emerson's
carriage house renovation at 24 Pinckney Street, 1884 (see Figure 18). Susan Southworth and Mark
Southworth, The Boston Society of Architects' A.I.A. Guide to Boston (Chester, CT: The Globe
289 Girouard, Sweetness and Light, 1. A "Letter to the Editor" in 1873 criticized Shaw's Offices on
Leadenhall Street: "This elevation seems like the last somersault or gambol of the agile gymnast, who
seeks at the end of his performance to extort a laugh from the spectators at whatever cost of
contortion and personal effort." Thomas Leverton Donaldson, "The New Old Style," The Builder
XXXI, no. 1592 (August 9, 1873), 632. In 1885, John W. Root wrote: "The random application of
ornament of all sorts, without thought or purpose, is the crying evil of modern architecture." Damie
Stillman, editor, Architecture & Ornament in Late 19th Century America (Delaware: University of
Delaware, 1981), 11. To highlight yet one more critic's haunting and foretelling quote: "A Style such
as this cannot long survive, for if architectural design is based on any principles, this seems to
recognize none, and therefore will not satisfy the aspirations toward a higher art..." R.B., "Queen
291 C., "The 'Queen Anne' Style," American Architect and Building News VII, no. 217 (February 21,
1880), 73. This letter answered F.A.W.'s Letter to the Editor: F.A.W., "The 'Queen Anne' Style."
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expressed concerns that stepped gables were not suitable for New England winters. There were also discussions about the most suitable function for a Queen Anne building. Never forgotten were Queen Anne's origins -- vernacular construction for the lower classes -- even though the style's origins were discarded in the transformation to a high style. This "plain man's style" was transformed into an architecture for the elite. Granted, the wealthy were interested in its unassuming character, but there were concerns about the gymnastics needed to convert a revival of a style from another culture and another class to a functioning elite style, and an American one at that.

Far fewer positive comments were published about the Queen Anne, but even those few were tempered with doubt. Most of the articles revolved around three issues: honesty of design and construction, the alliance of this architecture to the work of the people, and the representation of nature. Many who allied with Morris and Ruskin were able to find a connection between this style and the philosophies of craftsmanship and organicism. Along with these positive perceptions, there were instructional texts regarding the design of Queen Anne. It was through these texts that we can understand the few favorable readings of the style.

292 Marvin E. Goody and Robert P. Walsh, editors, Boston Society of Architects, The First One Hundred Years 1867-1967 (Boston: Boston Society of Architects, 1967), 42. This concern was voiced before the competition for the Art Club.
293 These discussions resolved that residences were the most suitable type for Queen Anne.
294 Girouard, Sweetness and Light, 63.
295 "A Few More Words About Queen Anne," 322.
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Honesty of design and construction were the most praised aspects of the Queen Anne. For instance, the article "Architectural Terra-Cotta II" praised the use of terra cotta for its honesty of construction and ability to elevate the craftsman through the love of his product.\(^{298}\) In "A Few More Words About Queen Anne" the journalist broadened the idea of honesty of construction to include imitation. "The mere manufacturing architect will never be able to do 'Queen Anne.' There is a subtlety as well as an honesty and refinement in the style, that is not to be acquired by mere copying, however closely the original may be imitated."\(^{299}\) The issue of imitation divided even those amiable to this style. Many artists did not oppose this idea of mimicry, to some extent, because they believed that art itself imitated life; therefore a degree of imitation was acceptable. Architects could also have their spirit elevated through this style.\(^{300}\)

Another common polemic was the adaptation of Queen Anne into the American climate as a step toward a new American architecture. The article "Queen Anne" summarized the style while establishing its origins.

"The style, in short, adapts itself easily to the requirements of a rather luxurious and distinctly fastidious epoch, and at the present moment combines the rival attractions of novelty and antiquity. It offers as much in regard of absolute beauty as the elder Pugin could when he preached to an age saturated with Palladianism the gospel of Gothicism; while its pedigree, if not quite so long as that of mediaevalism, is at least respectable, being two hundred years old."\(^{301}\)


\(^{299}\) "A Few More Words About Queen Anne," 322.


\(^{301}\) "Queen Anne," (April 17, 1880), 168. There were many points illuminated in this one primary source quote.
The building was an organism, nature in the built form with ornamentation to express weight. The art that imitated nature gave the building life. This co-elevation of style and architecture did not occur with any other current building types. The expression of the interior on the exterior, in fact, was cited as a need in designing a clubhouse. This return to nature and organicism was a direct reaction to the industrialization of America and the world during the post-Civil War era.

The best evaluation of a style is to see who was actually building it. Several well-known American architects built in the Queen Anne style for their elite clients. These wealthy clients chose to ally themselves with the honesty and return to craft of the architectural style. There were many examples of the Queen Anne throughout the Back Bay. Attention to good craftsmanship, refinement, honesty of construction materials and deep articulation of the exterior were key in American Queen Anne buildings.

Many architectural styles were being built in Boston at this time. Gothic and medieval revival buildings were the first styles in the Back Bay, comprising many of the first residences there. Richardson built many of the most popular buildings in the city in the 1870's, and most of them were located in the Back Bay. Richardson, although he used his unique interpretation of Romanesque, respected the context of the Back Bay while simultaneously creating a new style of architecture. Ruskinian Gothic buildings, like the

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302 Caroline Van Eck, *Organicism in Nineteenth Century Architecture: An Inquiry into its Theoretical and Philosophical Background* (Amsterdam: Architectura and Natura Press, 1994), 250. The building was elevated upon its conversion into an organic body.

303 Ibid., 18.


305 For more information, refer to Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay*, 230-39. Also in this book is a comparison of styles built in the Back Bay between 1885-1900 (after the Art Club was built). 43% of the residences were Queen Anne (of varying extremes), 26% Richardson Romanesque, 15% McKim Classical, 7% Federal, 4% Italian Renaissance, 4% Medieval, 1% other (p. 291).
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Museum, also pervaded the area. The style of the Museum was of great significance to Emerson's design and the Art Club's selection. The Museum was already a respected institution so the Art Club had every reason to ally with it architecturally. The club, while still fundamentally similar to the Museum, contained a very different program and philosophy. As such, the Art Club was able to identify itself with its own, independent architectural form.

Clubhouses usually utilized cutting-edge architecture for the purpose of representation. As illustrated in New York, many new clubhouses were built to replace buildings that were only a few decades old in order to stay in fashion. Comparison of the styles of buildings immediately near the Art Club with the style of the clubhouse indicates a desire to remain on the forefront of design. Within the context of Art Square and the monumental revival buildings around the square dedicated to art, the Art Club fit in but also stood out.

The highly debated Queen Anne style was a new Boston style that represented an alliance between the craftsman, builder, architect and artists. Finally here was a style that connected the artists with their patrons. Queen Anne exemplified the intentions of the Art Club artists through an alliance with the Museum, other Art Square revival buildings and adjacent Back Bay buildings, while mimicking the architecture of the patrons' nearby residences. While highly controversial, Queen Anne was a new and attention-getting style, which the Art Club members believed would further assert the identity of their club while defining its purpose in the milieu of Boston's maturing art culture.

306 These points were discussed in an article from the Boston Society of Architects in 1877 published in R.S.P., "A Talk About Queen Anne," 134.
307 The Union Club moved from Madison Square to Fifth Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street in 1879 (Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montaque Massengale, New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915 (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 228-29) but the bulk of the New York clubs will move uptown in the 1890s and 1900s.
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Figure 18: William Ralph Emerson, renovation, 24 Pinckney Street, Boston, 1884.
The Boston Art Club Building

With an understanding of the various architectural and cultural controversies surrounding the Art Club in Boston in the early 1880's, we can evaluate Emerson's built design. The two entrance facades, its most significant elements, created the new clubhouse identity, but the organizational characteristics and interior decorations of the building were also important. If we compile primary descriptions of the building, we can formulate a relatively complete image of its original interior. This analysis will use all available records of the original structure, along with the mention of successive additions. The only evidence of the building's original design was the published competition drawing by Emerson and, of course, traces in the extant building. Since so little information is available, inferences must be made and are noted as such. Through an analysis of this evidence, conclusions can be drawn regarding the Art Club Building Committee and Emerson's intentions for the Art Club as well as for Boston's art culture.

First, to understand the building, we must approach the plan through the experience of Emerson. He was a member of the Art Club, and, although only listed as a member for one year, he was familiar with the club's needs and traditions. Also, he had been experimenting with Queen Anne architecture, a style the club philosophies could embrace. Lastly, influenced by his distant uncle Ralph Waldo Emerson, he developed certain philosophies comparable to those represented by the artists of the Art Club.

The building's organization made a clear distinction between the members' realm and that of the public. Emerson pushed the public and private entrances to the far corners of the building, locating the public entrance on the fashionable Dartmouth Street, close to
The Boston Art Club Building and in fact in view of, the Museum and Art Square.\textsuperscript{309} In fact, Emerson designed a faux arched entrance on the east end of the south wall of the building to further augment the scale and importance of the actual public entrance. The members' entrance was positioned on Newbury Street, in harmony with the private, wealthy residences there. This private façade shared massing proportions and elements of residential architecture while the public façade contained a wide gable bay, on the scale of a public building, a grand entrance and the breadth of the tower.\textsuperscript{310} The procession, or spatial sequence, both interior and exterior varied tremendously between private user to the public one. The planar, or the structural, organization, however, was carefully controlled by the site restrictions\textsuperscript{311} enforced by the city in the wake of the Great Fire of 1872.\textsuperscript{312} To fully understand the architect's intentions, it is important to consider the interplay of all these factors.

\textsuperscript{308} As stated earlier, Emerson's membership was for the 1873 year. Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel, \textit{The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909} (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991), 443.

\textsuperscript{309} Also, the Art Club directors knew that the Boston Public Library would be built one block away. As stated earlier, this land was granted to the Library to April 22, 1880. Walter Muir Whitehill, \textit{Museum of Fine Arts Boston: A Centennial History} (Volume 1, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1970), 15.

\textsuperscript{310} For comparison, see 277 Dartmouth Street by J. Putnam, 1878 (Figure 38). This residence was designed just before the Art Club and demonstrates how the typical Back Bay residence's long corner façade is articulated.

\textsuperscript{311} For instance, the fire codes did not allow a span in wood of more than twenty-five feet so, since the site was two building lots wide (along Newbury Street) and one lot long (along Dartmouth Street) and Emerson needed a large, uninterrupted space for the Gallery, he unconventionally organized the structure as bearing walls running parallel to Newbury Street. Since the Gallery was on the second floor and there were no floors above it, the intricate structure of the skylight was designed as self-supporting. The repetition of the bearing walls was most evident in the building section. See Figure 19. Typical construction of neighboring buildings contained bearing walls running perpendicular to the street since these walls were less likely to be fenestrated. Emerson, on the other hand, needed the Dartmouth Street façade to be the club's public identity so he manipulated the typical structural tendencies to allow for that façade to be non-load bearing and, therefore, fenestrated liberally.

\textsuperscript{312} For more information about the Great Fire see Edwin M. Bacon's book: \textit{The Book of Boston: Fifty Years' Recollections of the New England Metropolis} (Boston: The Book of Boston, 1916). I would again like to credit Brensinger and Owens paper \textit{The Boston Art Club Building} for the structural analysis of this building. Another code instated after the fire, necessitated masonry firewalls separating abutting buildings. The firewall at the Art Club only needed to separate the clubhouse from the adjacent building (not yet built on Newbury Street). However, there was an indication of a
The Members' Rooms

The design of the Art Club building was predominantly for its members (see Figure 20). They entered the building after ascending a projecting flight of stairs, similar to those of neighboring residences; they would then pass through a brightly colored vestibule, enter the private "Hall" and admire the grand stairs to the right (west). The most striking element of the Hall, and of the entire interior, was the members' staircase, which led to every floor. Immediately to the members' left (east) was "Parlor No. 1" then, further down the hall, "Parlor No. 2" (see Figure 24). These parlors were similar in proportion, but were treated with very different materials to accommodate the aesthetic inclinations of a variety of members. Both rooms were richly ornate, painted in beautiful colors, and trimmed with rich woods; in short, both rooms were echoing the attitudes of social clubs in Boston and New York. The two parlors were similar in size but Parlor No. 2 was distinguished by an ornate mantel that contained an inscription: "Vita Brevis, Ars Longa." The last in the series of first floor members' spaces was the "Reading Room" (see Figure 25). Running the entire length of the east/west axis, this room was much larger than the others and it functioned as

firewall built on the south side of the building adjacent to the New Old South Church, even though 1) these buildings do not abut and 2) Emerson fenestrated this façade. Boston, Massachusetts (Volume 2, New York: Sanborn Map Publishing, 1887), 40.

For more information about the decorative aspects of the interiors see Appendix B.

For a twenty-first century photograph of the members' staircase, see Figure 26.

For a similar staircase and the first floor rooms, see the Hope Club, 1885 by Gould and Angell in Providence, RI. This Queen Anne style businessmen's clubhouse still retains most of its original woodwork and proved a proper turn of the century club for any city. Refer to Woodward and Sanderson, Providence, 146. This citation quoted the Hope Club's centennial history, which described the building as the "first city clubhouse erected as such in America (p. 146)." This, of course, is incorrect since the building was built three years after the Art Club and six years after the Union League Club in New York.

Unfortunately both of these rooms have since weathered extensive renovations, probably during the club's 1910 renovation campaign. The rooms have been divided and the fireplaces have been covered.
The Boston Art Club Building

the terminus of the members' world as well as their largest meeting room. Although the rich colors of the paint no longer survive, the grand fireplace and coffered ceiling remain intact.318

The two most important function rooms of the club were located in the tower. The "Library," with a color scheme similar to that of the "Gallery," was filled from floor to ceiling with books (see Figure 21).319 "The objects of this club are to advance the knowledge and love of Art through the exhibition of its works; the acquisition of books and papers for an Art Library; lectures upon Art subjects, and social intercourse."320 At the time of the guidebook King's How To See Boston (1878), the Library was of the same caliber as the library of the Museum.321 This room could be identified from the exterior of the building by the tower's prominent balcony structure. Above the Library was the Dining Room, the members' most important social room, as it was for any proper club (see Figure 22).322 This room was dominated by the form of the tower and fenestrated by unique single- and double arched windows on the public façade and a half-round window fronting the members' façade. Even though it was quite important, the dining room was located high in the building to prevent food odors from bothering members who were not dining at the time.323

318 The seats surrounding the hearth, seen on Figure 25, were probably never built since the surviving original wood paneling surrounding the hearth does not contain these seats or scars in the paneling where the seats would have been.
319 There are, sadly, no surviving remnants of the bookcases.
320 Dexter Smith, Cyclopedia: Boston and Vicinity (Boston: Cashin and Smith, Publishers, 1886), 217.
322 Ralph Davoll, "The Boston Art Club," The New England Magazine (January 1911), 427. The members' staircase was consistently ornate even at the third floor since the Dining Room was located there.
323 Locating the kitchen on a high level of the building was a common practice. The Queen Anne style Hope Club building of Providence, Rhode Island, by Gould and Angell, built in 1886, had its
The basement was also accessible from the members' staircase (see Figure 23). This signified a strong emphasis on the functions that occurred at the lower level, specifically the "Billiard Room" and the "Life Drawing School." Traditional residences, for example, would not have allowed the main stair to proceed to the basement level, a level commonly used for service. Clubs, while most were in rented space, also would not have used their basements too publicly. For instance, the design for the "Artists' Club-House in Dresden," published in *American Architect and Building News* soon after the Art Club building was designed, did not indicate any public (or members) use of the basement. This design reflected the programmatic emphasis on the Billiard Room. As originally designed, the first room at the bottom of the stairs in the basement was the committee room, separated by a wall and a double-sided fireplace from the Billiard Room and from the Artists' Room where the Life Drawing classes were held. The rest of the basement was given
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over to service rooms. Documentation stated that soon after the building's construction the Billiard Room was expanded into an adjacent room.\footnote{327}

This tension between the artists and the professionals was illustrated by the existence of the Billiard Room. It exemplified the decade long difficulties between the two factions. The club was founded on a platform of social interaction between the artists and the professionals.\footnote{328} Since the artists resolved to allow non-artists (professionals) into their club, they were unhappy with the loss of their control. The artists argued that the Art Club could be managed and its exhibitions be organized by artists, not people merely interested in art. They believed that the professionals' influence should be limited. Meanwhile, the professionals believed that their interest in art entitled them to a deciding vote, managing, organizing and even participating in the exhibitions' Hanging Committee. The professionals believed that artists could not successfully run a social organization. In "The Art Club of Boston," Beta wrote that the longstanding problem was "the artists cannot be active workers while they are hopelessly in the minority and have no leaders."\footnote{329} The architectural historian Diana Korzenik in her book \textit{Drawn To Art} was sympathetic: "the Art Club must have been a consciousness-raising experience that confronted artists with real-life dilemmas of society and art."\footnote{330}

\footnote{327} Ibid. The wall separating the Committee Room and the Billiard Room still exists today therefore this source was probably discussing the wall separating the Billiard Room from the Artists' room.
\footnote{328} Two later articles reflect on the decision to expand membership. One author believed that professionals were added to the membership because the Art Club had been functioning as an experiment of grouping only American artists together and since American painting was not yet good enough, for whatever reason, in the eyes of the patron, the artists financially needed professionals to enter their club. "The Fine Arts: Twenty Fifth Exhibition of the Boston Art Club," \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (February 18, 1882), 8. The second article, however, saw the addition of professionals as merely additional influence to fight against the preeminent Museum. "These lay members were taken in, no one can deny, to provide the sinews of war." Davoll, "The Boston Art Club," 433.
\footnote{329} Beta, "The Art Club of Boston," \textit{Art Amateur} 11, no. 5 (October 1884), 101.
\footnote{330} Diana Korzenik, \textit{Drawn To Art: A Nineteenth-Century American Dream} (With forward by Rudolf Arnheim, Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), 150. This was one of the early
professionals were manifested in the discussions of the Billiard Room. For the artists, this room symbolized the purely social organization the Art Club was turning into and, for the professionals, this room represented desired shift to a more social club. In fact, Greta’s “The New Art Galleries – The New House of the Boston Art Club,” as late as July 1881, stated that the Billiard Room as a programmatic entity was still being discussed.\textsuperscript{331} Even a mention of the Billiard Room conveyed the tensions between the two factions.

Aside from the Billiard Room and the other members’ spaces, the basement was given over to service. In fact, service spaces bridged the members’ and the public’s zones on most floors of the building. For instance, a service catwalk connected the Dining Room to the kitchen and other spaces on the north side of the building. This access way allowed non-resident members and visiting artists access from the members’ rooms to temporary apartments located near the kitchen space.\textsuperscript{332} Two dressing rooms located off the Gallery adjacent to the public stair were for the artists to prepare for the exhibitions.\textsuperscript{333} These rooms contained a lavatory, sink and probably spaces for coats.\textsuperscript{334} The remainder of the service

\begin{footnotesize}

332 The original building contained only two such apartments designed for infrequent use. These rooms were so regularly used that a renovation and addition in 1889 expanded these facilities and formalized circulation from the members’ spaces. One reference suggested that the rooms could be rented for “toilet purposes,” which probably meant that this room was a place for the members to dress for dinner. Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club (Boston), 34. These rooms could be allowed the use of these rooms for no more than two weeks at a time and no one under the age of eighteen was admitted.

333 It is curious that these very private spaces were located close to the very public functions.

334 This room was the only one dedicated to women in 1882. Women were only invited into the club for exhibitions and none were allowed to be members. The Ladies’ Dressing Room factors as one of the two rooms accessible to women: Rule 20: “Ladies shall be admitted to the Club-house by the Dartmouth Street entrance, and they shall not be admitted to any part of the Club-house other than the Ladies’ Department, except as permitted by the House Committee. Constitution and By-Laws of
\end{footnotesize}
rooms, most of which were located in the basement, third floor and north side of the building, were not accessible to the members or the public.

**The Public's Rooms**

While the members' rooms were only enjoyed by members and not meant to be public, the rooms should be evaluated in terms of the impressions they made on visitors. These rooms were richly decorated and furnished as comfortably as any club or restaurant in the city to make the artists and professionals feel comparable in social station to their wealthy Back Bay neighbors. The colors were rich and deep, the furniture was soft and comfortable, and the wood was intricately detailed (see Figure 27 and Appendix B). In a secondary text about Victorian culture, it was suggested that the furniture for clubs have 'spirit' and that it did.\(^{335}\) The artist members all traveled several blocks to come to the clubhouse while the professionals lived in the Back Bay. Each, however, felt equally comfortable there.

The public's experience of the Art Club was different, although some elements were similar. The public entered the building through the fine Dartmouth Street entrance, in view of the Museum (see Figure 20). Once visitors passed through the arched doorway and vestibule and up the stairs, they were ushered directly to the second floor (see Figure 21). Once on the second floor, there was a grand entrance to the Gallery,\(^{336}\) the pinnacle of the visitors, experience. They admired the artworks bathed in the graceful, even light from the

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\(^{336}\) The grand doorway separating the public stair and the Gallery is no longer extant.
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The walls were painted in a rich Pompeian red, as was the Library, the same color as the interior walls of the Museum and the Paint and Clay Club. Primary sources yielded several accounts of this room, most of which described “fine picture-galleries” which were “furnished luxuriously and artistically” combined to be “a unique and suitable new club-house.” The Gallery space was exactly square with chamfers cut at the four corners. This plan was praised by the principal contemporary historian Samuel Gerry, who discussed the premier hanging locations in a Gallery. In a typical gallery, the best hanging location is the center of the walls but in the Art Club building, the plan was octagonal; therefore the center of any of the eight walls was a good location. The poor hanging locations were above the doors and above the cornice line, although this was a typical problem. During large exhibitions, the Reading Room could be used as additional exhibition space. It had entrances from the members’ and public sectors

337 A possible precedent for the skylight was the Marquand Gallery. See Leo Lerman, The Museum: One Hundred Years and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), 86.
338 King, King’s How To See Boston, 1881 Edition, 118.
339 Dexter Smith, Cyclopedia: Boston and Vicinity (Boston: Cashin and Smith, Publishers, 1886), 217.
340 King, King’s How To See Boston, 1881 Edition, 118.
341 A search for possible precedents of art gallery plans that contained chamfered corners uncovered a painting by E. Meneghelli entitled “The First Home of the Museum Collections, Athenaeum Gallery, 1872” which depicted chamfered corners. Interesting was an image (made in 1921) that depicted the Louvre gallery Salle des Etats (1859) that has rectilinear corners of the gallery but with movable panels to act as chamfers. Edward Waldo Emerson, The Early Years of the Saturday Club: 1855-1870 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 184.
342 After a glance at the plan of the Gallery one can see that the room truly is square with chamfers, not octagonal, but it was interesting to understand how the Art Club artists viewed their room.
343 He was, however, specific to this room in saying that the best, the most honorable location was just past the public entrance door to the right. Unfortunately, Gerry did not explain this further, although we can suppose that this place was prized over all other because it was in first view of the public.
344 Under Gerry’s heading of the worst location was actually an incident when one artist’s work hung upside down by a non-artist on the Hanging Committee. This piece was left to hang upside down through the entire show to illustrate the gaping divide between the two club factions. Samuel Lancaster Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art (Boston: Unpublished manuscript, 1885), 47.
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of the building therefore allowing one area of the building to be closed off from the other without disruption.\textsuperscript{345}

The strength of Emerson's plan was the separation and controlled intermingling of member and public spaces. He allowed certain people access and denied others through the location and delineation of walls. "It is, in fact, the only club house in the world which combines all the advantage it affords on the one hand to the members and on the other hand to the public."\textsuperscript{346}

The exterior of the building was arguably more important to the Art Club than the organizational layout. The façades had to communicate to and with neighboring Back Bay buildings. The clubhouse bridged the gap between the institutions on Art Square and the residences of the Back Bay. This must have been a deciding factor of the resolution to choose Emerson's design.

The most important elevation of this building was at Dartmouth Street, the public façade (see Figure 29). The public entrance was pushed as far to Art Square as possible, allowing the public to step from the Square to the club's public entrance.\textsuperscript{347} The terra cotta arch of the entrance, along with the other arches on both facades, referenced Richardson's Romanesque style. The integration of these elements communicated Emerson's alliance with Richardson, who was, in the early 1880's a very popular architect in America. However, the integration of Richardson Romanesque with Queen Anne was primarily an

\textsuperscript{345} This room was also frequently used for club meetings, except when there was an ongoing exhibition, at which point the meetings were in the Dining Room. Brensinger and Owens, \textit{The Boston Art Club Building}, 10.

\textsuperscript{346} "The Art Club," \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (February 11, 1882), 4.

\textsuperscript{347} See Appendix B.
Emerson and Back Bay invention. While the Bostonians still admired Richardson's work and, in fact, Hartwell and Richardson, a firm influenced by Richardson's work, had just received the commission for the Massachusetts Normal School. Richardson's architecture already had competition from other styles. In fact, "that Emerson was commissioned to design the fashionable Art Club, while Hartwell and Richardson were commissioned by the State to design an art school to train public school teachers, indicates their relative position within Boston's architectural circles." Emerson was, of course, not only admiring Richardson's forms, but allying the Art Club building, if only in form and articulation, with the Massachusetts Normal School.

The wide Dartmouth Street façade allowed Emerson to fully describe the club's public functions through the façade articulation, a Queen Anne technique. He organized the three bays with: 1) the public entrance and services, 2) the main and widest bay, which held the Reading Room and Gallery spaces and 3) the tower or private bay. The public entrance, as stated earlier, comprised the southern-most bay. The service functions above the entrance bay were communicated through small and less ornate fenestration. The middle or hierarchical bay, separated from the others by terra cotta as vertical articulation, clearly demarked an important space. As opposed to Preston's competition entry, Emerson did not leave the Gallery's exterior a blank wall. He articulated the wall with windows: two on the Gallery floor and one distinctive half-round -- again referencing Richardson and

349 Of course, remember that all of the competition entrants have not been identified, Richardson could have entered the Art Club competition but probably did not since one article stated that the best designers from Boston and New York did not enter. R.B., "The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building," *American Architect and Building News* VII, no. 234 (June 19, 1880), 275.
350 Each of Preston's two competition entries articulated the Gallery's exterior wall differently but they both left that plane rather bare. See "William Gibbons Preston Collection – Drawings, Boston Art
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similar to the window marking the Dining Room -- on the third floor or clerestory space. The most striking visual key marking the Gallery was the terra cotta panel inset, which represented the artwork hanging in the room behind (see Figure 30). Also, there are decorative panels flanking the Gallery windows, which not only completed the localized symmetry and ascribed further importance to this room, but also explained the Gallery function in the room behind (see Figures 31, 32). The compositional organization of these elements referenced classical or Palladian designs, a common element in Queen Anne.\textsuperscript{351} This terra cotta and brickwork was said to be the largest and most high-relief “as was possible to manufacture without warping and twisting in firing.”\textsuperscript{352} These panels contained a flower motif, two panels specifically were sunflowers, a symbol of alliance to William Morris, the Pre-Raphaelites and the Bedford Park artists’ community (see Figure 33).\textsuperscript{353} The significance of this motif cannot be overstressed; through such an architectural sign, the struggling artists physically allied themselves with their English counterparts.\textsuperscript{354} This subtle


\textsuperscript{352} Harrell and Smith, Victorian Boston Today, 47.


\textsuperscript{354} Interesting but too lengthy for this discussion was the divorce of industrial and craft art. At this time and illustrated within the records of the club, there was a “growing interest in separating ‘industrial’ and ‘high’ art within the profession. In 1881, a significant demonstration of this split appeared with the erection of a pair of building: the Boston Art Club... and Mechanics Hall by W.G. Preston.” Margaret Henderson Floyd, Architectural Education and Boston: Centennial Publication of the Boston Architectural Center, 1889-1989 (Boston: Boston Architectural Center, 1989), 16.
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detail, although played down within the energetic façade, provided a visual clue to the
intentions of the club.

The last bay, the northern most bay of this façade, was marked by a hexagonal
tower element (see Figure 34). It was common to mark the junction of two important streets
with a tower. It constituted the most significant programmatic elements of the building, the
members' most important rooms. It sported two distinctive elements, the balcony and the
roof form, both of which were prominent on the exterior. The stone balcony was supported,
oddly enough, by a single (partially) engaged column (see Figure 35). This column has
been traced to Byzantine references of the New Old South Church and references in
educational architecture books but a review of books available to Emerson on such a period
yielded no such detail. The tower and its roof were quickly dubbed “bulbous” by many
authors. This element terminated the Dartmouth Street façade and also provided a clever
transition to the Newbury Street façade.

The tower effectively turned the corner to the private Newbury Street. The members'
façade was articulated with elements similar to that of Back Bay's Queen Anne residences
(see Figure 36). The entrance bay contained exterior stairs covered by a roof with a
balcony above (see Figure 39). A decorative window was situated above the balcony to

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355 In fact, it seems as though Emerson was still working through the Art Club's balcony support as
indicated with pier detail in "The Briars" (see Figure 16). Also, the form of the tower roof reemerged
in Thirlstane, Mrs. R.B. Scott Cottage, Bar Harbor, 1881-82 and again, although slightly different, in
"The Craigs," Dr. Robert Amory Cottage, Amory Hill, Bar Harbor, 1881-82. Roger G. Reed, The
Maine Summer Architecture of William R. Emerson: A Delight to All Who Know It (Portland, ME:
Maine Citizens for Historic Preservation, 1995), 38-41 and 46-49 respectively. Emerson again
experimented with a variety of dormer forms in Beau Desert, Walter S. Gurnee Cottage, Eden Street,
Bar Harbor, 1881-82 (p. 42-45).

356 Bunting suggested that Emerson's introduction of Byzantine detailing would became popular in the
architecture world of Boston and soon other architects, specifically Allen and Kenway, would use
these ideas. For more information about Byzantine revival design, see Bunting, Houses of Boston's
Back Bay, 223-25.
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signify the special function of the Dining Room. There were terra cotta details on this elevation as well, but in a smaller scale and so therefore signifying a lesser façade. For instance, similar flanking terra cotta panels described the importance of the Library. This façade's character was harmonious with this public counterpart but also consistent with the Back Bay residences. This façade was "an example of an attempt of the time to carry out country house architecture in a city building."358

The site's context was continually changing with all the new architecture in the Back Bay. At the time of the Art Club's construction, the New Old South Church was the only adjacent building. He chose not only to break the cornice line of the church building, but to design in a different style.359 This choice was reiterated by the myriad of revivals lining Art Square; Emerson did not feel the importance of maintaining the same style of any of the other buildings, save the Museum. Greta stated that:

Fronting on the grand square already surrounded by Trinity Church with its great tiled tower, the Art Museum with its broad terra-cotta bas-reliefs, the new "Old South" with its lofty campanile and Byzantine lantern, and blocks of towering [F]rench apartment-houses, and of more of the English Romanesque "squatty" the new Art Club house will be emphatically "de son temps," a monument of the sumptuous, "solid" period in which old Boston is settling down to the luxurious enjoyment of the well-earned fruits of generations of thrift, enterprise, industry and cultivation.360

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357 Also, it was reported that the tower was originally designed as one floor shorter. "Fine Art Matters," Boston Post (March 28, 1881), 3.
358 Kilham, Boston After Bulfinch, 84. Refer to the members' complained that the competition entries too closely resembling residential architecture.
359 Harrell and Smith, Victorian Boston Today. This article praised Emerson's choice not to contextualize with its only neighbor: "Although picturesque, it [the Art Club] has an all-over cohesion and horizontality which is lacking in the polychromatic and vertically oriented New Old South Church (p. 47)."
360 Greta, "The New Art Galleries – The New House of the Boston Art Club..." 30. The reference to "squatty" was combined in this article with "cozy" and "homelike" and referred to the Richardson's Rectory and Emerson's Art Club. She continued by praising the building's horizontality.
This clubhouse was Emerson's Queen Anne revival contribution to the myriad of styles on Art Square. He did, however, treat the Newbury Street façade differently with a less stylistic design.

The building's organization in plan and in section, in addition to its exterior details, had an overall design coherency while suggesting an overwhelming exuberance about art. In *The City Observed*, Donlyn Lyndon summarized the clubhouse. "It represents a heroic moment... in the development of Boston's architecture that was characterized by expansiveness, a liveliness of imagination accompanied by a great appetite for form and most especially by a capacity to see the building whole and make us feel its presence as something alive." The all-encompassing brick and terra cotta surfacing harmonized the unique and numerous façade details. The energy of these facades could be compared to that of Frank Furness' High Victorian gothic style Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art (1871-76). The Art Club building and the Academy building both energetically displayed architecture as art, philosophies as architecture and liveliness as attention. The massing of the Art Club building, however, while it is not far from rectilinear on the lower floors, it was articulated through slight planar changes and carefully positioned ornamentation to divide the large mass into coherent, scalable components. The mass referenced the building's context. For example, the Newbury Street elevation contained a gable end harmonious with Newbury Street residences. The Dartmouth Street elevation showed the structural gable

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362 Emerson's design was "fully aesthetic: materials are employed for their own effect, and a number of stylistic traditions are muted and blended." Kornwolf, "American Architecture and the Aesthetic Movement," 355.
363 For more on this building, see Brooks, *The Gothic Revival*, 344-45.
364 Ibid. Conversely, Furness' design was concerned with solidity, contrasting materials and overscaled ornament. Re
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running parallel to the street but broke that contextual continuity with a perpendicular gable to claim greater significance to this façade. Finally, the tower's dominant visual character called attention to itself, competing with the already "exuberant" facades. 366

On a side note, Emerson designed the façade of 24 Pinckney Street soon after the completion of the Art Club project (see Figure 18). 367 This project, completed in 1884, was a conversion from a carriage house to a residence in the Bohemian area around Pinckney Street. Similar theories of expressing the interior functions on the exterior were carried out fully on this façade. Here Emerson utilized different fenestration for each window opening. Lyndon observed that "William [R.] Emerson took the opportunity to reverse almost every convention that is common in the buildings of Beacon Hill." 368 The Art Club was the first Boston building for which Emerson used this technique and the house at Pinckney Street was his second and last.

The construction of the Boston Art Club Building, begun on May 6, 1881, 369 was completed only ten months later. 370 The building's budget was set via the club's 1871 charter at $85,000 and, upon the opening of the building, that budget was reportedly met. 371

365 During the competition some of the entries, Emerson's entry presumably included although not named, were criticized for their residential characteristics. R.B., "The Designs for the Boston Art-Club Building," 276. However, after the construction of the building, one member wrote: "We have located a fine building. Art is invited to make it a home" therefore praising this inference. Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art, 2.

366 Bunting, Houses of Boston's Back Bay, 235. The term "exuberant" was regularly used in describing this building in the context of Queen Anne.

367 Shand-Toci, Built in Boston, 63-65.

368 Lyndon, The City Observed: Boston, 106.

369 Proceedings..., 21.


371 See earlier footnote about the cost of the land and Brensinger and Owens' The Boston Art Club Building for the breakdown of costs which, when added together, exceed the budget allotted in the charter.
Norcross Brothers of Boston constructed the building.\textsuperscript{372} The brickwork came from M.W. Sands of North Cambridge, well known for their high quality bricks.\textsuperscript{373} Walworth Manufacturing Company installed the steam heat and J.N. Tucker installed the plumbing.\textsuperscript{374} Shreve, Crump and Low designed the lighting, with the exception of the Gallery, which was lit only by its large skylight.\textsuperscript{375} All of these fixtures and incidentals were completed in time for the opening ceremonies on March 4, 1882.\textsuperscript{376}

The opening ceremonies were a great affair publicized in many Boston and New York newspapers and periodicals.\textsuperscript{377} There were an estimated 300 to 400 people in

\textsuperscript{372} Proceedings... 21. The Norcross brothers, James Atkinson (1831-1903) and Orlandow Whitney (1839-1920), established their Boston office in 1873 at 79 Huntington Avenue. Charles S. Damrell, \textit{A Half Century of Boston's Building} (Boston: Louis P. Hager, 1895), 368; and James F. O'Gorman, "O.W. Norcross, Richardson's 'Master Builder,'" \textit{Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians} XXXII, no. 2 (May 1973), 105. This firm built many of the large budgeted projects, usually over $100,000, and high profile projects in Boston. They were a primary contractor for Richardson and built his Trinity Church. Kilham, \textit{Boston After Bulfinch}, 81. An advertisement for Norcross can be seen in Damrell, \textit{A Half Century of Boston's Building}, 115.
\textsuperscript{373} Damrell, \textit{A Half Century of Boston's Building}, 443; and Bunting, \textit{Houses of Boston's Back Bay}, 475 footnote 20. Sands' bricks were also used at the Boston Public Library. An advertisement for Sands' is in Damrell, \textit{A Half Century of Boston's Building}, 267.
\textsuperscript{374} Proceedings...  22; and in the secondary source Brensinger and Owens, \textit{The Boston Art Club Building}, 7.
\textsuperscript{375} Proceedings..., 23. These gas lights were said to be the best in Boston but were eclipsed only one year later when the nearby Hotel Vendome installed incandescent lighting. Brensinger and Owens, \textit{The Boston Art Club Building}, 11. Unfortunately for the Art Club, its building was built on the wrong edge of progress. For a period Shreve, Crump and Low advertisement see \textit{Catalogue: Special Exhibition Boston Architectural Club Exhibition} (Boston: Thomas P. Smith Printing Company, 1897), 122.
\textsuperscript{376} See the primary source Proceedings... There was an exhibition, the Twenty Fifth Annual Exhibition, in the new building before its official opening. See "The Art Club," (February 11, 1882); "The Art Club in Boston," \textit{New York Times} (February 11, 1882); "The Art Club: Opening of the Twenty Fifth Annual Exhibition," \textit{Boston Post} (February 11, 1882); "The Fine Arts: The Art Club Exhibition," \textit{Boston Post} (February 18, 1882); and "The Fine Arts: Twenty Fifth Exhibition of the Boston Art Club," (February 18, 1882).
\textsuperscript{377} "The Art Club in Boston," (February 11, 1882); "Formal Dedication of the Art Club House," \textit{Boston Post} (March 6, 1882); "The New Home of the Boston Art Club," \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (March 6, 1882); and "The Gilt Dome of Boston," \textit{New York Times} (February 19, 1882). The last source mentioned was a particularly interesting article that illustrated New York's impressions on the Art Club and its new building. The club published a catalog to commemorate the occasion: Proceedings...
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attendance, listening to speeches from the club's directors.\(^{378}\) This was an opportunity for all the members to unite, remember the original intentions of the club, assess their progress and change the future. George P. Denny, the President of the Art Club, stated, "Feeling that there should be no conflict in providing for both Art and social interests, and that it should be the Boston Art Club."\(^{379}\) He continued: "I grant that Beauty is in itself an end, but I also hold that work of Art the higher, which not only satisfies by its beauty, but also touches our hearts, and elevates our moral standard."\(^{380}\) The Art Club catalog *Proceedings at the Opening of the New Club House of the Boston Art Club, March 4, 1882* was filled with inspirational speeches intended on rallying the artists to battle against their positions in society with the great Art Club building behind them.\(^{381}\) The opening words spoken that night were:

Eternal Truth, though oft rejected,
Exists not ever unprotected:
   She finds refuge with the tuneful throng;
   She there appears in all her glory... \(^{382}\)

The artists worked very hard and lived through difficult times and finally arrived at the level of social importance illustrated by their new clubhouse. The Art Club as a group needed to

\(^{378}\) "Formal Dedication of the Art Club House," 1. The directors, of course, also praised Emerson for his design. "Mr. Emerson, our architect, has given us a building that he and we may be proud of. No illustration of his genius can so prominently be found. His originality of design and excellent tastes is second to no one, and he should received our thanks." *Proceedings...,* 22. Also, "Mr. Denny also, in behalf of the club, expressed his appreciation of the artistic skill displayed by the architect in the design and arrangement of the building, which will so favorably compare with the other numerous fine specimens of architecture in the vicinity." "The New Home of the Boston Art Club," 2. (journalist's italics).

\(^{379}\) Ibid., 37. On this day, there were really only two of the objectives of the Art Club voiced: 1) to promote the love of art and 2) to promote social interaction. "Formal Dedication of the Art Club House," 1. The third objective – to advance the knowledge of art – was omitted.

\(^{380}\) Ibid., 37. I will also reference quotes from the meeting nine years prior for the death of one of their members. S.R. Koehler and R. C. Waterston, *Report of the Proceedings at the Memorial Meeting in Honor of the Late Mr. Joseph Andrews (Engraver)* (Boston: The Boston Art Club, 1873).
The Boston Art Club Building

keep progressing with art culture, to maintain their improved station evident in the new clubhouse. 383 They needed to unite to attain this goal. 384 "Artists must therefore invent new combinations of old material and contrive to make the old look new, or better yet to discover something in style or manner which shall depart as far as possible from established usage, hitherto sacred by approval of ages." 385 This quote by Gerry compared the club to its new clubhouse. The building was a revival of an older style but made new and unique through Emerson's design process of originality and excess. The members were instructed to do the same, to explore new avenues in the art world, which might in turn become popular. "If you will conform to aesthetic rules of taste and society we will perhaps enroll your name in office, even though you don't succeed in printing it on the highest peak of fame." 386 Again Gerry was encouraging his artist members and validating the unique, different architecture of the building.

After raising a lot of money, rallying the members in unity, designing a wonderful building full of meaning in the artists' eyes, there was an unspoken but present problem

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382 This poem was read after a male choir from the Apollo Club sang Mendelssohn's "To the Sons of Art." (Author's indentation). Proceedings..., 2. See also "The New Home of the Boston Art Club," 2.

383 There was a reoccurring theme that the artists needed to look to the future and not the past to attain prominence in the art world. This obvious tendency towards past styles and techniques foreshadow the club's later difficulties. "The artist is the child of his time..." Proceedings..., 33.

384 "The Art Club," (February 11, 1882), 4. The tone of this article suggested that if unity was not an immediate reaction to this building, then the members should be patient because it would happen.

385 Gerry was complaining that all the good, new ideas about art have been claimed by other artists and that the Art Club artists should keep searching. This article was written three years after the opening of the Art Club but the author was a prominent member of the club during the building's construction. Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art, 9. Also: "it should be our aim to lead public sentiment in this direction... we should be instrumental in stimulating a taste for Art, which would develop itself in the embellishments of our private dwellings and public buildings, and in the adornments of both private and public gardens and parks. Having unparalleled natural advantages for a display of artistic taste, this city may, and should, be one of the most attractive in this country; and we ought to be animated with the ambition to do our share towards producing such results, and shall justly entitle it to be called the 'Athens of America.'" (Gerry's italics). Proceedings..., 26-27.

386 Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art, 2.
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associated with the building's construction. Artists were supposed to be poor and live in substandard conditions; this was the framework the wealthy placed many artists in and that was the framework with which the patrons felt most comfortable.\footnote{387} Gerry summarized by saying: "Art and Poverty are almost synonomous terms."\footnote{388} "Artists may go into the best society, their profession being the card of admission."\footnote{389} As indicated in Gerry's manuscript, the artists were resented for representing prosperity through their clubhouse. "It is true some Artists are not accused of making money but what is more reprehensible [than] trying to do so."\footnote{390} Maybe it was the constant connection the artists needed to maintain with their patrons that caused the patrons to dislike them so.

\footnote{387}{It is important to note that not all artists fit into this framework. There was a group of painters from the upper classes – William Merritt Chase, John Singer Sargent and others – that prospered due to their status at birth.}
\footnote{388}{Gerry, Reminiscences of the Boston Art Club and Notes on Art, 20.}
\footnote{389}{Ibid., 60.}
\footnote{390}{Ibid., 21. (Gerry's italics).}
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Figure 19: Building Section, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Figure 20: Plan: First Floor, Boston Art Club, 1882.
The Boston Art Club Building

Figure 21: Plan: Second Floor, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Third Story

Figure 22: Plan: Third Floor, Boston Art Club, 1882.
The Boston Art Club Building

Figure 23: Plan: Basement, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Figure 24: Mantel in Parlor No. 2, Boston Art Club, 1882.
Figure 25: Mantel in the Reading Room, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Figure 26: Members' Staircase, First Floor, Boston Art Club, 2000.
Figure 27: Furniture In Parlor No. 1, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Figure 28: Interior: Gallery with chamfers (after Bicycle Club addition looking into old Bicycle Club space), 1899.
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Figure 29: Exterior: Dartmouth Street façade, Boston Art Club.

Figure 30: Exterior Detail: horizontal terra cotta decorative panel in front original Gallery space, Boston Art Club, 1882.
Figure 31: Exterior: Detail of south vertical terra cotta panel at Gallery, Boston Art Club, 1882.

Figure 32: Exterior: Detail of north vertical terra cotta panel at Gallery, Boston Art Club, 1882.
Figure 33: Exterior Detail: House at Bedford Park, England, Richard Norman Shaw.

Figure 34: Dartmouth and Newbury Street facades, Boston Art Club, 2000.
Figure 35: Exterior: Detail of first floor of tower at Newbury Street, Boston Art Club, 2000.

Figure 36: Exterior: Newbury Street façade of original building, Boston Art Club, 2000.
Figure 37: Exterior: Newbury Street façade of original building, detail at first floor, Boston Art Club, 2000.

Figure 38: Newbury Street façade, J. Putnam, 277 Dartmouth Street, Boston, 1878.
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The Art Club’s Twenty-fifth Exhibition opened in its new clubhouse on February 10, 1882. This exhibition, in concert with the building’s opening, drew more visitors and more media coverage than had any other Art Club event. So many people attended that critics could not adequately view the artwork. The work of world-renowned artists Childe Hassam, John J. Enneking, William Merritt Chase, Will Low filled the Gallery. The Boston Evening Transcript noted that the Gallery was “noble and beautiful” and the building was “…altogether the finest club house in the city.” The Boston Post reported that the exhibition was “…one well worthy of Boston and its new building, and it is to be hoped that since the great prosperity of the Art Club has resulted in such fine surroundings, the prosperity of the artists themselves will receive added impulse.

The Art Club enjoyed many benefits from the attention gathered by the clubhouse. The attention led to an increase in membership and a larger and more diverse patronage. The exhibition records of the 1880s show consistent annual exhibitions and several solo exhibitions all validated by strong attendance. The club’s Library holdings were said to rival

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391 “The Art Club,” Boston Evening Transcript (February 11, 1882), 4. Also, the Boston Post noted that there were between 500 and 600 people in attendance at this special event. This source was concerned more about the women’s attire than the exhibition. “The Art Club: Opening of the Twenty Fifth Annual Exhibition,” Boston Post, 1.
392 I have been unable to locate this exhibition catalog, but the exhibitors are listed in Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh and Charles O. Vogel, The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, ).
393 “The Art Club,” (February 11, 1882), 4. This article also complimented the club for its beautiful selection of music and tropical plants. On the subject of plantings, a later book listed the ivy running up the sides of the building in the 1890s as Japanese amphilopsis Veitchii. Moses King, King’s How To See Boston: A Trustworthy Guide Book (Fifth edition, Boston: Moses King, 1895), 156. Evidently, this ivy was important enough to mention.
394 “The Art Club: Opening of the Twenty Fifth Annual Exhibition,” Boston Post, 1. Also, Birmingham stated that: “testimony to the Art Club’s stature in the community – and to its prosperity – was provided by its much publicized move... to an elegant and costly new clubhouse.” Doris A. Birmingham, “Boston’s St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists,” Archives of American Art Journal 31, no. 3 (1991), 27.
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that of the Athenaeum, and the Life Drawing School was well enrolled. The club was poised
to take advantage of the thriving art culture.

Although the Art Club and its clubhouse were well received, the reaction to the
artwork itself was disappointing. A Boston newspaper article praised the club for
incorporating both Boston and New York artists but criticized it for choosing bad work from
both cities along with the good.\textsuperscript{395} A New York newspaper agreed, and added that the
presence of New York artists does not inevitably improve a Boston show.\textsuperscript{396} Overall, the Art
Club’s exhibitions during these most public years were considered experiments.\textsuperscript{397} Showing
only American artists was still considered a daring experiment.

Subsequent exhibitions were not always well received. Praises ranged from
satisfactory exhibitions to complementing the broad range of exhibitors.\textsuperscript{398} Criticisms were
more prevalent ranging from too many New York artists,\textsuperscript{399} to poor sales, to the artwork
itself.\textsuperscript{400} Interestingly, \textit{American Architect and Building News} published exhibition

\begin{footnotes}
published much later, criticized the club: "'Boston art' is such a comprehensive term that it even
includes all the specimens yearly exhibited in the rooms of the Boston Art Club..." (journalist's italics).
“Artists and Art in Boston,” \textit{The Bostonian} 1, no. 5 (December 1894), 215.

\item[396] “Boston Art Club,” \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (January 26, 1883), 8. On the other hand, and as
stated earlier, the Art Club’s winter 1879 exhibition was criticized for having too many Boston artists’
work on display. A., “The Art-Club Exhibition - The Exhibition of Etchings at the Museum of Fine
Arts,” \textit{American Architect and Building News} V, no. 163 (February 8, 1879), 46. Meanwhile, a Boston
publication defended the club by stating that it should not be criticized for attempting to represent art
of the entire country. Elisabeth M. Herlihy, editor, \textit{Fifty Years of Boston: A Memorial Volume} (Boston:
Subcommittee on Memorial History of the Boston Tercentenary Committee, 1932), 364.

\item[397] “The Fine Arts: Twenty Fifth Exhibition of the Boston Art Club,” \textit{Boston Evening Transcript}
(February 18, 1882), 8.

\item[398] “The Art Club Exhibition,” \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (January 22, 1884), 6; and \textit{Twenty-Sixth
Exhibition of the Boston Art Club, 1882} (Mills, Knight and Company, 1882), no page number,
respectively.

\item[399] Part of the reason fewer Boston artists were represented was because more member
professionals directed the club therefore allowing more out-of-town artists to participate.

\item[400] “Boston Art Club,” \textit{Boston Evening Transcript} (January 26, 1883), 8; and “Boston Art Notes,” \textit{The
Art Interchange} XVI, no. 5 (February 27, 1886), 69. One particularly unique criticism regarded the
Twenty-sixth Exhibition in April 1882: the Art Club artists followed a tasteless fad of altering the color

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announcements for the club on a regular basis, even before the clubhouse was built, and reported extensively on the building's competition and construction, but did not reference the club at all after 1882. Also at this time the Art Club directors' decided to allow all of its members to exhibit, whether artists or professionals (non-artists). This action elicited considerable criticism from all competitors and even some supporters. Whatever the criticisms, the outcome was poor sales through most of the decade.

The Art Club was not able to further its status in New York even though it gained prominence in Boston. It did, however, improve its standing among competing social clubs in the area. It is difficult to determine where the Art Club was located in the hierarchy of Boston clubs, but there is evidence that it was considered a significant club. The arts sections of Boston newspapers mentioned many of the club's actions and notice of special events occasionally appeared on the front page.

Period guidebooks and articles discussed the club with the city's other clubs. Regardless of the club's exact ranking in Boston's culture, it was a central focal point for artists and a notable club for professionals and patrons.


401 "No Longer a Dream," Boston Sunday Globe (February 25, 1894), 28.

402 I have found no period source that located all of Boston's most important clubs in relation to the Art Club (or vice versa). It is important to remember that also gaining importance were commercial art galleries. There were as many advertisements and articles in newspapers about these galleries than about the clubs by the turn of the 1880s.

403 The Boston Evening Transcript most consistently covered the arts in Boston at this time. Art Club articles were usually in (or near) the arts section (known as "Art and Artists," "The Fine Arts," or "Art Notes"), but for special occasions the Art Club was on the front page.

404 One secondary source regarding Boston clubs neglected even to mention the Art Club. Alexander W. Williams, A Social History of the Greater Boston Clubs (Barre Publishers, 1970). Williams not only omitted the Art Club from the ranks of 'Greater Boston Clubs' but he specifically cited the four artistic clubs as the St. Botolph Club, the Tavern Club, the Club of Odd Volumes and Harvard's Signet Club (p. 6). It is unclear why Williams did not discuss the Art Club; it was probably just a grave oversight. Another much earlier text that did not list the Art Club was Complete Business Directory of Boston for 1860-61 (Boston: Damrell and Mone Printers and Bookbinders, 1861).
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The architecture of the building itself provoked renewed interest for both artists and professionals; the new clubhouse momentarily eclipsed the St. Botolph Club and the Paint and Clay Club. Soon after, however, the waning support for the Art Club encouraged the growth of the St. Botolph Club and the Paint and Clay Club. An article written in October, 1884 stated, not entirely favorably, “While the St. Botolph has flourished in every sense of the word, with its frequent brilliant receptions for celebrities visiting the city, and its numerous art exhibitions, the Art Club has succeeded mainly in outward show.” The Art Club functioned as a mentor, aiding younger art societies by opening the Gallery to outside exhibitions.

The St. Botolph Club concentrated on the high cultural aspects of art as opposed to art production like its competitors. Doris Birmingham wrote: “From its inception, the St. Botolph was to provide an ambiance where persons interested in the arts could enjoy congenial company and, if they desired, shared intellectual and aesthetic experiences.” This club encompassed Boston’s most elite patrons and most revered artists, as well as the best from the Art Club and the Paint and Clay Club. While its gallery was smaller than the

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405 Beta, “The Art Club of Boston,” Art Amateur 11, no. 5 (October 1884), 100.
408 “Its list of members includes nearly all the prominent authors, lawyers, editors, artists and musicians in the city, and many of the divines.” Beta, “The Art Club of Boston,” 102. Many members of the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts were on the Board at St. Botolph Club. Trevor J.
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Art Club's was, its exhibitions were more popular, making the member artists more successful.\footnote{Briefly in 1883-84, this club considered building a clubhouse, but the building never materialized.} Regardless, the St. Botolph Club quickly became Boston's cultural force, investing its exhibitions with the cutting edge of American and European art.

The Paint and Clay Club held its first exhibition in December 1881 and continued with yearly exhibitions through the century.\footnote{See bibliography.} Its first few exhibitions were located in its rented club rooms but, once the shows became successful, they took place in either the Art Club's gallery or the commercial art gallery Williams and Everett on Boylston Street.\footnote{The Third Annual Exhibition (1884) was at the Art Club as was the Fourth Annual exhibition (1885).} The Williams and Everett exhibition yielded the comment from The Art Interchange: "As a whole, this club's display is far superior to that of the Art Club just closed, which was nearly three times as large."\footnote{"Boston Art Notes," The Art Interchange XVI, no. 5 (February 27, 1886), 69. Also, "Rarely, indeed does so well-proportioned an exhibition appear as a result of purely local effort."} This new club, while relying on other spaces for exhibition, was considered the club for working artists in Boston, labeled by Edwin Bacon in his Bacon's Dictionary of Boston as "the most purely artistic club in the city."\footnote{Edwin M. Bacon, Bacon's Dictionary of Boston (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1886), 298.} An exhibition notice from


It is important to remember that a high percentage of its members were Boston's most prolific patrons. Regardless, this club struggled in its early years; for example, its 1882 exhibition yielded very poor sales. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," 29.

This lead was mentioned in St. Botolph Club Annual Reports of the Executive Committee to Treasurer for the Year 1881 (Boston: St. Botolph Club, 1882). It discussed the end of the club's lease and that if the club intended to build a clubhouse, the time to decide was now. Beta. "The Art Club of Boston," 102.

This type of catalogue requires further research to understand just why such a small club would print a non-serious catalogue.

Also, "Rarely, indeed does so well-proportioned an exhibition appear as a result of purely local effort."
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its winter 1886 exhibition stated: "All the good works that were wanting at the Art Club seemed to be present here."415 This was less of a social club and more of a club for selective producers of art.

Regardless of the situation of the Art Club among other Boston clubs, its clubhouse was an architectural prototype.416 It was the first building in the country built expressly for a social club of artists.417 There was, however, a social club for businessmen, the Union League Club in New York that built its own clubhouse two years before the Art Club.418

There were designs for clubhouses published before the Union League Club, but there is not evidence that these designs were carried out.419 The Union League Club held a

415 “Art Notes: The Paint and Clay Exhibition at Williams and Everett’s, Feb. 7-19,” *Boston Evening Transcript* (February 9, 1886), 4.
416 The journalist Greta noted that the Building Committee had no precedents to evaluate during the building’s design. Reportedly, the Committee even searched for precedents in public institutions without luck. Greta, "The New Art Galleries – The New House of the Boston Art Club," *The Art Amateur* V, no. 2 (July 1881), 30. Again, the Williams book contradicted many sources by stating that were only five purpose built clubhouses in Boston: the Algonquin at 217 Commonwealth Avenue by Stanford White of McKim, Mead and White in 1888, the Tennis and Racquet Club at 939 Boylston Street by J. Harleston Parker in 1902, the Harvard Club at 374 Commonwealth Avenue also by J. Harleston Parker in 1913, the Union Boat Club (which was actually just an extensive renovation) and the University Club at 426 Stuart Street. Williams, *A Social History of the Greater Boston Clubs*, 16.
418 A few clubs and chapter houses were designed before the Union League Club but there is no confirmation that these buildings were ever built. "Chicago Club, Treat and Foltz, Architects, Chicago," *American Architect and Building News* (May 6, 1876), 149 and corresponding plate; "The Allemania Club House, Cincinnati, Ohio," *American Architect and Building News*, no. 145 (October 5, 1878), pl. 145; and "Chapter House at Ann Arbor, Michigan, W.L. Benney, Architect, Chicago," *American Architect and Building News VI*, no. 209 (December 27, 1879), pl. 209.
419 These projects were for either a non-art focused club or were located in Europe. A fraternity house was designed contemporary with the Art Club design. See "Delta Psi Chapter-House, New York, New York, Mr. James Renwick, Architect, New York, New York," *American Architect and Building News*, no. 234 (June 19, 1880), pl. 234; "Sketch for a Club-House, Mr. Thomas Boyd, Architect, Pittsburg, PA," *American Architect and Building News VIII*, no. 237 (July 10, 1880); pl. 237; and "Design for a Club-House, By Mr. August Kleeves, Buffalo, N.Y.," *American Architect and Building News X*, no. 292 (July 30, 1881): 50 and pl. 292. The design for the Cuvier Club-House in Cincinnati, Ohio, (founded to work against fishing and hunting) was published in late 1881. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate a confirmation of its construction. "Cuvier Club-House, Cincinnati, O. Mr. James W. McLaughlin, Cincinnati, O.," *American Architect and Building News X*, no. 296 (August 27, 1881), 98. The Peninsular Club purchased land in 1882 for a Queen Anne style
competition and chose the Boston architect Peabody & Stearns to build a High Victorian style clubhouse. No other clubhouses had been built for any purely social club in the country. While there were artists' clubs in Europe designed at this time, there were no precedents for the Art Club's Building Committee to examine. The clubhouse as a type served as a public "ornament" and was required to communicate that identity. The building solidified the artists' role in the broader culture with comfortable, rich surroundings.


In 1879 the Union League Club invited nine architectural firms to enter a competition to design the first building in New York to be erected specifically as a clubhouse. Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montague Massengale, New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915 (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 228. Peabody and Stearns' Queen Anne entry was accepted even though the façades "were not congenial enough" however, the club members did appreciate the expression of the largest public rooms on the elevation (p. 228)." The Accepted Design for the Union League Club-House, New York, New York. Messrs. Peabody and Stearns, Architect, Boston, Mass., American Architect and Building News VI, no. 195 (September 20, 1879), pl. 195. The American Architect and Building News published some non-winning entries by McKim, Mead and Bigelow, E.E. Ralat, S.D. Hatch, G.E. Harney, West and Anderson, and Peabody and Stearns. See bibliography for citations.

The Athenaeum, which built its building in 1847, was not a social club but an intellectual one. Pamela Hoyle and Rosemary Booth, A Climate for Art: The History of the Boston Athenaeum Gallery 1827-1873 (Exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum Oct. 3-29, 1980, Boston: Thomas Todd Company, 1984), 6. While many clubs in Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Chicago had their own quarters, no other clubs had yet purpose built buildings. There were the Century Association, the Lotos Club, the Players Club, etc. in New York and the St. Botolph's Club and the Paint and Clay Club in Boston and the Philadelphia Art Club at 220 South Broad Street (Objects of Interest to Engineers and Others, In and About Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Globe Printing House, 1893), 25), but all of these clubs were still renting clubhouses.

Most significant design for a clubhouse published in American Architect and Building News at the time was the Dresden Art Club, which also held a competition in 1880. However, by its 1881 publication, the building had not yet been built. The design contained a restaurant open to members and the public and social rooms on the first floor, an exhibition/ multi-purpose room on the second floor and the kitchen in the cellar. "Artists' Club-House, Dresden, Germany. Messrs. R.W. Eltzner and A. Hauschild, Architects," American Architect and Building News X, no. 312 (December 17, 1881), 290 and pl. 312.

Stern, Gilmartin and Massengale, New York 1900, 228.
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fit for the cultural elite. Finally, an establishment for and by artists was also suitable for patrons.424

New York sources did not openly criticize the Art Club's architecture but did imply that the building did not strengthen Boston's position in America's art culture. Much of the architectural criticism was of the building's Queen Anne style. New York had long dismissed that style as a revival belonging only to England. Granted, New York clubs were not been built in the Queen Anne style primarily because they were a product of a later period. However, there is evidence that New York club members would not have been allowed the Queen Anne style to be used anyway. It is interesting to hypothesize about the style New York might have utilized had its clubhouses been built concurrently with Boston's.

There were a few *New York Times* articles that concentrated on the Boston Art Club. "The Gilt Dome of Boston" attempted to rally the Art Club artists against their restrictive Boston framework, to break away from the "cages" in which local critics contained them. Artists were encouraged to deny their patrons' tastes even if their own sales suffered. If the artists could be strong, the future of Boston's art would have hope. This journalist hoped that the Art Club artists would attempt to regain control of Boston's art culture.

Perhaps if we could tell why these statues [the bronze statues at the State House] were so poor we could get a clue to many things in the way of fashion, literature, and art in Boston which now seem more or less in a snarl. For example, here is the Boston Art Club, in which the artists have become a minority, and which places its new temple of the Muses in the thick of the structures built by individual or corporate aspirants to a vicinity with Beacon Street. The fashion-worshipers of the Club rule the roost; the artists are used

424 A sympathizer of art built the Tenth Street Studios, not organized artists. The National Academy of Design and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts were built as academic institutions with social components instead of social institutions. See Eliot Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design, 1825-1953* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). The Tile and Salmagundi Clubs were social clubs for artists but would, for their lives, rent rooms. For more information about the Tile Club see the bibliography. For a comprehensive history of the Salmagundi Club, see William Henry Shelton, *The Salmagundi Club* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1918).
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as the bait to fashion, and consider themselves slighted in the management of affairs, even such as belong to their own professions. A pretty little pickle in a pretty little building.\footnote{425}{"The Gilt Dome of Boston," \textit{New York Times} (February 19, 1882), 3.}

The article continued by stating that the club should strengthen itself by expelling the professionals (non-artists) from their ranks.\footnote{426}{Ibid.} The \textit{New York Times} article "The Art Club in Boston," however, concentrated on the building, appreciating the tower element and the expressiveness of the clubhouse but criticizing its balconies and its high relief trim.\footnote{427}{"The Art Club in Boston," \textit{New York Times} (February 11, 1882), 5.} Another article suggested that the better Boston artists abandon their clubs and move to New York. "Without comparison this is the best showing of Boston work ever made. It is, or it is not, singular that New-York is the place where Boston artists should be able to do themselves."\footnote{428}{"The Exhibition by Boston Artists," \textit{New York Times} (January 13, 1883), 5.} Inherent in these articles was an implication, a reminder that the Art Club was not of New York stature and therefore should not be judged by its superior standards. Also, New York readers should not bother travelling to Boston to see the show since it would undoubtedly travel to New York.\footnote{429}{Ibid.}

While the Art Club building was getting positive reviews from New York, its exhibition, and Boston as a center for the arts. Although the Bostonian William Howe Downes in "Boston as an Art Centre" stated that Boston is the "real art centre of the country,"\footnote{430}{William Howe Downes, "Boston as an Art Centre," \textit{New England Magazine} XXX, no. 2 (April 1904), 155. The author later contradicted himself by stating that "Boston had almost ceased to be, not only a literary but an art centre (p. 155)." Two other sources also cited Boston as supreme: George} the New Yorker Moses King took the position that New York was superior.\footnote{431}{Ibid.}
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"The Gilt Dome of Boston" accused Boston artists of trying desperately to impress New York and the world. The readers in Boston now sensed that their city was second to New York in the arts. Many New York newspapers consistently recorded Boston's faults as a city. For example, there were countless articles in the New York Times about Boston's polluted Mill Pond area as well as the difficulties of the Back Bay construction. While the members of the Art Club read these derogatory articles about their city, it would be interesting to know how deeply these articles affected the club.

The clubhouse attracted attention from most members of Boston's social elite in Boston and many clubs in New York. However, it did not accomplish the heroic tasks its builders assigned to it single-handedly. The persistent rivalry between Boston and New


A few more of the many New York articles degrading Boston are: (259) Bunn, Old England and New England; "Familiar Epigram that 'Good Bostonians, When They Die, Go To Paris,'" New York Times (July 15, 1878), 4; "Boston Artists' Studios: Why are Rents so Much Higher Than in New York," Boston Sunday Herald (June 5, 1887), 14; "What Makes Boston's Waters So Bad," New York Times (November 24, 1881), 10; and Herbert Croly, "New York as the American Metropolis," The Architectural Record XIII, no. 3 (March 1903), 193-206. The citations listed here are aside from those listed above.


It would have also been nice to know how the Art Club members predicted New York critics would rate their new building but, unfortunately, that documentation does not exist.
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York continued, even though New York was the winner in all respects. The clubhouse would maintain the position of the Art Club in Boston even on the heels of other developing art clubs. And, while the clubhouse did not nearly outshine the Museum, it defined the club's relationship to the Museum. It was physically located near and architecturally allied with the Museum.

The Art Club, however, did not maintain its association with either trendy or cutting-edge art. By the 1890s, the St. Botolph Club emerged to sustain Boston's prominence in America as an art leader by allying with the newest art movement: Impressionism. Boston Evening Transcript reported: "Boston was the first city in the United States to see an exhibition of the French Impressionists' works." The scholar Doris Birmingham stated that the St. Botolph Club was "the major center for showing avant[-]garde art in that city." This club was constantly being reported about in the 1890's. William H. Gerdts acknowledged that it "became the major center for showing avant-garde art in that city [and] provoked a storm of reaction in both Boston and New York." The St. Botolph Club, while considered the 'home of Impressionism," was, like the Art Club, also losing artists (as opposed to patrons) to the Paint and Clay Club on account of the club's lure as a working artists club. Dissimilar to its rival the Art Club, the St. Botolph Club's art contingent was quite prosperous in the 1880's and 1890's. After Impressionism, the spirit dwindled, however, and this club lost its artistic constituent.

440 The proper club man always held many membership cards.
441 By 1913 when the Armory Show traveled to Boston, it was the Copley Society that sponsored it. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," 32.
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The rise of Boston's art culture coincided with the surge of art organizations around the country. The Providence Art Club, the closest in location to the Boston Art Club, was created in the shadows of its Boston counterpart. This club, due to the secondary status of Providence, did not flourish as the Boston club did, although it proved vital for its city. Also, there were more art galleries in Boston by the 1880s and more artists' studios equipped to sell art. The Harcourt Studios and the Fenway Studios, the latter built to replace the former after a fire, functioned as an equivalent of the New York's Tenth Street Studios flourishing in New York since decades earlier.

442 “The [Providence Art Club] will aim to fill a sphere similar to that of the Boston Art Club, in its endeavors to combine and promote social and artistic interests.” “Clubs and Societies,” The American Art Review (1879-80), 270.

443 To name a few newer commercial art galleries: Doll and Richards, opened April 17, 1878 was located at 2 Park Street (“Art Store,” Boston Evening Transcript (April 17, 1878), 1; and (M.F. Sweetsir, Guide to Boston (Macullar, Parker and Company, 1883), 11), John A. Lowell and Company had a gallery by 1882 located at 70 Kilby Street (Twenty-Sixth Exhibition of the Boston Art Club, 1882, no page number) and Noyes, Cobb and Company, which may have become Noyes and Blakeslee, was located at 127 Tremont Street (Gerdt, American Impressionism, 96; and M.F. Sweetsir, Guide to Boston (Macullar, Parker and Company, 1883), 11).

444 A succession of articles called for Harcourt's replacement in the wake of the disastrous fire. See Ingrid A. Steffensen-Bruce, Marble Palaces, Temples of Art: Art Museums, Architecture, and American Culture, 1890-1930 (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1988); “Burning of the Harcourt Studios, Boston,” American Architect and Building News LXXXVI, no. 1508 (November 19, 1904); “In Speaking the Other Day of the Burning of the Harcourt Studios in Boston...” American Architect and Building News LXXXVI, no. 1513 (December 24, 1904); “Artists Decide on Studios Plan,” Boston Sunday Herald (January 5, 1905), 7; and its resolution “The Projected Fenway Studio,” Boston Evening Transcript (January 6, 1905), 2; and “Boston's Ideal Art Colony by the Fens,” Boston Sunday Globe (November 24, 1907), supp. 2, p. 11. Also, the aforementioned article eluded to an art school or studio building at 143 Dartmouth Street, although I have found no other references. The Paint and Clay Club Catalogue 1885, no page number. For a comprehensive study of artists at the Fenway Studios see Nancy Allyn Jarzombek, “Fenway Studios, The Evolution of an Artists' Community in Boston,” Fenway Studios, 1905-1939 (Boston: Vose Galleries, 1998).
Aside from the conflicts within the Art Club and with Boston rivalries this club was still growing. By 1889, the Art Club's adjacent neighbor on Newbury Street, the Bicycle Club, became defunct and the Art Club bought, renovated and appropriated its square footage. Even though the addition was not meant, like the original clubhouse construction, to reface the club, it would greatly increase the club's public and member social rooms. This less public building construction concentrated on the practical needs of the club.

The Bicycle Club built its clubhouse at 152 Newbury Street, adjacent to the Art Club in 1884. Bicycles were invented only a few decades earlier and survived, as a fad for the wealthy, until the 1890's. Unfortunately, not much is known about this club, aside from newspaper articles recording its members' achievements. In 1886, when Bainbridge

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445 There was confusion between the name 'Massachusetts Bicycle Club' and the name 'Boston Bicycle Club.' A New York Times article referred to the club as the 'Bicycle Club,' unfortunately it did not identify the club further. "Clubs Popular in Boston," New York Times (April 28, 1884), 2. The Boston Public Library Card File in the Fine Arts Department contained an uncited reference that located the Boston Bicycle Club at 87 Boylston Street and, in 1886, moved to 36 St. James Avenue, at some time changed its name to the Massachusetts Bicycle Club. This citation referenced the club on Newbury Street as the Boston Bicycle Club. Bainbridge Bunting described the Massachusetts Bicycle Club as a club different than that which built a clubhouse on Newbury Street. However, (64) believed that Bunting named the club in error. To make the issue more confusing, the Boston Evening Transcript reported in 1880 that "the Boston and Massachusetts Bicycle Clubs dedicated their new rooms at 40 Providence street [sic.] on Saturday night... The new quarters are on the ground floor of the building mentioned, and consist of a parlor, reading room, dining room, kitchen, bath and drawing rooms." "Brieflets," Boston Evening Transcript (November 22, 1880), 1. Lastly, Donlyn Lyndon referred to the club as the Boston Bicycle Club. Donlyn Lyndon, The City Observed: Boston, A Guide to the Architecture of the Hub (New York: Random House, 1982), 155. It seems as though the Boston Bicycle Club built on Newbury Street (and it may have been called the Massachusetts Bicycle Club at one time). Since I have not been able to locate a definitive text linking one or the other club to this site, I will refer to the club as the Bicycle Club.

446 John A. Kouwenhoven, Adventures of America 1857-1900: A Pictorial Record from Harper's Weekly (New York: Harper and Brothers Publisher, 1938), 216. Bicycles were controversial because their riders were blamed for many accidents with horses and pedestrians.

447 The article "Bicycle Races in Boston" cited the Boston Bicycle Club and its poor showing. "Bicycle Races in Boston," New York Times (December 8, 1878); "Bicycle Riders in Boston: Gathering of the Wheelman of the Country - Opening Contests of the Meeting," New York Times (May 29, 1881); and C.A. Underwood (The President of the Jamaica Plain Bicycle Club), Cyclists Road Book of Boston
Bunting wrote *Bacon's Dictionary of Boston*, this club had 326 active members paying a $10 entrance fee and $3 quarterly.\(^{448}\) As with the Art Club, the Bicycle Club was "the only bicycle club house in New England built expressly for that purpose; and it stands alone both in finish of the exterior and the pleasing combination of beauty and use within."\(^{449}\)

George Frederick Meacham designed the Bicycle Club building (see Figure 39).\(^{450}\)

The club's decision to locate near the prosperous Art Club and Copley Square was most likely intentional, but the club also wanted to locate near the Boston Common and the Cyclorama building, as stated in the *Cyclists Road Book of Boston and Vicinity*.\(^{451}\) This location was also close to the wealthy bicycle riders. Still, by this time, few clubs had moved into the Back Bay so it was probable that the Bicycle Club located next to the Art Club to congregate with its type. Unfortunately, little information remains about bicycle clubs in general beyond frequent articles announcing races.

Like the Art Club, the Bicycle Club had specific programmatic requirements for its clubhouse. On the first floor was the wheel room (the room to wash bicycle wheels) encompassing the entire first floor.\(^{452}\) This room was accessible from Newbury Street by a

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\(^{449}\) Ibid.


\(^{451}\) Underwood, *Cyclists Road Book of Boston and Vicinity*, no page number, before page 33. This building, as described in (19) Bacon, *Bacon's Dictionary of Boston* was a place to view panoramic paintings (pp. 125-26). Perhaps the *Cyclists Road Book of Boston and Vicinity* was referring to another building with the same name.

\(^{452}\) Bacon, *Bacon's Dictionary of Boston*, 43.
large ramp. The second floor accommodated club parlors and members, lockers. The third floor contained a gymnasium and bathrooms with a shower. The basement contained the club’s social component: a bowling alley.

The exterior was in the Gothic style. The rhythm of the façade was half bay/one bay/half bay, the middle bay articulated by an entrance portico turned bay window. This portico contained a pointed arch on the first floor, a bay window on the second floor and a series of three flush windows on the third floor ending in the steep gable. The entrance was at a lower elevation than the Art Club’s, designed to allow the members (with their bicycles) access from the street. The style of the exterior, however, did not necessarily correlate to its interior functions or the club’s philosophies. The Bicycle Club was presumably built in the Gothic revival style to harmonize with its residential neighbors and its members’ residences, even though the Gothic revival was already beginning to fall out of fashion.

The design demonstrates the preoccupation with the Victorian ideals of cleanliness and hygiene, played out on every floor of the building. Most importantly, however, was this club’s concentration on the post-Civil War’s obsession with leisure and sport, exemplified with the construction of this clubhouse. To build a building for what must have been a

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453 See Figure 39.
454 One source described the club parlors (plural) while another described them as singular and dimensioned them at 30 feet by 24 feet. E.O. Stanley, Boston and its Suburbs: A Guide Book (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888), 23; and Bacon, Bacon’s Dictionary of Boston, 43 respectively.
455 In the text attention was paid to the shower and the douche nearby along with the available hose and sprinkler. Bacon, Bacon’s Dictionary of Boston, 43.
456 Stanley, Boston and its Suburbs, 23. The proportions of the bowling alley can still be read in the Art Club building. Some possibly original low-style Gothic trim is extant in the north west, north and north east part of this room.
457 No documents from either of the bicyclists’ clubs in Boston have been uncovered in my research.
458 Bunting compared residential styles in the Back Bay from 1845-1915 and cited ‘Ruskin Gothic’ (as the only Gothic style) primarily built from 1871-1881. Bunting, Houses of Boston’s Back Bay, 173.
young club formed as the consequence of a trend, was a considerably large and expensive undertaking.

By 1889, the Bicycle Club closed its doors. Soon after, the Art Club bought the building and expanded its clubhouse (see Figure 40).\textsuperscript{459} It is not known if either Emerson, Meacham or another architect designed the alterations to the Bicycle Club building, but considerable work was done to incorporate the Gothic façade into the Queen Anne building.\textsuperscript{460} At the time, though, there was little made of the addition: "In 1884, G.F. Meacham built the... Bicycle Club next door with such fidelity to the Emerson scheme that a subsequent merge of the two buildings is practically seamless."\textsuperscript{461} The exterior alterations made to the Bicycle Club were as follows: 1) the Gothic entrance portico and bay window were removed, 2) the fenestration was redesigned as a single bay with windows similar to those of the Art Club, 3) the high gable end was made more shallow such that the slope of the gable resembled, although it did not equal, that of the Art Club Newbury Street gable, and 4) the decorative lintel of the three third floor windows was removed. The floor plan, however, proved more difficult to analyze since there exist no original textual references.\textsuperscript{462}


\textsuperscript{460} Zaitzevsky stated that the Boston Building Department has no records of this expansion. (64) Cynthia Zaitzevsky, \textit{The Architecture of William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917} (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1969), 36.

\textsuperscript{461} Lyndon, \textit{The City Observed}, 155. I believed this quote in its entirety until I luckily located a rare image of the Bicycle Club, which illustrated considerable façade alterations.

\textsuperscript{462} Since the Art Club underwent renovations in 1889, 1910, 1938 and probably 1941 (then successive owners performed more alterations) and there is little documentation regarding any of them, it is difficult to be certain of the extent of the alterations. An article in \textit{Art News} discussed the (approximately) 1941 renovation intended to allow the Grace Horne Galleries to share the building with the Art Club. "Two Galleries Join Hands," \textit{Art News} XL, no. 16 (December 1-14, 1941), 38. The most notable supposed 1889 renovations were the piercings in the firewall separating the two buildings and the raised floor in the rear (south) of the Bicycle Club building basement to equal the
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Two images of the Art Club's Gallery, taken in 1899, revealed that a considerable part of the masonry firewall once separating the two clubs was removed, allowing the Gallery to open to the second floor of the Bicycle Club building (see Figure 28).463 The extent of this renovation probably involved punching holes in the firewall for circulation where needed at every level, the Gallery expanding and the alterations on the façade. Whatever the renovations, the Art Club now contained a much larger exhibition space and more tertiary clubrooms to enhance the sociability of the Art Club members.

Renovation was not specific to this club. Many of the clubs in Boston were adding on to or renovating their quarters to accommodate members' evolving needs.464 The St. Botolph Club, for example, moved from rented rooms at 85 Boylston Street to the corner of Huntington Avenue and Exeter Street, just a few blocks from Copley and the Art Club. In 1887, the club moved again to 2 (then renumbered to 4) Newbury Street but left in 1941 (see Figure 41).465 The 2 Newbury Street address contained a restaurant, billiard room and an art gallery.466 Some Boston clubs followed the Art Club's original lead and built

elevation of the Art Club. The front (north) of the basement remained at what was probably its original elevation (as it remains today).

463 This evidence and the fact that the building, as it survives today, contains spaces in each building on the same floor level, their either the Bicycle Club was built with the same floor to floor height as the Art Club or the renovation in 1889 concentrated on that.

464 The Paint and Clay Club, however, was less fortunate. The last exhibition of this club was in 1901 with few meetings following that show. Through the 1890's the St. Botolph Club became more attractive to the few Paint and Clay Club members that could afford St. Botolph's dues. Doris A. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists," Archives of American Art Journal 31, no. 3 (1991), 34 footnote 11.


clubhouses for themselves: the Algonquin Club, 1887,\textsuperscript{467} the Elysium Club, 1890,\textsuperscript{468} and the University Club, 1892.\textsuperscript{469} Edwin Bacon stated: "Boston had become before the close of the nineteenth century preeminently a club town. With the opening of the new century the clubhouses increased in number and in splendor of appointments, and various schemes for the city's welfare together with social purpose."\textsuperscript{470} The same was true in New York; many of the most fashionable clubs found themselves outside of the new, trendy sections of the city\textsuperscript{471} without clubrooms expressive of their position in society so they built new clubhouses. The most famous of these is the Century, the institution the St. Botolph Club replicated.\textsuperscript{472} Most of the other highly fashionable social clubs also moved their quarters uptown and built their

\textsuperscript{467} This club's first purpose built clubhouse was built in 1885 by McKim, Mead and White Architects at Commonwealth Avenue. Edwin M. Bacon, \textit{The Book of Boston: Fifty Years' Recollections of the New England Metropolis} (Boston: The Book of Boston, 1916), 122. The architecture of McKim, Mead and White, along with that of Richard Morris Hunt, was seen as refreshing from the dark days of the Ruskin, Victorian and Gothic Revival post war architecture. Elisabeth M. Herlihy, editor, \textit{Fifty Years of Boston: A Memorial Volume} (Boston: Subcommittee on Memorial History of the Boston Tercentenary Committee, 1932), 340-41.

\textsuperscript{468} The Elysium Club, a Jewish social organization established in 1871, moved from its rented South End address to a rented space on Huntington Avenue in the Back Bay. Bacon, \textit{The Book of Boston}, 122.

\textsuperscript{469} The University Club, a branch of the Union Club of New York, moved into a rented building converted from a residence on Beacon Street. Bacon, \textit{The Book of Boston}, 122.


\textsuperscript{472} The Century Association had an extremely exclusive membership but always maintained its artist component through exhibitions. The highest society had to approve of artists for his work to be exhibited at the club or for the artists to be invited into the club. Annette Blaugrund, \textit{The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists} (Southampton, NY: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997), 85. As with Boston, "the necessity of such an association was more particularly felt by the artists, as the city afforded but few facilities for their frequent intercourse..." John H. Gourlie, \textit{The Origin and History of 'The Century'} (New York: William C. Bryant and Company, Printers, 1856), 5.

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clubhouses in the classical style: the Century Club, the University Club and the Union Club (not to be confused with the Union League Club discussed earlier). Like the New York social clubs that were moving uptown, Boston's counterparts moved into the Back Bay. The shift to classical architecture by the most prominent clubs illustrates the desire to express the club's identity through their architecture. "But club life, having ceased to be secret and exclusive, has lost its interest pictorially, and one club is practically as much like another as two street cars."

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473 The Century Association relocated from Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first Street (M. Christine Boyer, Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style, 1850-1900 (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 82) to 7 West Forty-third Street in 1891, the University Club moved from Madison Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street to Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street in 1894 (Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montague Massengale, New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915 (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 233), and the Union Club relocated from Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first Street to Fifth Avenue and Fifty-first Street in 1902 (pp. 233, 236), to name a few. See Mona Domosh's diagram that indicated the lesser crowded, cleaner, newer and more affluent parts of New York constantly migrated north from the 1860's to the present period. Domosh, Invented Cities, 49. Some of these clubs were also moving from rented rooms to purpose built clubhouses. These clubs were not built in the Queen Anne style.

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Figure 39: Boston Art Club with Boston Bicycle Club, 1884-89.

Figure 40: Exterior: Boston Art Club after Bicycle Club addition, 1890.
Figure 41: St. Botolph Club, 2 Newbury Street.
The prominence of Copley Square as an art center lasted for only about thirty years. In the 1880s, the Museum was a new and popular institution nourishing the city's art culture. MIT and Harvard were strong educational institutions and Trinity Church and the New Old South Church were centers of religion while the Art Club, the Normal School and the Museum School each contained teaching components. By the 1890s, social clubs (with or without art components) moved into the Back Bay to be among their most prized members, as the Art Club did ten years earlier. The Art Club, to counteract this, had recently finished a series of building campaigns. By the 1900s, the Boston Public Library construction had been completed, therefore completing the square. Art culture was at its peak at Copley, but soon that prominence would change.475

The decision that permanently changed the identity of Copley Square similarly affected the Art Club. There was so much wealth in art culture by the turn of the century that the Museum could afford to reposition itself to accommodate the changing needs of its patrons, to exert a new professionalism towards its patrons and visitors.476 Consequently, the Museum resolved to discard its Copley Square building. There were several reasons behind the decision: the area was too congested, too many tall buildings obscured the galleries' natural light, new buildings were built too close to the Museum which caused fire hazards477 and adjacent land on which to expand the building was nonexistent.478 The most

477 On November 11, 1904, the Harcourt Studios burned down. This was where the Museum's Still Life Class met and where the Museum stored many pieces of art. The memory of the fire weighed heavily on the Trustees' decision.
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important determinant was that the architecture of the Museum building was out of date.\textsuperscript{479} Even as early as 1888, critics complained that the building was in the taste of 1875.\textsuperscript{480} By 1905, directors in the Museum outwardly stated that the building was ugly.\textsuperscript{481} A contemporary \textit{Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin} stated that "This [museum] was made in England in a fashion not now in favor."\textsuperscript{482} Also from that report: "By 1888 faith in the architectural possibilities of terra cotta had waned and the Dartmouth Street and Trinity Place extensions of the building, designed by the same architect and carried out by his successors, are bare of any."\textsuperscript{483} The Bulletin continued to say: "Had this decoration [terra cotta] regained its vogue... the building might have been prized as Trinity is, or the Library."\textsuperscript{484} However, the Museum building's style did not remain or come back into fashion.

\textsuperscript{479} This point was mentioned in \textit{Marble Palaces} but discussed specifically in the \textit{Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin}. In fact, style was the first point discussed in the aforementioned bulletin. Steffensen-Bruce, \textit{Marble Palaces}, 37; and G., “The Copley Square Museum,” respectively.
\textsuperscript{480} Steffensen-Bruce, \textit{Marble Palaces}, 38.
\textsuperscript{481} Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{482} G., “The Copley Square Museum,” 14. This article inferred the foremost reason for the Museum to leave its building was its outdated architectural style.
\textsuperscript{483} Ibid. The building was designed to face Dartmouth Street, not Copley Square; but when Dartmouth Street did not become the boulevard connection to the South End, the secondary façade of St. James Avenue defaulted into primary façade. The cited date 1888 is interesting because that was when the Boston Athletic Club (Exeter Street) was constructed. This was a Gothic Revival building decorated with terra cotta. Perhaps the journalist of the aforementioned quote dated the end of terra cotta by this poorly received building. "Boston: The New Athletic-Club," \textit{American Architect and Building News} XXIII, no. 639 (March 24, 1888), 137; and “Building of the Boston Athletic Association, Exeter Street, Boston, Mass, J.H. Sturgis, Sturgis & Cabot, Successors, Architect,” \textit{American Architect and Building News} XXV, no. 693 (April 6, 1889), pl. 693. The latter source contains fascinating interior sketches of Islamic arched doorways and men enjoying themselves in the “4th Hot Room.”
\textsuperscript{484} G., “The Copley Square Museum,” 16.
It was designed decades earlier for a different people; it was designed at the upswing of art culture for the earlier generation of the new rich.\footnote{The historian Neil Harris described the old Museum building and its mission. "A Newly rich society, flamboyant, vulgar, was engages in building up a hot house culture, artificial, exotic and alien... The rulers of the American art world, the custodians of culture as they have been labeled [by John Kouwenhoven, Made in America, The Arts of Modern Civilization (Garden City, 1948) 204]], have usually been shown in a frantic attempt to construct a genteel tradition, trying to force European cultural standards on an uncouth citizenry, using the new institution they were founding as weapons in their struggle." Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," American Quarterly XIV, no. 4 (Winter 1962), 546. The American Architect and Building News featured the building design. Martin Brimmer, "The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," American Architect and Building News VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 205-06; "The Museum Building," American Architect and Building News VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 206; Arthur Rotch, "The Collections," American Architect and Building News VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 207; and Frederic Crowninshield, "The School of Drawing and Painting: Its Polity and Policy," American Architect and Building News VIII, no. 253 (October 30, 1880), 213-14; to name a few.}

On February 23, 1909, the new Beaux-Arts style Museum building, designed by Guy Lowell, opened on Huntington Avenue in the Fens (see Figure 42).\footnote{The Fenway land was purchased in 1901 and ground was broken on April 11, 1907. The Copley building was sold in June 1909 and demolished just twenty days later. Roberta A. Sheehan, Boston Museum School, A Centennial History: 1876-1976 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Boston: Boston College Department of Education, 1983), 63. In 1913, the classical, Renaissance styled Sheraton-Plaza Hotel was built in its place. Robert B. Rettig, editor, Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Contemporaries in Boston and Vicinity: 1972 Annual Tour (Philadelphia: Society of Architectural Historians, 1972), 17.} This move to the Fenway was a strategic decision to locate in the park area of the newest section of Boston. The location of the Museum in the park responded, to the City Beautiful, in part a moral reform movement.\footnote{To explain this movement: "The City Beautiful movement [was brought] to thousands of people who delighted in their bright order and the conveyed associations. As a result in scores of cities planning commissions were appointed and hundreds of new classical buildings were [built] to house museums, libraries, art galleries, courthouses, and other public institutions. Often these were clustered together in civic or cultural centers forming the terminal elements of grand new monumental boulevards." Leland M. Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 216. See also Steffensen-Bruce, Marble Palaces, 139. There is a need for a text that delves into the City Beautiful movement.} This district was already well established as the new mecca for art. It also included the Fenway Court, Simmons College, the New England Conservatory of
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Music, Symphony Hall, the new campus of Harvard Medical and Tufts Medical College.\textsuperscript{489}
The architecture of the new Museum building emulated that of museum and institutional buildings all over the country. For instance, the Met received several, among them Greco-Roman.\textsuperscript{490} The new architecture represented a new science of engineering highly attractive museums.\textsuperscript{491} The critic Frederick Coburn described the new façade: it had “logic, restraint and style. The front [wa]s thus in contrast with the highly colored Victorian façade of the present building in Copley Square, a reminiscence of the taste of 1875, when one read Ruskin and sincerely believed that an array of pointed arches and variegated stone work would reproduce the spirit of Gothic architecture.”\textsuperscript{492}

Since the Museum deemed its Copley building unsalvageable, the arts at Copley suffered. The Museum’s abandonment of an English Victorian revival style devastated the Art Club. The club shared principles with and borrowed ideology from the old Museum building. The Museum’s decision to not only renounce that style but also to raze the building and build in a classical style broke the alliance between the two art organizations.\textsuperscript{493} From 1909, the Art Club was the lone artist’s organization at Copley and its clubhouse was isolated, along with neighbors who could not afford to update their residences, in the Queen Anne style (see Figure 43). Patrons had long since stopped building in Queen Anne style; and Boston and New York clubs were only building in variations of the classical style. The

\textsuperscript{489} Frederick W. Coburn, “The New Art Museum at Boston,” \textit{International Studio} 33 (December 1907), 60.
\textsuperscript{490} Thomas Weston designed an addition in 1888 (p. 92). Richard Morris Hunt’s 1895-1902 addition designed to front Fifth Avenue at Eighty-sixth Street was considered Greco-Roman (pp. 88, 92). Lastly, McKim, Mead and White’s additions, designed 1895-1915, were classical (p. 89). Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montague Massengale, \textit{New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915} (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 92.
\textsuperscript{492} Ibid., 60.
\textsuperscript{493} Rettig, \textit{Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Contemporaries}, 17.
architecture of the Art Club, the architecture modeled after the Museum, was not only out of date but publicly rejected by Boston’s greatest art institution.

Paramount in the Art Club’s crisis and escalated by the actions of the Museum was the ever-present conflict between its artist and professional members. Artists believed they should control the daily operations of the club since it was a club for artists. Professionals believed that artists could not adequately run any organization; the professionals were much more competent to manage a social organization. While this power struggle had been relentless since the professionals joined the club in the 1870s, it exploded at this time. The Art Club had long since lost prominence to the Museum. It was no longer the only artists’ club in Boston; it had lost power to the St. Botolph Club and the Paint and Clay Club. Also, the St. Botolph Club had stepped into the role of the more progressive club through housing the Impressionist movement in Boston. No longer was the club concerned about its image with the eyes of New York; it was now concerned with keeping afloat.

There were two more attempts to reposition the club within the context of Boston’s art culture. Twice the Art Club expanded and renovated its quarters in the attempt to follow fashion, although both of these building campaigns seemed to be about maintenance rather than fashion. In 1910, the Art Club renovated its building again and the journalist Ralph Davoll captured the construction.

494 The division between artists and professionals became more apparent when the annual Constitutions and By-Laws categorized the members into the two camps. According to my research (Unfortunately, I could not access all years of the club’s Constitution and By-Laws), this began in 1912. See Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club, Boston, 1912.
495 Few resources have been uncovered about these renovations, but there are indications that the campaigns were about routine maintenance and updates as opposed to drastic changes. However, the 1910 renovation seemed to include a considerable amount of new furniture. An add for the Paine Furniture Company located adjacent to an article on the Art Club read as such: “Boston stands for inspiring things in American Art. [In] the country the custodian... of art in Boston, is the Boston Art Club. It is not without significance that, with the whole country to choose from for the furnishings of the beautiful new addition to its clubhouse, the Boston Art Club selected the Paine furniture Company.
"The new era, now inaugurated, changes the spirit of the Art Club, and places it on a new footing with splendid accommodations for social intercourse. The changes include an additional story to the building in which a modern, well-lighted, well-ventilated gallery is placed, containing a portable stage for platform entertainments. There are seventeen bedrooms papered in old-fashioned style; a large richly appointed gentlemen's dining-room; an exquisite ladies' and several private dining-rooms, elevator, card-room; and every facility for making this the most desirable club in Boston. The dining-room is furnished entirely in mahogany; the silver and glassware were designated for the club and bear its monogram. The accommodations for the women of the members' families are especially serviceable and appreciated. The cuisine is in charge of a distinguished chef, Emil Bangratz. The location at Copley Square is the most desirable in town; the lodging rooms and sanitary appointments of latest pattern; the table to satisfy the most exacting connoisseur at very reasonable rates, (the table-d'hote luncheons and dinners on Thursday and Saturday have orchestral accompaniment); the long-accumulating library and multitude of periodicals; the billiard and game rooms; the Sunday concerts and Saturday evening entertainments; the magnificent assemblage of paintings upon the walls, added to the nimbus of artistic aspiration which hovers over the Club, makes it one of the most attractive in the country." 

This quote, unlike the rest, contained no references to a unique club for artists, to the organization the Art Club once was. With these renovations came the establishment for furniture, rugs, draperies and interior decoration. "Art in Furniture and the Boston Art Club," Boston Post (March 30, 1910), 5.

While more research is needed regarding the specifics of this renovation, the Art Club's estate value was amended February 4, 1910. Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club, 1912, 2.

Ralph Davoll, "The Boston Art Club," The New England Magazine (January 1911), 435. I am grateful for this source, one of few uncovered that detailed this renovation. To clarify, the original Gallery in the original building was divided vertically with a new floor at the level of the catwalk connector to the service spaces, therefore doubling the gallery space in plan. The chamfered corners in the original Gallery are still evident today through a slight change in flooring. The original wainscot was removed, probably during this renovation, and replaced with a contemporary design. The skylight that lit the original Gallery remains, but now lights the new upper gallery space (although the current owners have hung an acoustical tile ceiling). These upper additions are still evident on the exterior at the north side. While women were still not allowed to be members, although some had been given the title of honorary member for short period of time, this renovation established a Ladies Department. The elevator in the northwest corner of the original building was installed at this time and still exists in working order. Davoll also discussed a kitchen and buffet but did not locate the rooms. These were probably installed in the basement of the old Bicycle Club building, moved from the fourth floor of the original Art Club, as they exist today. Unfortunately I have been unable to procure construction drawings of building plans for this time period so I am unable to completely distinguish these changes from those that have come since.
of the Art Club as an almost purely social club. A Boston Post article described the renovation. "Whereas the Art Club was formerly devoted solely to the study of the technicalities or art, it is now also a social club, with dining rooms, card rooms, and all the equipments of an up-to-date clubhouse." At this time, there were only 60 artist members and "those in charge of the alterations had to be very careful about offending artistic taste." Even though there were few artists left, the timeless friction between the members was still present. There was also a Ladies Department established which utilized its own entrance, probably the Newbury Street entrance, formerly designated for artists and members, since it was the least public. This change rejected the artist philosophers, therefore causing artists to quit the club. These changes are most evident in the lack of newspaper and periodical articles in art publications after the turn of the century.

The Gallery saw the most alterations in this renovation. It was divided into at least four rooms: two smaller galleries on the Dartmouth Street façade, separated by a party wall with a large door connecting them, a hallway linking the members' side and the public's side of the building and an interior room with windows opening to the hallway. The wood trim in the two smaller gallery spaces is very interesting: one room utilized a variation of the original trim and the other (the south room) contained

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498 Charles O. Vogel, "History of the Boston Art Club, 1854-1950," The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991), 11. The structure of the club shifted to reflect this change. There was now an Exhibition and Entertainment Committee as opposed to the Hanging Committee. Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Art Club, 1912, 21. The entrance fee was increased to $50 with non-residents and artists only responsible for $25 or an original piece of artwork (p. 26). Also, there was a limit to resident members established at 500, probably as an attempt to make the club more exclusive (p. 9).

499 "Show Renovated Home Tonight," Boston Post (March 30, 1910), 5. This account reported the renovation cost $50,000.
Greek Revival engaged pilasters, perhaps to transform a room in the Queen Anne clubhouse into a classical room (see Figures 44, 45). These pilasters are the lone evidence of another attempt of the Art Club to identify itself, this time with classical detailing similar to many Boston and New York clubs. While the public still had to enter a Queen Anne style building, they could enjoy exhibitions in a classical style gallery.

The Art Club barely survived for the next thirty years. Membership declined and there were further difficulties between the members. Poor exhibition attendance and difficulty selling basically removed the Art Club from Boston's social scene. In 1930, the club took out a mortgage to pay its creditors and purchase more artwork but again this repositioning did not revitalize the group. By the end of the 1940s the Art Club was in dire financial straits. Its financial problems culminated in relocation to the top two floors and leasing the first and second floors. The organization remained there for only a few years, until it incurred relatively small debts for social functions.

These debts, along with a meager membership and a public interested in other clubs, institutions and commercial art galleries, were impossible for the Art Club to reconcile. The once great Boston Art Club, the once flourishing organization of prominent artists, patrons and professionals, the society which built a grand

500 "A special feature of the renovated Art Club is the new reception and dining rooms for ladies. The ladies have a special entrance to the clubhouse, of which a special part has been set off with all the equipments of a woman's club." "Show Renovated Home Tonight," 5.
502 Ibid., 23. These rooms were leased to Joseph's Cocktail Lounge.
503 For a detailed account of the financial downfall of the club see Brensinger and Owens, The Boston Art Club Building, 22-23.
building in the style of the day, was forced into bankruptcy over a mere $1000. The actual date of the end of the Art Club is unknown, probably 1950. The building itself was sold at public auction on September 20, 1950 to the Bryant and Stratton Business School. Although the Business School stayed here for about thirty years it did not publicize its existence in this building. Bryant and Stratton sold the building March 4, 1970 to the Boston Facilities Commission, which converted it into the Copley Square High School, now known as the Muriel S. Snowden International School at Copley.

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504 Ibid., 23.
506 Brensinger and Owens, The Boston Art Club Building, 23.
507 In Bryant and Stratton’s primary history, there are no images of the building or even mentions of the school’s habitation at the old Art Club building.
508 Brensinger and Owens, The Boston Art Club Building, 23. I am happy to report that the building itself is fairing well with high school students and the city has made relatively minor alterations and renovations.
Figure 42: Guy Lowell, Museum of Fine Arts, Huntington Avenue, Fenway, 1909.

Figure 43: Boston Art Club, 2000.
Figure 44: Interior: South half of Gallery after 1910 renovation, Boston Art Club, 2000.

Figure 45: Interior: South half of Gallery after 1910 renovation, east wall, Boston Art Club, 2000.
The end of the Art Club might have been foreshadowed in the end of Bicycle Club. The Bicycle Club organized and purpose built its clubhouse for Boston's wealthy to enjoy the leisure sport of bicycling similarly the Art Club constructed its clubhouse for artists and patrons to enjoy, discuss and purchase art. The Bicycle Club building was designed in the Gothic revival style but on the trailing edge of that style, again similar to the Art Club. Only a few years after the Bicycle Club's construction, bicycles began to fall out of high fashion and the club probably could not maintain its membership. Also, many members were joining the newly opened athletic clubs in the city. The Bicycle Club lasted only five years in its fine clubhouse; the larger and more developed Art Club quickly engulfed it. The building was appropriated into the Art Club and all remnants of the building's Gothic revival identity were removed in order for the building to conform to the architecture of its new affiliation.

The removal of these architectural elements symbolized actions the Art Club should have taken with its own building, updates or revisions it should have made in the 1890s when local and New York clubs were transforming their identities into classical organizations through architecture. The Bicycle Club, built in a waning style, located near (in this case adjacent to) a similar type building, failed for reasons having to do with fashion and trends, and its building was enveloped by a superior institution. The Art Club's experience was similar. It was established in a culture of emerging prosperity, formalized its identity through architecture, using a current yet waning style, and rode the wave of fame. After the clubhouse was built, the Art Club was not outwardly or significantly concerned with maintaining its identity at the forefront of the arts. It only slightly and silently adapted to the
changing needs of its artists and patrons, thereby losing members and visitors to organizations that were new or adapting to the shifting needs of society.

Also, the Art Club specifically symbolized the ideals of the artists in the 1870s and the 1880s. This was an important idea; Emerson’s building expounded on the philosophies of the club and its members. The members whole-heartedly believed that the soul’s elevation by art would improve the artist’s position. This intention, at least for a moment, was realized. However, the architecture was not able to communicate the changing ideals, the shifting principles of the modern world at the turn of the century. While most Boston and New York social clubs updated their identities through either changing locations or purpose building clubhouses in the fashionable classical, Renaissance or colonial revival styles, the Art Club merely renovated one of its galleries into the classical style. It did not alter its Queen Anne style façade, the style modeled after the vernacular styles of the poor. In the 1890s, high fashion shifted from the Queen Anne – which represented the wealthy rejecting modernity – to the Classical – which symbolized modernity rejecting it. In an age of revivals, paradoxically, the newest revival was of the oldest style and it was the elasticity of this style, the classical, that represented staid ideals and progress simultaneously. The classical style represented a new way of looking at modernity: a clean, hygienic, ordered, political, intellectual concept of the new industrialized world as opposed to the revival and resentment of modernity exemplified in the Queen Anne. In a world ruled by trends, changeable philosophies and Gilded Age social clubs redefining themselves through the classical ideals, the Art Club and its building were not flexible enough to adapt.

This analysis should not be misconstrued as sympathetic or pitiful. The Art Club chose Emerson’s design from many Renaissance, Gothic revival and Queen Anne entries. Emerson’s design exemplified the club’s theories and attracted a high proportion of attention
through its design and opening. Most of all, he designed a building that adequately represented the club and fulfilled the need for a medium between artists and patrons. It would be unreasonable to charge the fate of the club on this architect. In fact, it would be unfair to blame the fate of the club on the building. The fact that the building remained virtually unchanged (to the casual observer) for its life, however, was a factor in the club’s downfall. Again, in a world that relied so heavily on fashion, social clubs had to adjust their identities, and the Art Club, past the construction of its building, did not. The alliance with the Museum building unquestionably wounded the club when the Museum renounced its Ruskinian Gothic style building. The Museum’s exodus to the Fenway left the Art Club allied with forsaken architecture. Clubs across America abandoned 1880s styles for classical architecture while the Art Club refused to do so and therefore remained bound. In comparing the evolution of Boston clubs and the evolution of the Art Club, the building’s architecture stands out as dissimilar. The concentration on the architecture of the building should not minimize the importance of the social conflicts present within the organization; these conflicts clearly played a commanding role in the demise of the club by compromising its identity.

Emerson should be remembered for the Art Club building as it was received in 1882, not as it was rejected in 1909, renovated in 1910, 1938 and 1941, and abandoned in 1950. He designed a building for an 1880s club, but the building had little ability to transform into the styles of later decades. Regardless, Emerson did attempt, through this building, to define a clubhouse for artists. The Art Club building should be appraised light of the fact that it was Emerson’s almost singular urban building project. However, through evaluating

509 At first glance, the straightforward architectural alliance with England may also have hurt the club, but there were Arts and Crafts societies in Boston and America into the 1910s.
A Look Back

concurrent residential projects it is apparent that Emerson visualized this project as a continuation of his residential Queen Anne explorations. This thesis project has proved to be an interesting look into the creation of a prototype by an architect foreign to the design of clubs.

There is a great significance in this building's existence in the world of architecture. It was the first purpose built clubhouse for a social club of artists in the country. This building was the second purpose built clubhouse in America, second to the Union League Club (which does not appear to be a precedent). There were other art clubhouses being designed and published, but none were built. The Art Club building defined architecture for art clubs: Emerson explored the precept that the clubhouse should describe the identity of the club. This placed an architectural representation of the club's philosophies. While many clubs before the Art Club accomplished this task through renting space, the Art Club made its declaration through something much more permanent, and much more difficult to modify later. Although there is no explicit documentation, this building design was well reported in the American media, so it is conceivable that other organizations looked to this building as a precedent.

It was not the architecture of the building that single-handedly closed the club, nor was it the alliance with the Museum or the strife between the members, but rather something in between. Had the Queen Anne style come back into fashion, or had this architecture come to stand for something acceptable, the architecture and the Art Club might have been

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510 While I have not found these clubhouses built prior to the Art Club outside of America, sources that might yield this information are more difficult to procure so I will not make assumptions about a possible European or eastern precedent.
reborn. Had the Museum remained in its building and not renounced its style but continued to flourish at Copley Square, the Art Club would have been able to retain its alliance, if not its stature. Lastly, had the artists and the professionals been able to reconcile their differences, the club might have been more able to adapt to the changing needs of both camps.

This club and its building functioned as an important component to Boston's art culture: its establishment, its prominence, its culmination, its representative architecture and its downfall. The Art Club began, flourished, and died yet its architectural identity as represented by the clubhouse, was created through a flurry of attention, prospered for a decade then fell out of fashion and notice. The Boston Art Club as an architectural case study is unique because the entire life cycle is apparent. There were many actions the Art Club could have taken to maintain its standing among Boston's art culture, many of which focused on its clubhouse. In 1950, within forty years of the Museum's exodus and through several struggles the Art Club closed its doors, ending a chapter that began with the need for art in Boston, that thrived within the culture of the Gilded Age and that sank from the changing trends in art culture, society and architecture.

511 The Queen Anne style Hope Club building in Providence, for instance, is a draw to the members now, in the twenty-first century.
512 I could continue the evaluation using the building in its current life as a high school.
Appendix A: Map of Boston

Map of Boston: Selected Art Significant Locations 1854-1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTION OR STUDIO</th>
<th>ADDRESS IN BOSTON</th>
<th>KEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selected Art Institutions:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenaeum</td>
<td>10-1/2 Beacon Street</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, 1876-1909</td>
<td>Dartmouth Street &amp; St. James Avenue</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Art Club, 1870-81</td>
<td>64 Boylston Street</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Botolph Club, 1880-86</td>
<td>85 Boylston Street</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paint and Clay Club</td>
<td>419 Washington Street</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Art Club, 1882-1950</td>
<td>Dartmouth &amp; Newbury Streets</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Botolph Club, 1887</td>
<td>2 Newbury Street</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, 1909</td>
<td>465 Huntington Avenue</td>
<td>off map</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commercial Art Galleries, mid to late 1800s:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.A. Childs &amp; Company</td>
<td>352 Washington Street</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll &amp; Richards</td>
<td>2 Park Street</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Eastman Chase</td>
<td>7 Hamilton Place</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F. Cabot &amp; Brother</td>
<td>89 Sudbury Street</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. Lowell &amp; Company</td>
<td>70 Kilby Street</td>
<td>12 off map</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, McDuffee &amp; Stratton</td>
<td>Federal &amp; Franklin Streets</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard &amp; Company</td>
<td>48 Bromfield Street</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noyes &amp; Blakeslee</td>
<td>127 Tremont Street</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Kimball &amp; Company</td>
<td>9 Park Street</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams &amp; Everett</td>
<td>Boylston Street</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

513 Dates listed throughout Appendix A are select at best, not enough information was available, nor would the scope of this thesis allow in depth research exploring each institution or person's locations through the years.
Appendix A: Map of Boston

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTION OR STUDIO</th>
<th>ADDRESS IN BOSTON</th>
<th>KEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Selected Boston Art Club Members, 1878:

Atwood, Gilbert          28 School Street  18
Enneking, John J.        149A Tremont Street 19
Halsall, William F.      154 Tremont Street 20
Ordway, Alfred           Studio Building  off map
Pierce, C.F.             12 West Street    21
Rogers, F.W.             419 Washington Street  5
Stone, J.M.              Kneeland & Washington Streets 22
Vinton, Frederick P.     1 Park Square     23

Selected Boston Art Club Members,* 1884:

Atwood, K.C.             3 Hamilton Place  24
Bailey, R.M., Jr.        26 Pemberton Square 25
Brown, Miss Nellie       Studio Building  off map
Hale, Mrs. Ellen Day     98 Boylston Street  26
Halsall, W.F.            154 Tremont Street 20
Hassam, F. Childe        154 Tremont Street 20
Hill, Edward             12 West Street    21
Mills, Charles E.        Music Hall Building ?
Pierce, H. Winthrop      28 Studio Building  off map
Pierce, Charles F.       12 West Street    21
Rotch, Arthur            3 Commonwealth Avenue 27
Snell, George            37 Studio Building  off map
Stuard, H.E.             3 Hamilton Place  24
Taylor, W.L.             3 Park Street     2
Triscott, S.P.R.         3 Winter Street    28
Turner, Charles H.       12 West Street    21

*Women were not members of the Art Club in 1884, but some were listed in this catalog. Most of the women's addresses hint that they were primarily of the elite class.
Appendix A: Map of Boston

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTION OR STUDIO</th>
<th>ADDRESS IN BOSTON</th>
<th>KEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turner, Ross</td>
<td>Music Hall Building</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underwood, George L.</td>
<td>643 Tremont Street</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von Hillern, Mrs. Bertha</td>
<td>Hotel Vendome</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wainewright, T.F.</td>
<td>206 Dartmouth Street</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the approximately 125 members (presumably artists) listed in this source, about 45% were practicing in New York City or the surrounding area, 40% in Boston, 15% in London, Baltimore, Cleveland, Paris, Chicago, Connecticut, 10% outside of Boston, 10% in Philadelphia and 5% in Providence.

The above information was found in: *Boston Art Club Thirtieth Exhibition Water Colors April 1884* (Boston: Press of Mills, Knight and Company), no page numbers.

**Selected Architects' Offices:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Address and Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chandler, Francis W., 1904</td>
<td>MIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fehmer, Carl, 1904</td>
<td>87 Milk Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston, W.G., 1904</td>
<td>186 Devonshire Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, William Ralph, no date</td>
<td>23 Studio Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, William Ralph, 1885, 1887</td>
<td>5 Pemberton Square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, William Ralph, 1904</td>
<td>131 Tremont Street</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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515 Ibid.
516 Ibid.
518 The following source listed Emerson at this address in 1885: Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, Inc., 1970), 198. The following source listed Emerson at this address in 1887: *Constitution and By-Laws of the Boston Society of Architects* (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1887).
Appendix A: Map of Boston

MAP OF BOSTON, 1903
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST FLOOR</th>
<th>Private Vestibule</th>
<th>Private Hall</th>
<th>Parlor No. 2</th>
<th>Parlor No. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WALL COLOR</td>
<td>Light blue (A:8)</td>
<td>&quot;Creamy maize yellow (A:8)</td>
<td>Olive (A:9) light olive green (C:2)</td>
<td>Chocolate with some purple (A:9), (C:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blue frieze (A:9), (C:2)</td>
<td>Cherry (A:9), (C:2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLOOR</td>
<td>Polished oak with cherry border (A:8)</td>
<td>Carpet, similar to Parlor 1 (A:9)</td>
<td>&quot;Subdued&quot; (C:2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIREPLACE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar to Parlor No. 1 but ornamental mantel inscription: &quot;Via Brevis, Ars Longa (A:9&quot;</td>
<td>Cherry mantel, Chelsea ironwork (A:9), (C:2): Magee Foundry with low relief and low tiles (C:2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td>Peacock blue (A:9), (C:2)</td>
<td>Red (A:9), Reddish upholstered (C:2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>Draperies by Henry A. Turner &amp; Co. (A:9), Simple, brass gas fixtures (C:2)</td>
<td>Bright yellow frieze and drapes by Bigelow &amp; DeSaptes (A:9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST FLOOR</td>
<td>Public Hall</td>
<td>Reading Room</td>
<td>SECOND FLOOR</td>
<td>Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALL COLOR</td>
<td>Light gray (A:8)</td>
<td>Yellow (C:2)</td>
<td>WALL COLOR</td>
<td>Pompeian Red (A:10), (C:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIM</td>
<td>Cherry (C:2)</td>
<td>TRIM</td>
<td>Black walnut (A:10), (C:2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLOOR</td>
<td>Oak (C:2)</td>
<td>FLOOR</td>
<td>Maple (B:14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIREPLACE</td>
<td>Ohio sandstone, mantel: richly stained oak which looks old, over-mantel: carved to the ceiling (C:2)</td>
<td>FIREPLACE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td>Dull green, leather by A.H. Davenport (A:9)</td>
<td>Leather, dull green (C:2)</td>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td>Green plush, Bigelow &amp; DeSaptes (A:10), Subdued, green plush (C:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>Bright yellow frieze (A:9)</td>
<td>Ceiling: Oak paneled (C:2)</td>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>Subdued hangings (C:2). Had over 1000 books and periodicals by 1900 (B:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD FLOOR</td>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>BASEMENT</td>
<td>Artist's Room</td>
<td>Billiard Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALL COLOR</td>
<td></td>
<td>WALL COLOR</td>
<td>&quot;Warm drabs and grays (A:10)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Warm drabs and grays (A:10)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIM</td>
<td>Oak (A:10), mahogany (B:14)</td>
<td>TRIM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLOOR</td>
<td></td>
<td>FLOOR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIREPLACE</td>
<td></td>
<td>FIREPLACE</td>
<td>Oak (A:10)</td>
<td>Oak (A:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td></td>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>Entire room in mahogany and silver and glassware designed with Club’s monogram 1911 (B:14)</td>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Descriptions of Boston Art Club Interiors

Source Key

A

B

C

D

Only the rooms discussed in the sources above (the only sources available) are listed here.
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New Old South Church and Boston Art Club during construction, from *Back Bay Churches and Public Buildings* (Boston: The Bostonian Society, 1967), no page number.

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7
William Gibbons Preston’s competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition, Reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.

8
Plan: First Floor, William Gibbons Preston’s competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition, Reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.

9
Plan: Second Floor, William Gibbons Preston’s competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition, Reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.

10
Plan: Third Floor, William Gibbons Preston’s competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition, Reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.

11
Plan: Basement, William Gibbons Preston’s competition entry for the Boston Art Club competition, Reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.
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Members’ Staircase, First Floor, Boston Art Club, photograph by Michelle Hoeffler, 2000.

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St. Botolph Club, 2 Newbury Street, from Frederick Pope, Some Prominent Buildings in the Newer Boston (Boston: Copley Square Hotel, 1903), no page number.
42

43

44

45
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