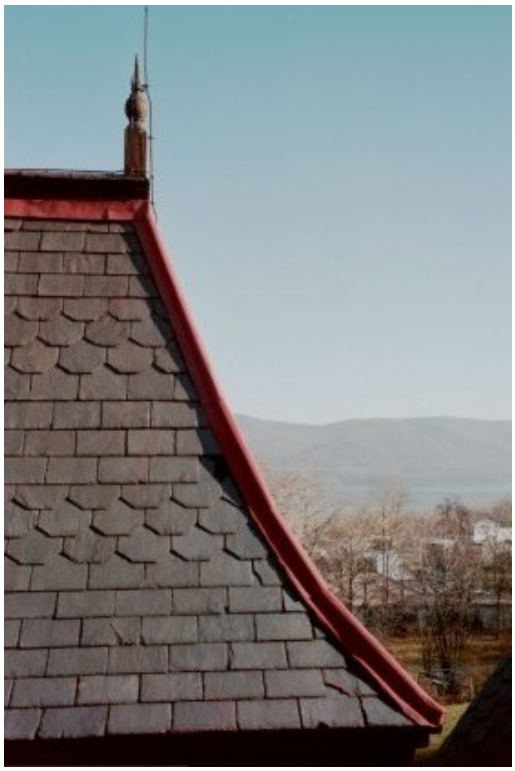
"A Cottage in the Rhine Style": A Downing and Vaux Residential Design in New Windsor, New York



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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts of the City College
of the City University of New York

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April 2003

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1. Introduction

Obscured by trees and newer houses, the residence at 145 Quassaick Avenue in New Windsor, New York, is a "country seat" more than a century and a half old. Built for a leading U.S. author by an equally prominent architectural firm, this residence is remarkable not so much for form or function, or for its role in conferring fame upon either the residents or the architects. Rather, it owes its noteworthiness to its continued, quiet existence tucked into the picturesque Quassaick Valley on a hill above the Hudson River. Despite the renown surrounding its construction, and more recent scholarly interest in its architects, an outline of the residence's history is known only in the smallest circles. Its latter-day occupants have not been encumbered by the strictures of living in a historic structure--or even aware that they are doing so--and the house has not been the subject of extensive historical study.

This paper aims to begin to correct that last point by examining the original owners of the house, the possible motivations and goals of their commission, the architects they engaged, the completed property, its influence, and subsequent modifications to the estate. Because the principals in this story were such well-known figures, and

because their beloved Hudson Valley was seen as the epitome of what was great about the young country, it is my hope that this work also provides an interesting window into mid-nineteenth century America.

2. Joel Tyler Headley

Figure 1: Joel Tyler Headley. Ruttenber and Clark, History of Orange County, opp. 360.

Joel Tyler Headley (1813-1897), who would grow up to commission the house at the heart of this study, was born in the town of Walton, Delaware County, New York.[1] He was descended on both sides from families who had been in America since colonial days, and his grandfather served in the Revolutionary War.[2] Growing up with his six brothers and sisters in this "wild and romantic spot on the banks of the Delaware," "picturesquely situated in a valley, hemmed in by sparkling streams and surrounded by bold mountains," Headley came to have a deep love of nature, and particularly of mountainous scenery.[3]

The son of a clergyman, Headley graduated from Union

College in 1839 and then studied theology at Auburn Theological Seminary, both in upstate New York. Ordained a minister, he accepted an assignment in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, until ill health caused him to leave his post. To recuperate, he went to Europe, and here he found his new avocation: writing with an eye toward nature and history. As explained by the Rev. W. K. Hall years later at Headley's memorial (1897), "The strong literary spirit which was characteristic of his family and which is so often found in the quiet, staid family life of New England, began to assert itself with vigor as he found himself amid the historic scenes of the world with which his reading had made him familiar. The mountains and rivers and valleys, nature's robe of majesty and beauty, upon which the eyes of his childhood had daily looked, appealed powerfully to his imagination, a gift with which he was royally endowed." His first publications were letters about his travels sent to the New York Tribune, where they found an appreciative readership, and his first two books, Italy and the Italians (1844) and The Alps and the Rhine (1845), assembled the pieces from that time.[4]

Headley returned to America in 1844 still seeking to improve his poor health. Rather than resuming his clerical position, he continued writing, accepting an associate

editorship under Horace Greeley at the Tribune in 1846 and also publishing books, including such popular military histories as Napoleon and His Marshals (2 vols., 1846) and Washington and His Generals (2 vols., 1847). However, finding the "steady, unceasing, daily pressure and close confinement of [editorial work at the Tribune] not congenial to his restless impatient temperament . . . to authorship he gave himself exclusively" starting in 1847.[5]

In this field he was extremely successful. Washington and His Generals and numerous subsequent Headley volumes formed the financial base of the nascent Scribner publishing house. As early as 1849, he was "beyond a question, at this time, the most popular of American authors."[6] By 1853, 200,000 copies of his books had been sold, earning some $40,000 for the author, and by 1866, Headley's Washington was one of the five secular books most likely to be owned by U.S. families.[7] Writing in 1864, a New York Times reviewer noted, "the statistics of publication place Mr. Headley, beyond all controversy, in the proud position of the most popular author in America--the writer whose works have been most largely bought and most widely circulated among his countrymen. . . . Half a million volumes of Mr. Headley's book have found a market here. . . . They have struck a chord that finds its

response in the breasts and heads of the American people, and their author may well be proud of the audience he commands sway at will."[8] At his death in 1897, the obituary in the World ranked him third or fourth in all-time popularity among writers in the "American school of romantic historians."[9]

Along with historical works, Headley continued to write travel narratives. Another bout of ill health, manifest as "an unsteady and unusable brain," brought him to the Adirondacks several times in the 1840s, and the area became the subject of his 1849 work The Adirondack, or, Life in the Woods.[10] In this book, he extends his romantic prose to nature, enlivening for Americans their little-known wilderness in northern New York.[11] Like many contemporary writers and thinkers, including the architect Andrew Jackson Downing, Headley divides scenery into the beautiful and the sublime or picturesque, with his personal preference being the more gentle, soothing, beautiful landscapes.[12]

In Adirondack as well as Sketches and Rambles (Baker and Scribner, 1850), a book of essays about his European travels, Headley explicitly states his distaste for cities. In keeping with his romantic worldview, he found the city of Paris crowded and unhealthy: "It has always seemed to me

that it was impossible to elevate our race so long as it would crowd into vast cities. . . . God has spread out the earth to be inhabited and has not rolled the mounts into ridges along its bosom, and channeled it with magnificent rivers, and covered it with verdure, and fanned it with healthful breezes, to have man shut himself up in city walls, and bury himself in dirty cellars and stagnant alleys."[13]

Opinions like these, along with Headley's rosy view of American history, would form the basis for his successful political campaigns on the nativist Know-Nothing platform. In the 1854 election, as Know-Nothing politicos on the Whig ticket came close to winning control of New York State, Headley was elected to represent Orange County in the New York Assembly. The following year he ran for and won a three-year term as New York secretary of state on the American ticket.[14] Although there was talk of his seeking reelection, he chose not to "wholly from private reasons and not that my love of the American Party and its principles is diminished, nor from a want of confidence in their success."[15]

Yet, despite Headley's great productivity and his books' popularity, they were not generally well regarded by the critics. After noting Headley's high ranking among

authors of the day, for example, the World obituary continues:

> These authors [in the American school of romantic historians, including Headley] reared upon slender foundation of fact lofty and glittering structures of fancy that dazzled the eager eyes of youth. They believe in heroes and heroic days. They omitted, perverted, or created facts with amiable unscrupulousness to make their theories plausible. They were poets and romancers. They made rather than wrote history.
>
> The scientific historians justly consider their work of small value, and denounce them as subtle distillers and instillers of the poison historic untruth.[16]

Contemporary reviewers were no kinder. Holden's Review called his themes "devoid of novelty" and his subjects each more "hacknied" than the last; the Boston Post lambasted his writing as "artificial, superficial, and pompous" and guilty of "numerous and important errors both of manner and matter"; and Edgar Allan Poe in 1850 dubbed him "The Autocrat of All the Quacks" for his arrogant prose and patriotic fervor.[17] Indeed, Headley's romanticized version of American history seemed to attach him to a past that

never was. Regarding the difficult issues of the present such as immigration, industrialization, and race, he had similarly conservative, nativist views.

Having come from a large, respectable family, and having embarked on a proper and rewarding career despite his health problems, it is natural that Headley would want to establish himself in a community and endeavor to have a family of his own. Approaching in years--life expectancy at this time has been estimated at less than forty years for men--and often in poor health, he could use a care-taking wife.[18] And indeed, in May 1850 he married Anna Allston Russel (b. 1825) in Massachusetts and moved with her to New Windsor, New York.[19] Their first son, Russel, was born in the early 1850s, and two more children--Lucy and Joel T.--soon followed. The family would remain in the area for the remainder of the elder Headley's life, some forty-seven additional years, and beyond. In addition to continuing his literary output--more than thirty books in all--he would become active in the local Presbyterian church and in the community at large: He spearheaded the founding of the Washington's Headquarters historical site in Newburgh and served on its board of trustees, organized local Revolutionary War centennial celebrations in 1883, and was a charter member of the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay

and the Highlands (incorporated 1884). Still, a summer getaway away to the Adirondacks would be a tradition he carried on for more than thirty years.[20]

Thus, in the spring of 1850, Joel Tyler Headley was ready to settle down. He may have wanted a location convenient to his literary contacts in New York City; his political interests in Albany; his former workplace and his wife's family in northwestern Massachusetts; his beloved Adirondack Mountains; and perhaps even his boyhood roots in Delaware County. A successful writer and new husband, he would need a place suitable for writing and raising a family. A patriotic nativist, he would prefer a locale with historic resonance far from the immigrant-filled big cities. Suffering unpredictable health but always enamored of mountainous countryside and open spaces, he would also want a scenic, salubrious locale where he could take daily walks. "Sore under criticism" as expressed in the reviews of his writings, he may have wanted to use his home to establish himself among the cultural elite in a way that his writings did not.[21]

If you were to plot all these vectors on a map of 1850s America, you would find them converging on the west bank of the mighty Hudson River some 60 miles north of New York City, near Newburgh, New York, site of General

Washington's late Revolutionary War headquarters and of the disbanding of the Continental Army. The Hudson Valley was prominent in the cultural imagination thanks to writings such as Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" and "Legend of Sleepy Hollow," and also due to the Hudson River school, a thriving American artistic movement that glorified the area's scenic beauty. Along with Irving, such romantic writers as Nathaniel Parker Willis and James Kirke Paulding and painters Asher Durand and Thomas Cole had made the area their home or vacation retreat of choice.[22] Moreover, Newburgh was hometown and headquarters for Andrew Jackson Downing, landscape architect, prolific writer, and taste maker eager for commissions and almost sure to publish the completed designs. The Headleys could have found all these factors appealing.

While Newburgh had grown into a thriving town in the first half of the nineteenth century thanks largely to a spirit of cooperation among its mercantile class, its neighbor to the south, New Windsor, remained smaller and more rural, partly due to factionalism among the town's competing freighters. For example, in Newburgh, merchants banded together to avoid price competition, enter trading partnerships, and facilitate internal improvements. Through both intermarriage and real estate investments, elite

mercantile families gained a cohesiveness and attachment to place that contributed to their desire to work together for the common good of their town. Meanwhile, in New Windsor, jealousy and divisiveness "dried up the springs of action which impel communities to undertakings in which mutual prosperity is involved. From their presence enterprise and the enterprising fled away." Indeed, while both towns had populations under 1,500 in 1782, Newburgh's surpassed 9,000 by 1855 but New Windsor's reached only 2,555.[23] This meant that New Windsor still had large tracts of undeveloped land available, and that it was close enough to rely on Newburgh for many conveniences.

Joel T. Headley obviously found these conditions agreeable, and in May 1850, the same month as his marriage, he and his wife purchased thirteen and a half acres in northern New Windsor, just a half mile or so from the Newburgh boundary, upon which to build his family's home. To design his new country seat, he selected none other than one of the most esteemed firms of the day.

3. Downing and Vaux

The Newburgh-based architectural and landscaping practice shared by Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) and Calvert Vaux (1824-1895) from 1850 to 1852 was one of the most well-known firms in the antebellum United States. Much of this success was due to Andrew Jackson Downing, who from a young age made himself widely known through his practical and accessible writings in magazines and books.

Figure 2: Andrew Jackson Downing in a posthumous (1864) painting by Calvert Vaux. From a daguerreotype by John Halpin, Century Association, New York, in Tatum, Calvert Vaux, 3.

Figure 3: Calvert Vaux in an undated photo. National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, Brookline, Mass., in Schuyler, Apostle of Taste, 159.

Downing established an independent landscape gardening business in 1842, and by 1850 his practice had expanded to the point that he sought a trained architect to work with

him, someone whose skills would complement his own background in landscape design and expand the firm's possibilities. While on an architectural tour of England, after seeing sketches in an exhibition, he settled on the young Calvert Vaux almost without hesitation. Vaux was equally enthusiastic about the prospect of working with the esteemed American, leaving his native country in a week for Newburgh. Their skills and interests dovetailed nicely: They shared the belief that Americans actively desired and needed architectural guidance, that specifically American architecture deserved a place within the national culture, and that architectural pattern books could help achieve these goals. Vaux, with the architectural training that Downing was lacking, brought needed know-how to the firm. The partnership was so successful that a year and a half later, Downing recruited Frederick Clarke Withers, another young English architect, to join them.[24]

Downing and Headley: Similarities and Differences

But it was not simply the renown of the firm, its proximity, or Downing and Vaux's skills that would have been appealing to the Headleys. Both personally and ideologically, Downing and Headley had much in common.

Like Headley, Andrew Jackson Downing was born into an upstanding family whose ancestors had come to America in colonial times, and he grew up in an area whose scenic beauty would influence him throughout his life. Specifically, Downing was born in 1815 in Newburgh, New York, the fifth of five children in a family supported by its nursery business and real estate holdings. Also like Headley, Downing pursued his father's occupation, joining at the age of 16 his older brother Charles in their late father's nursery business. Downing did not seek education beyond secondary school, but then there were no schools that could have trained him for his chosen field. Instead, he learned from his brother and other mentors and from hands-on experience, achieving such respectability that the younger Downing was being called on to help found a Newburgh library before he reached age 20 and, soon after that, the Newburgh Lyceum. Though these activities were more democratic and public-minded than the institutions with which Headley would involve himself, it is likely that Headley would have appreciated Downing's community mindedness. Downing married Caroline Elizabeth DeWint of Fishkill Landing (now Beacon), across the Hudson from Newburgh, in 1838, but they did not have children.[25]

Another parallel between the two men was that Downing

had also found great success as a writer. He was first published in the New-York Mirror in 1835, beginning a literary career that for a time would be comparable in both prolificacy and popular appeal to that of Headley. Gleaning subject matter from his family's nursery business, he came to write numerous articles for gardening and horticultural magazines. His first book was A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences (1841). The "appreciation" in the 1967 facsimile edition of the Treatise neatly summarizes the book's initial impact: "New personalities, new ideas burst upon the scene, sometimes with startling impact. So it was in the field of landscape planning, when in 1841 there appeared the first edition of Andrew Jackson Downing's Landscape Gardening, for this important book attained instant popularity. The author, an obscure nurseryman, found himself famous overnight and was the founder of a new school of estate and park design. 'It could be found,' said a contemporary, 'on almost every parlour table the country round.'"[26]

In subsequent editions of the same title Downing developed and sometimes revised his directives and theories; these volumes were issued in 1844 (revised and enlarged) and 1849 (revised and enlarged again), and also

in posthumous editions with changes and additions made by his followers. Other books and articles were forthcoming as well. Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and Their Gardens and Grounds, Adapted to North America followed in 1842, The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America in 1845, and The Architecture of Country Houses; Including Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas not long after Headley's wedding in 1850; all went through multiple editions. Meanwhile, in 1846 Downing became founding editor of the Horticulturist, a new monthly magazine of "Rural Art and Rural Taste," a position he held until his death. Shortly after he died, his friends published a collection of his editorials as Rural Essays (1853), which included a "memoir" of Downing by George William Curtis.

By 1853, Downing's total book sales (including the new Rural Essays) were just over 37,000.[27] Although this figure pales in comparison to Headley's 200,000 copies, it nonetheless places him among the better-selling authors of the day, and we can imagine that Downing and Headley shared shelf space and avid readers in many households. Indeed, it is quite likely that Headley himself owned and/or read Downing works before he considered commissioning the designer. As leading etiquette writer Catherine Sedgwick

claimed, "nobody, whether he be rich or poor, builds a house or lays out a garden without consulting Downing's books."[28]

Patriotism, a spirit of democracy, and a love of nature are themes that pervade these writings and that surely resonated with Headley. Downing gives European design antecedents given pride of place while at the same time asserting that the young American republic has attained a level of artistic maturity commensurate with the Old World. This is particularly true in the Northeast, the area Downing--and Headley--prized most dearly. Like Headley and many other northeasterners of the time, Downing believed that he lived in the most stimulating and best-developed area of the country: "There is no part of the Union where the taste in Landscape Gardening is so far advanced, as on the middle portion of the Hudson."[29] Only twenty-five years old when the Treatise was published, he had not traveled enough to have first-hand knowledge of many of the plants or estates he describes in the work, so his descriptions of vegetation in the South and the West are based on others' writings. His opinion of the West was that settlements there were so new as to be somewhat vulgar, certainly not ready for refinement. Despite the potential for landscaping in large plantations of the

South, and the pronounced English influence there, he cites very few examples from and offers no particular advice for that region. Moreover, like Headley, he turns a blind eye to the deplorable living conditions of the slaves concentrated in that part of the country.

Britain is the standard Downing holds most dear, both because Americans are "a people descended from the English stock" and because it was in Britain "where Landscape Gardening was first raised to the rank of a fine art."[30] Later in the same work, he names a number of "distinguished English Landscape Gardeners of recent date" and explains why the English have been able to carry the field to such heights: primogeniture, which enables "continual improvement and embellishment of those vast landed estates" because they remain within the same family. Although he then explains that U.S. equality is "more gratifying" a system, partly due to "the almost entire absence of a very poor class in the country," he is not entirely convincing in his regret over the lack of hereditary wealth.[31] Here he shows himself to be a man of his time, proud of America's quick rise to international prominence less than a century after winning its independence, of its burgeoning cultural movements, and of its success in governing with its self-proclaimed democratic ideals, yet apprehensive about the

implications of the new social order.

Nonetheless, one thing that he finds attractive about the field of "Landscape Gardening," as he calls it, is its democratic potential. Unlike fine arts, which may require higher-level tastes or education to appreciate, "the sylvan and floral collections,--the groves and gardens, which surround the country residence of the man of taste,--are confined by no barriers narrower than the blue heaven above and around them." Again and again throughout his career he returns to this notion that anyone can benefit from and be a practitioner of Taste, especially with such proper guidance as provided in his writings. All tasteful property improvements, taken cumulatively, will do much to "add something to the general amount of beauty in the country."[32]

While much more liberal than Headley's, Downing's social views here and elsewhere were either not fully fleshed out or were couched in rhetoric gentle enough that even Headley may not have found them too offensive. At one point in the Treatise, for example, Downing goes out of his way to give examples of what can be done to improve very small tracts of land, but elsewhere, in describing types of men and their corresponding architectural types, the categories named are "classical scholar and gentleman,"

"[h]e who has a passionate love of pictures and especially fine landscapes," the "wealthy proprietor," the "gentleman who wishes to realize the beau ideal of a genuine old English country residence," and "the lover of nature and rural life," this last sort being the only nod to someone with "limited means." Moreover, Downing's belief that his book would be of use to a broad segment of the population seems questionable. He writes, for example, that "[I]n the majority of instances in the United States, the modern style of Landscape Gardening, wherever it is appreciated, will, in practice, consist in arranging a demesne of from five to some hundred acres." Yet with city dwellers, recent immigrants, single women, slaves, and people who for other reasons did not own any property, the nation contained numerous people for whom five acres would seem infinite. Even many people who did own a parcel of land, furthermore, surely could not have had time to effect substantial improvements on the property, working as they did long hours either on the land itself or in the new factories. For such people "who have neither room, time, nor income, to attempt the improvement of their grounds fully," Downing advises that they attempt "only the simple and the natural."[33] This seems a token gesture of inclusion; obviously working-class and time-pressed people would not

be buying the book, much less attempting to follow its advice. A more subtle exclusionary aspect of the text is the fact that untranslated quotes in European languages are interspersed throughout, which Downing must have assumed his readers were educated enough to understand; in Headley's case he was likely correct.

Pride in America is another theme that runs throughout the Treatise and later works, especially in chapters cataloging the variety and characteristics of numerous species of trees, vines, and climbing plants. In descriptions reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia (composed 1781), Downing itemizes dozens of American varieties and their usefulness, a job he would continue in The Fruit and Fruit Trees of America, which would long remain the standard work on the subject. The sheer diversity of the listings Downing compiled is impressive on its own, suggesting what a rich and abundant land it takes to support them. But there is more: For each tree, he delves into its history, appearance, growth patterns, seed types, needs, and uses, often providing anecdotes, verse quotations, even engraved illustrations of the particular type. He frequently finds favor with the American species, although he includes foreign varieties as well. The American white ash, for example, is "the finest

of all the species," while the American lime (or basswood or linden) is the "most robust tree of the genus." The Lombardy poplar, meanwhile, "has been planted so indiscriminately . . . to the neglect of our fine native trees."[34] European countries had long been able to refer to books with similar classifications, and what Downing accomplishes in these sections is to give due recognition to American resources. In this he can be seen as serving a function similar to the artists and writers of the American renaissance, who sought to put the United States on the cultural map of the world.

He also shared with many of his contemporaries, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Headley, a deep appreciation for nature. Downing defined his profession, landscape gardening, as "an artistical combination of the beautiful in nature and art--an [sic] union of natural expression and harmonious cultivation."[35] It was not enough for him that something be pleasing to the eye, however--it had to serve a purpose as well. In his creations, then, he used a combination of "science, skill, and taste" designed to produce naturelike effects with practical applications.[36] In his preference for improving nature where possible through manipulation, however, he differed from Emerson, who preferred unadulterated Nature. Here he was more akin

to contemporary landscape painters, whose work he often compared to that of landscape gardeners, as they altered naturalistic vistas to give the most pleasing effect. They, in turn, were exemplars of a common American sentiment that humankind could dominate nature.

Regarding the burgeoning industrialization and urbanization of the United States, which was spreading even in Newburgh, Downing seemed to share Headley's almost willful denial. According to Downing, if each family could only have a tasteful home on pleasant grounds, the world would have few troubles. Only a very destitute and abnormal person would not desire such a comfortable home: "To have a 'local habitation,'--a permanent dwelling, that we can give the impress of our own mind, and identify with our own existence,--appears to be the ardent wish, sooner or later felt, of every man: excepting only those wandering sons of Ishmael, who pitch their tents with the same indifference, and as little desire to remain fixed, in the flowery plains of Persia, as in the sandy deserts of Zahara or Arabia."[37] The home is what holds families together, promotes stability and responsibility, and even encourages patriotism. Downing notes the increasing prevalence of suburban living arrangements, and compliments tasteful, closely grouped city structures, but none of his advice is

geared to urban denizens. Even his exercises in visualization preclude urbanites, as in his explanation of the "picturesque" style: "For an example of [this style], let us take a stroll to the nearest woody glen in your neighborhood--perhaps a romantic valley, half shut in two or more sides by steep rocky banks, partially concealed and overhung by clustering vines, and tangled thickets of deep foliage."[38] How many people on Manhattan's Lower East Side would be able to call up such an image from their mind's eye? It seems as if he is hoping that by ignoring urban residents, they will cease to exist. This would certainly benefit the nation, he thinks, because when people lack an attachment to place, which he sees as characteristic of people in cities, social unrest is the likely result. He reacts similarly toward industrialization: with such high esteem for the self-sufficiency and honest labor of the agrarian lifestyle, there was no room in his thinking for changes wrought by the new industrial order. Headley, with his open distaste for cities, and his attachment to a romanticized version of America's past, would have shared these views too.

Religion is scarcely mentioned in Downing's writings, although much of his prose appeals to emotion, especially in descriptions of scenic vistas, in a way that can be seen

as having parallels with the emotional appeals of evangelicalism. Downing has few words that are directly related to religion, however. He duly notes the Christian origins of Gothic architecture, a style he favors, but he makes nothing of it.[39] In proclaiming the importance of landscaping, he invokes God through a quotation--"'God Almighty first planted a garden; and indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures,' says Lord Bacon"--but again he does not develop this thought.[40] Still, we can imagine the former seminarian Headley nodding his approval at these passages. For Downing, however, organized religion seems to be of little public use, and except in churches he does not advocate making it a visible feature of life.

Downing's Theories in Practice

How did these views translate into architecture and landscaping? Definitely not into the Greek Revival designs that, partly owing to Jefferson's influence, were exceedingly popular in the United States from after the War of 1812 until the 1840s. "The temple cottage . . . is not of the least utility," Downing wrote of such residences, "because it is too high for shade; nor is it in the least satisfactory, for it is entirely destitute of truthfulness:

it is only a caricature of a temple--not a beautiful cottage."[41] Instead, a design had to truthfully express its intended use and take into consideration its surroundings:

> As a villa is a house surrounded by more or less land, it is impossible rightly to understand how to design such a dwelling for a given site, without knowing something of the locality where it is to be placed. The scenery, amid which it is to stand, if it is of a strongly marked character, will often help to suggest or modify the character of the architecture. A building which would appear awkwardly and out of place on a smooth plain, may be strikingly harmonious and picturesque in the midst of wild landscape.

If forced to choose a style "among foreign architecture, our preference will be given to modifications of the Rural Gothic, common in England and Germany with high gables wrought with tracery, bay-windows, and other features full of domestic expression; or the modern Italian, with bold, overhanging cornices and irregular outlines. The former, generally speaking, is best suited to our Northern, broken country; the latter, to the plain and valley surface of the Middle and southern States."[42] That said, Downing designed in a variety of styles; in the first edition of Cottage Residences alone, he presented houses in styles he

identified as English or Rural Gothic, Pointed or Tudor, Bracketed, Italian, old English, Tuscan, and Elizabethan.

Regarding ornament, particularly with respect to country cottages--that is, "a dwelling of a small size, intended for the occupation of a family, either wholly managing the household cares itself, or, at the most, with the assistance of one or two servants"--simplicity is Downing's preference. "All ornaments which are not simple, and cannot be executed in a substantial and appropriate manner, should be at once rejected; all flimsy and meager decorations which have a pasteboard effect, are . . . unworthy . . . and unbecoming for the house of him who understands the true beauty of a cottage life."[43]

Downing's style of choice for his own house and many of his Hudson Valley projects, the Gothic Revival, suggested a rural, agrarian lifestyle. If some Americans saw in the Greek Revival associations with the paganism of Greek civilization, the Gothic Revival was their antidote, a style that could provide moral fulfillment and express Christian values.[44] With its purposeful anticlassicism, the Gothic Revival was visually a clean break from the Greek Revival and earlier styles, but like so much of Downing's oeuvre it was inspired by a movement in building and thinking in England, this one epitomized by John Ruskin

(1819–1900). Often asymmetrical with interlocking forms, board-and-batten vertical siding, steeply pitched roofs and gables, intricate trim, elongated chimneys, varied window shapes, and general irregularity, Gothic Revival structures were in some respects a throwback to medieval Europe.[45] Rather than order, balance, and stability, the Gothic Revival conveyed movement, emotionalism, and great heights--both literally and figuratively--and the form was readily adapted for modern uses. Houses built in the style were functional and easily modifiable, they used new technology such as the jigsaw in creating their ornamentation, and as demonstrated in Downing's publications the style was easy to execute in a broad range of settings and price categories. The Gothic Revival was also the first movement to address the relationship of architecture with its surroundings. As Downing mandated, buildings' placement often highlighted natural views, and they were painted with colors intended to fit with their surroundings.

In laying out grounds, Downing advised taking care to ensure that the carriage or pedestrian approach clearly positions the dwelling as the central point of the property. Additionally, more should be done to make houses express habitability: "the cottage in this country too

rarely conveys the idea of comfort and happiness which we wish to attach to such a habitation." Purpose, too, needs to be considered--and made manifest--in each aspect of the structure, whether chimneys, porches, or entryways. Homes can also serve as an antidote to the seeming restlessness of Americans, by planting residents in one place: "And to this innate feeling, out of which grows a strong attachment to natal soil, we must look for a counterpoise to the great tendency towards constant change, and the restless spirit of emigration, which form part of our national character; and which, though to a certain extent highly necessary to our national prosperity, are, on the other hand, opposed to social and domestic happiness."[46]

Vaux's only book, Villas and Cottages (1857), published five years after his former partner's death, was very much in keeping with his work with Downing; even the book's format matches that established by his late mentor. Like Downing, he states a preference for Gothic and Italian styles for rural residences, and he presents numerous examples of Gothic and Italianate plans, also considering worthwhile some elements of Chinese and Moorish design.[47] Although he had his own ideas, he remained, for a time, Downing's understudy.

4. The Headley House

The property the Headleys bought was one of numerous subdivisions parceled off by Thomas W. Chrystie, his wife, Elizabeth L., and Margaret T. Ludlow (likely Elizabeth's sister or mother) in the mid-1800s.[48] Roughly trapezoidal in shape, Headley's purchase comprised approximately two lots according to a contemporary map mentioned in the deed. Bounded on the west by the roadway that would give access to the property, the long, narrow strip of land sloped downhill toward the Hudson, ending just a quarter mile from its western shore.[49] The purchase price for the thirteen and a half acres was $2,600, or less than $200 per acre. Given that undeveloped land in nearby Newburgh sold for $250 per acre in 1835; that the intervening fifteen years contained a nationwide boom, bust, and then moderate economic growth; and that even the smallest of Downing's residences were estimated to cost several hundred dollars in 1850, it seems likely that the land Headley bought was unimproved farmland.[50] Thus, he would be building fresh.

Being well educated and well read, and having chosen Downing to design his home, Headley likely was familiar with the designer's view about situation, style, ornament, and the range of options available. Downing's newest book, The Architecture of Country Houses, was published in 1850

after the author's trip to England, so it is possible that Headley eagerly consulted its text and designs when envisioning his new house.[51] As told by Downing--our only source for information about the building of the house--Headley's "object" was "a picturesque rural home in keeping with the scenery, but without the least unnecessary outlay for decoration."[52] (Any input from Anna Headley is not discussed.) When completed, his house would cost $4,800 not including the water pipes, placing it at about the average cost of the "cottage" houses explicated in Cottage Residences, where its design was published. Rather than eschewing excessive decor, it was charmingly styled in the rural Gothic, suggesting either that Downing understated Headley's wishes to avoid elaborate decor or that he persuaded him that some decoration was necessary. Headley certainly could afford the expense; the cost for the architectural design would have been 2 1/2 percent, or $120, with perhaps another $120 for superintending the construction, meaning that all told, the property, design, and construction cost less than $8,000.[53] Considering the tens of thousands of dollars in book royalties already earned by Headley, and the new publications he regularly produced, it seems he could have afforded an even grander dwelling.

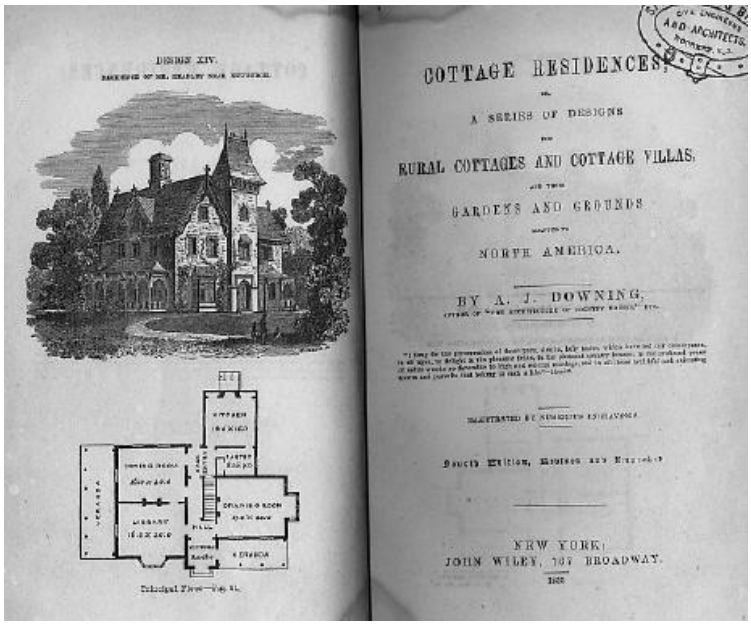
The size and cost of the house place it at the low end of Downing's "villas," the grandest on his scale of residence types. As he described this form,

> The villa should indeed be a private house, where beauty, taste, and moral culture are at home. In the fine outlines of the whole edifice, either dignified, graceful or picturesque, in the spacious or varied verandas, arcades, and windows, in the select forms of windows, chimney-tops, cornices, the artistic knowledge and feeling has full play; while in the arrangement of spacious apartments, especially in the devotion of a part to a library or cabinet sacred to books, and in that elevated order and system of the whole plan, indicative of the inner domestic life, we find the development of the intellectual and moral nature which characterizes the most cultivated families in their country houses.[54]

Based on what we know about the end result, it seems that Headley was striving for a home befitting the "most leisurely and educated class of citizens," his comments about not wanting all that finery notwithstanding.

Much of what we know of the house as originally built comes from the fourth edition of Cottage Residences (1852). Of the fifteen residence plans contained therein, ten had

been included in the first edition, but at least two of the five additions were recently executed Downing and Vaux creations newly published in the fourth edition. The first of these--number 14, "A Cottage in the Rhine style,"--was Headley's house. The exterior view and first-floor plan of the "Residence of Mr. Headley Near Newburgh" constitute the volume's frontispiece, and the house is described and its


DESIGN XIV.

COTTAGE RESIDENCES;

A SERIES OF DESIGNS

RURAL COTTAGES AND COTTAGE VILLAS,

GARDENS AND GROUNDS

NORTH AMERICA.

BY A. J. DOWNING,

NEW YORK:
JOHN WILEY, 167 BROADWAY.

Figure 4: The fourth edition of Cottage Residences features the Headley design as the frontispiece.

second-floor plan shown on pages 184-85. Design number 15, "A Carriage-House and Stable in the Rustic Pointed style," was for Matthew Vassar's Poughkeepsie estate, Springside, fifteen miles north. Following the designs is another new section entitled "Further Hints on the Gardens and Grounds

of Cottage Residences," and, finally, an "Addenda" explicating the advantages to be obtained by using an architect as well as the charges to expect. Nothing in these sections relates to the Headley house, and I was unable to find any other contemporary, substantive discussions of the house, whether by Headley, the press, or historians. Thus, my discussion relies heavily on Cottage Residences.

In designing the house, Downing and Vaux naturally considered its situation, choosing to build a residence "spirited and irregular in composition, . . . simple in details," and located "in a picturesque and highly appropriate position, where its steep roof-lines harmonize admirably with the bold hills of the Hudson Highlands."[55] The rear or westerly orientation of the house is to the road, albeit at a considerable remove, and its eastern/front facade faces the scenic view toward and beyond the Hudson. The private approach from the road parallels the southern end, at a distance, before feeding into a circular drive that, taken counterclockwise, would allow the front facade to unfold before depositing arrivals at the formal, main entry.[56] A sequence like this was classic Downing. "In the present more advanced state of Landscape Gardening . . . [t]he house is generally so

approached, that the eye shall first meet it in an angular direction, displaying not only the beauty of the architectural façade but also one of the end elevations, thus giving a more complete idea of the size, character, or elegance of the building: and instead of leading in a direct line from the gate to the house, it curves in easy lines through certain portions of the park or lawn, until it reaches that object."[57] The house's front door is purposefully oriented toward the picturesque Plum Point, jutting out into the Hudson from farther south in New Windsor.[58]

Although the foundation was built of bluestone, the house itself is brick, likely a concession to the bottom line, brick being considerably cheaper than stone. It was painted a pale brownish yellow with a dark rust-colored verge boards and trim (see figures 25 and 26, p. 83).[59] Downing frequently wrote about his preference for such naturalistic, non-white colors: "a cottage or villa should be of a cheerful, mellow hue harmonizing with the verdure of the country. . . . There is one color, however, frequently employed by house painters, which we feel bound to protest against most heartily, as entirely unsuitable, and in bad taste. This is white."[60] Similarly, in discussing a "rough-cast" to be applied to stone houses, he notes that

its sand color mixed with a little yellow ochre "gives the whole a slightly fawn-colored shade, more agreeable to the eye than white." Continuing, he describes the sandstone color as "mellow and harmonious . . . in combination with foliage." Although villas are "most harmonious" when built in actual sandstone, or stuccoed in a light freestone (grayish) hue, he notes that it is cheapest and still acceptable "to build the walls of good hard brick, and color them externally of an agreeable shade." This seems to have been Headley's choice. The dark color for the wood trim may have been chosen to highlight the fact that it was made of good, thick wood, "very different from the thin-board imitations . . . frequently seen in flimsy ornamental cottages."[61]

Scarcely mentioned in the write-up is the house's most distinctive feature, a square, four-story tower with curved roof reaching straight up from the front entrance, covered with patterned slate roofing, and topped by decorative wood finials (see cover). Other decorative features--whether added to the chagrin or with the approval of the economizing Headley--include at least four ornate, finial-capped verge boards along dormer windows and peaked rooflines; curved-roofed verandas adjacent to the front entry and on the south facade; latticework under the top of

the tower and the two verandas; bay windows in the library and drawing room; selected use of awnings and decorative brickwork around the windows; thoughtful treatment of the elongated chimneys; and a Moorish-arched front doorway. Though described by Downing as "in the Rhine style" due to its tower, the house as a whole fits into Downing's "rural Gothic" rubric; both aspects make for a style befitting a seminary-trained man of letters who had enjoyed time in the Rhine valley.

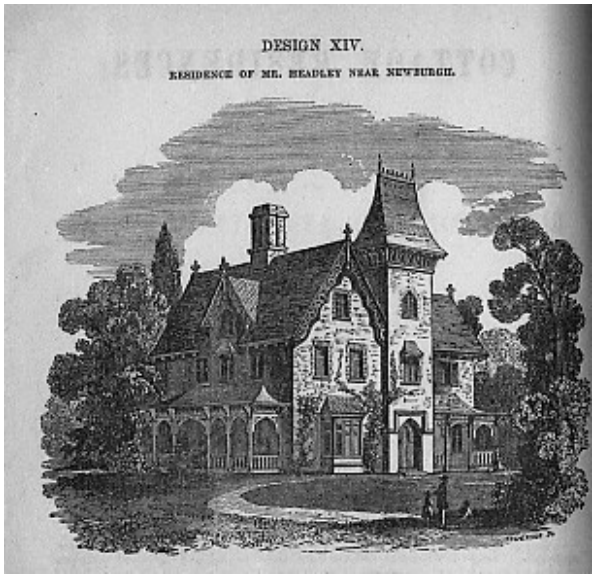


Figure 5: The Headley house design includes considerable ornamentation, as seen in the south and east orientations here, most notably its four-story tower. Cottage Residences (4th ed.) frontispiece.

Other examples of the rural Gothic as employed by Downing include design 2 in Country Residences and designs 6, 14, and 29 in Country Houses. Of Country Residences

design 2, "A cottage in the English or Rural Gothic Style," Downing gushes, "The elevation of this cottage is in the English cottage style, so generally admired for the picturesqueness evinced in its tall gables ornamented by handsome verge boards and finials, its neat or fanciful chimney tops, its latticed windows, and other striking features, showing how the genius of pointed or Gothic architecture may be chastened or moulded into forms for domestic habitations." Regarding the veranda, he notes that it is not often seen in England, "as the dampness of their climate renders such an appendage scarcely necessary. But its great utility in our hot summers makes it indispensable to every house, and we have introduced it on the entrance front, as affording in this position shelter, prospect, and an agreeable promenade."[62] He is equally enthusiastic about design 29 in Country Houses, "A Villa in the Rural Gothic Style":

> We have designed this villa to express the life of a family of refined and cultivated taste, full of home feeling, love for the country, and enjoyment of the rural and beautiful in nature--and withal, a truly American home, in which all is adapted to the wants and habits of life of a family in independent circumstances.

> We leave it to our readers to judge how much or how little we have succeeded in our attempt. They will first observe that the roof is . . . moderately high, to manifest the Northern climate, and broad, as if to cover, overshadow, and protect all beneath it. The enriched windows, of different forms, yet of the same style--the ornamented gables and chimney-tops--all indicate a love of refined and artistic forms; while their variety and position show the various uses and enjoyments pertaining to the apartments within.[63]

The tower, too, has antecedents in earlier Downing works. A similar one appears in design 31 of Country Houses, "A Lake or River Villa for a Picturesque Site."[64] Other commonalties between this design and the Headley house are steeply sloping rooflines and spacious verandas near the respective front entrances. The Country Houses villa is considerably larger, with nine bedrooms on the second floor; contains more in the way of ornament, most notably a number of twisted columns also derivative of Rhenish architecture; and is meant to be constructed of stone, making it markedly more expensive than Headley's house, to the tune of some $10,000-$12,000. But because Downing discusses this design in greater detail than he does Headley's, it is useful to review some of his thinking here

as well.

Figure 6: Downing employed a Rhenish tower similar to that of the Headley house in this earlier "Lake or River Villa." Country Houses (1969 Dover reprint), opp. 343; this design was numbered 31 in the original edition.

Envisioning the picturesquely situated (unexecuted) villa perhaps "amid such scenery as . . . on the Hudson Highlands," Downing sought inspiration from European buildings along the Rhine and Italian lakes:

> It is in this mental delight awakened by the contrast of symbols of repose and action, of beauty and power, in the lake that slumbers peacefully, and the hills that lift themselves boldly or grandly above it, that we find the explanation of part of the peculiar charm which belongs to those picturesque towers and

campaniles of the edifices and villas of the Rhine and Italian lakes. The same good effect will follow from the introduction of buildings composed upon similar principles, and placed on our picturesque river banks.

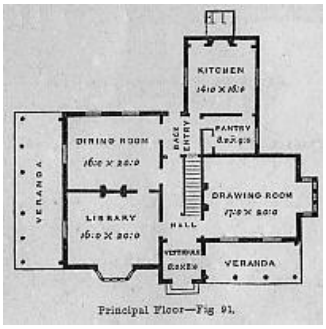
For this particular design he focused on the "'delicious curve' of the roof which belongs to many of the Rhine buildings . . . a repetition of the grand hollow or mountain curve formed by the sides of almost all great hills rising from the water's edge." He continues: "Not to be wearisome regarding our river villa, we would add that we hope the reader will find in it the expression of variety, independence and force of character, strong aspirations, and equally strong attachment to home and domestic life. As the residence of a man or family to whom such a character belongs, and built in a fittingly picturesque site, this villa would have a charm quite beyond the belief of those who know nothing of the effect of harmonious and spirited architecture."[65]

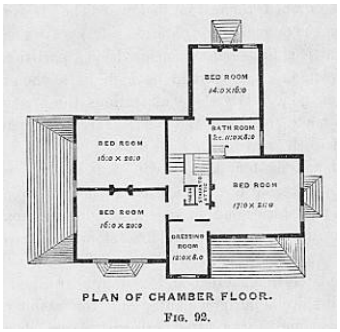
Headley, meanwhile, had admired the Rhenish country-side while in Europe. "Its scenery," he wrote of the river, "is also beautiful, but not so much when viewed from its surface as when seen from the different points of prospect furnished by the heights around." Although he went on to describe the natural scenery as "greatly inferior to that

of the Hudson," he noted that the accessories of vineyards, and villages, and convents, and churches, and castles, and towers, and the associations all around them, all make the passage up or down it one of the most interesting in the world, in the beauty and variety it presents."[66] Perhaps the Rhenish river villa Downing described in his new book appealed to Headley owing to Downing's words of praise, his memories of the Rhine, and his association of that river with the Hudson. Could he have fancied his family's strong aspirations and strong character taking shape in such a dwelling? Or might Downing and Vaux have referred to this design when discussing Headley's picturesque site above the Hudson? Clearly, elements of this design are included in Headley's house for many of the same reasons they were proposed in the "Lake or River Villa."

Inside the Headley house, the entry vestibule led to a hall stretching from front to back. Off this were a library with ribbed ceiling and built-in bookcases and a dining room, both on the south side, and a drawing room on the other side of the hall. The southern and eastern sides would have the best view, which a bay window in the library would help take in. In the same vein, spacious verandas fronted the entire southern facade as well as the east side of the drawing room. A pantry and kitchen wing were in the

back, nicely concealed from view by trees, along with a rear entry.





Figures 7 and 8: The principal floor (left) and chamber or second floor (right) of the house followed Downing's prescriptions for a tasteful, practical layout. Cottage Residences frontispiece and p. 185.

Upstairs consisted of "four bedrooms of good size, and one smaller one in the tower, which may either be used as a dressing-room or a child's bedroom," in addition to the bath room. Downing notes parenthetically that "[t]he closets taken out of the spaces each side of the chimney have been omitted in the drawing," though chimneys were situated such that each bedroom would have its own closet, as was seen proper. Underneath the house's high roof was the attic floor, "finished in three good bed-rooms for servants, or other uses." A hydraulic ram routed water "from a spring about 150 feet distant" to a cistern in the garret. As Downing often specified, the first story was 12 feet high (except the kitchen wing, at 9 3/4 feet) with walls a foot thick, and the second story, 9 1/2 feet with

8-inch walls.

In this layout, Downing fulfilled his frequent prescriptions for good living. In Cottage Residences, for example, practical concerns guided many of the decisions:

> In a dwelling-house, our every day comfort is so entirely dependent on a convenient arrangement of the rooms, or plan of the interior, that this is universally acknowledged to be the most important consideration. To have the principal rooms or apartments [i.e., rooms] situated on the most favorable side of the house with regard to aspect, in order that they may be light, warm, or airy, and, in respect to view, that they may command the finest prospects, are desiderata in every kind of dwelling. . . .
>
> In arranging the different apartments of a cottage or villa, great variations will naturally arise out of the peculiar circumstances, mode of living, or individual wants . . . a family fond of social intercourse, and accustomed to entertain, would greatly prefer, in a cottage or villa of moderate size, to have several handsome apartments, as a drawing-room, library, dining-room, etc., occupying almost exclusively the principal floor, placing the

> kitchen and its offices in the basement, and the bed-rooms in the second story . . . each department of the house being complete in itself, and intruding itself but little on the attention of the family or guests when not required to be visible, which is the ideal of domestic accommodation.[67]

The Headleys likely wanted a house that would be comfortable both for entertaining and for raising a family. One notable aspect of their layout is the prominence given to the library--close to the main entry, and with its bay window and veranda allowing it favorable views. How fitting for the home of a man of letters.

Downing would come to take a more understanding and agreeable view of a first-floor kitchen in the years before Country Houses was published and the Headley house designed. Indeed, the general guidelines contained in Country Houses read like a checklist of what was accomplished in the Headley design:

> In country houses or villas, there are never less than three or four apartments of good size (besides the kitchen, etc.) on the principal floor. In every villa of moderate size, we expect to find a separate apartment, devoted to meals, entitled the dining-room; another devoted to social intercourse, or the drawing-

> room; and a third devoted to intellectual culture, or the library; besides halls, passages, stairways, pantries, and bed-rooms. . . .
>
> Though the kitchen is sometimes placed in the basement, in the Middle States, yet the practice is giving way to the more rational and convenient mode of putting it on the first floor; and it is generally provided for in a wing, of less height than the main building, divided into two stories, with sleeping-rooms on the second floor.[68]

The rural Gothic house with Rhenish tower offers much that Downing and Vaux felt so strongly about: a sturdy, well-constructed home that made for convenient family living; truthful architectural expressions of purpose with well-executed ornament; harmonious relations with the surroundings; an expression of the individuality of its occupants; and visual appeal.

Downing and/or Vaux?

A key question that has so far proved impossible to answer definitively is whether Downing and Vaux were equal collaborators in the design. Given that the Headleys married and purchased property in May 1850, it is likely

that they approached Downing around that time. We can imagine that Downing was highly interested in a commission from such a well-known, well-off client. Not only could Joel T. Headley's stature confer additional prestige and renown on Downing's business, but it would also bring in money to a firm experiencing hardships due to Downing's lack of financial savvy as well as legal problems with his father-in-law.[69] Downing may have met with Headley and viewed the property prior to his trip to Europe in July 1850, but several factors seem to indicate that he likely waited until his return--with Calvert Vaux in tow--to give the project his full attention.

First was the purpose of his trip: "to form an architectural connection so as to be enabled to put in practice on his return to American his aspirations with regard to that art."[70] The person he hired was of course Vaux, a trained architect. How better to begin the new partnership than with a waiting commission?

Second, we know that Downing's Country Houses was finalized shortly before his trip to England.[71] If the Headley house had already been designed, it likely would have found publication in this volume; that it did not suggests that the design was not completed. Evidence from a contemporary publication supports this timing. According to

the entry about Headley in A Critical Dictionary of English Literature (1858), "in 1851 he erected a villa on the banks of the Hudson, just above the Highlands, 'commanding a view of surpassing beauty and grandeur.'"[72] Construction in 1851 suggests a design completed in winter 1850-1851, after Vaux's tenure with Downing began.

We also know that Downing's practice was becoming more demanding, especially once he was invited to landscape public grounds in Washington, D.C. He started this project in late fall 1850 and traveled frequently to the capital.[73] Presumably Vaux was left to manage things in Newburgh during Downing's absences.

Other bits of information known about the house neither confirm nor contradict Vaux's involvement. In Cottage Residences, Downing notes that "this residence was designed by us for our neighbor [emphasis added]," but he uses the first person plural throughout his works, so its appearance here should not be interpreted as significant. In Vaux's published designs, the first of which appeared in Harper's in 1855, his works are distinguished from Downing's in attention to finer details, such as the importance of ventilation and drainage, complete with diagrams, and the greater consideration he gives to micro-level details such as porches, entry halls, shelves,

cupboards, staircases, verge boards, and the like. We do not see any of that in the cursory, two-page description afforded Headley's house, though it is possible that mention of the water system was included at Vaux's urging.

The Moorish entryway and arches repeated inside the house reflect a motif touched on lightly in both Downing and Vaux writings. In Landscape Gardening, Downing writes, "The Saracenic, or Moorish style, rich in fanciful decoration, is striking and picturesque in its details, and is worthy of the attention of the wealthy amateur. Neither of these styles, however, is, or can well be, thoroughly adapted to our domestic purposes."[74] Vaux echos this sentiment in Villas and Cottages: "Styles like the Chinese or Moorish assist us but little, though each exhibits isolated features that deserve careful examination."[75] He would "examine" Moorish themes in greater detail in later works, including Frederic Church's Olana.

Figure 9: The Headley house's Moorish-arched entryway is carried from outside to inside. Photo by author, 2000.

Vaux in 1855 also noted his preference for curved roofs such as that in Headley's tower and verandas: "The introduction of circular projections, or verandas, circular-headed windows, and of curved lines in the design of the roof, and in the details generally, will always have an easy, agreeable effect, if well managed; and curved roofs especially deserve to be introduced more frequently that has hitherto been the practice here."[76] Following his own prescription, he included a Rhenish tower similar to Headley's in his 1854 proposal for Vassar's villa as well as that for a "Villa with Tower and Attics" in the same article (1855).[77] Thus, even if he did not need to advocate

the suitability of this type of design to Downing, who employed it prior to their association, the latter was comfortable with this type of form and appreciated its use.

Figures 10 and 11: Vaux shows his facility with curved roof lines in the towers of these two designs, which resemble that of the Headley house. Left is his 1854 "Design for a Villa Proposed to Be Erected at Poughkeepsie for M. Vassar, Esq." (Tatum, Calvert Vaux, 51, Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries, Poughkeepsie, New York) and right is his "Villa with Tower and Attics" first published in 1855, seen here in Villas and Cottages, 270. Neither was executed.

Vaux's "Villa with Tower and Attics" contains additional similarities with Headley's design, including the circular approach to the front door; the side veranda; the steeply pitched roofs and overall "rural Gothic" character; and the second or chamber floor layout, except that it has a wing. Another difference is that it was planned to be built of wood, but this was likely a price consideration, and Vaux notes that "it could be easily made to suit a stone or brick construction, if preferred."[78] Although it is possible that Vaux borrowed this combination of elements from Downing, it seems equally possible that he

was simply reusing them from a design in which he was a co-creator.

The strongest piece of evidence we have linking Vaux to the Headley design is a hand-written list of works Vaux made in 1894. More than forty years after the fact, among the scores of designs his long career produced, he remembered "Joel T. Headly, Historian, New Windsor, Hudson River."[79] Done in varying handwriting and ink styles, the list appears to have been worked on in several different sittings, with the Headley commission being a late addition. That Vaux did not include "with A. J. Downing" in the listing, as he did for other designs they completed together, could signify that Vaux designed the work himself, that he couldn't remember all the particulars of the commission, or that it was a last-minute addition to the list. The last view is borne out, in my opinion, by the fact that this could have been his first project in the United States, the one at the furthest remove from 1894. He almost forgot about it entirely, so his non-mention of Downing may have been an oversight.

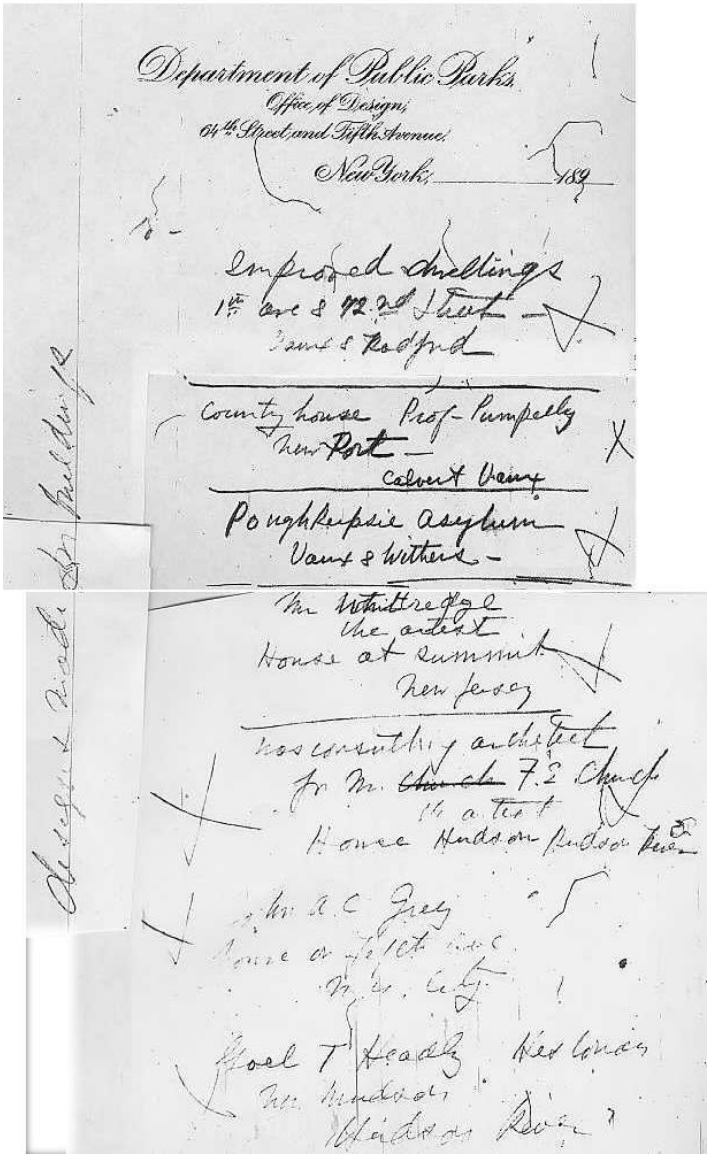


Figure 12: Page from a list, compiled by Vaux in 1894 and clearly revisited several times, showing "designs made for buildings." The final item reads:

Joel T. Headly Historian
New Windsor
Hudson River

Although the original document is intact, this illustration is pieced together from scans of output from microfilm, with an unfortunate piecemeal effect. Vaux Papers, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

In summary, the balance of evidence seems to weigh in favor of Downing and Vaux working together on this project. Its timing falls at the beginning of Vaux's tenure with Downing in the United States. Its physical appearance contains elements favored by both men. Given that both Downing and Vaux take credit for the job in their respective works, that they had a good working relationship that Vaux continued to respect for many years after Downing's untimely death, and that Vaux had little to gain from claiming this design as his own at the end of his career, I believe that they both had a hand in the design.

The Question of Landscaping

Another big--and difficult to answer--question surrounding this property is that of its landscaping. In short, did it have any, and was it Downing's doing? Were the house and property long since destroyed, this question would be of little importance, both because there is no documentation of the landscaping plans and because lost Downing designs are not in short supply. Indeed, of all Downing landscaping, only Vassar's former Springside estate in Poughkeepsie is known to remain somewhat intact. But

because the Headley house still stands (albeit significantly altered) on 4.9 acres, we can at least hope that Downing's touch had found its way to these acres, and that they can allow us another means to investigate his vision and its successes and failures.

Due to lack of remaining documentation from Downing, Headley, or Vaux, we have no paper trail telling us what may have been envisioned or implemented on the thirteen-and a-half-acre estate. We do know, however, that landscaping was Downing's first passion, and that all the house designs in the first edition of Cottage Residences also contained advice for laying out an accompanying garden or grounds. "The relation between a country house and its 'surroundings,' has led me to consider, under the term residences, both the architectural and the gardening designs. To constitute an agreeable whole, these should indeed have a harmonious correspondence."[80] The later editions, however, included designs such as Headley's without further information about appropriate landscaping. This may be why he saw fit to add "Further Hints on the Gardens and Grounds of Cottage Residences" to the fourth edition, but this section is general and varied in its recommendations and does not relay specific information about any possible landscaping done for the Headleys.

The deed from the Headleys' sale of their house provides small clues about the surrounding land (see appendix). When in 1870 the Headleys sold their estate, it garnered some $21,000. Two years later, after the house was renovated and expanded to the tune of $4,000, the value of the house alone was given at $15,000.[81] From these figures, it would seem that only half the value of the property came from the house, and the rest the grounds, which had appreciated four-fold from their purchase price and therefore must have had greater productive and aesthetic worth.

In detailing the boundaries of the property, the deed mentions several natural landmarks that were not included in the deeds documenting the Headleys' purchase twenty years earlier: three chestnut trees, an oak, two cedars (one described as large and standing in a fence), a wild cherry tree, and a pond. Though Downing favored maple and elm trees above all others for many qualities, including their ability to provide shade and the ease with which they could be transplanted even when large, he also expressed fondness for the varieties noted in this deed: Oaks "branch out boldly and grandly," and chestnut tops are "broad and stately," he wrote in February 1851.[82] The cedar of Lebanon, meanwhile, "in <u>breadth</u> and <u>massiveness</u> . . . far exceeds

all other evergreen trees, and when old and finely developed on every side, is not equalled in an ornamental point of view, by any sylvan tree of temperate region."[83] Other trees on the property today include European beech, tulip, sycamore, Osage orange, Camperdown elm, Japanese maple, crabapple, apple, and peach; a resident of the house in the mid-1900s remembers it as having "every kind of tree that grew," particularly numerous fruit trees, and also a large locust that had to be taken down in the 1950s.[84] Could some of these trees have come from Downing's nursery?

This would be in keeping with the 1855 town of New Windsor assessment rolls, which list the property as a 14-acre farm.[85] Knowing Headley's ailments and his literary productivity, and having no evidence to suggest outbuildings such as barns and stables, it seems unlikely that his property was a farm in the yeoman sense, but perhaps it had a kitchen garden and some fruit trees.

The pond mentioned is also intriguing. Downing recommended the introduction of water features when in keeping with the site:

> When, however, a number of perpetual springs cluster together, or a rill, rivulet, or brook, runs through an estate in such a manner as <u>easily</u> to be improved or developed into an elegant expanse of water in any part

> of the grounds, we should not hesitate to take advantage of so fortunate a circumstance. Besides the additional beauty conferred upon the whole place by such an improvement, the proprietor may also derive an inducement from its utility; for the possession of a small lake, well stocked with carp, trout, pickerel, or any other of the excellent pond fish, which thrive and propagate extremely well in clear fresh water, is a real advantage which no one will undervalue.[86]

Headley's property, with the Quassaick Creek running through it, was an ideal candidate for such enhancement. Today it has a waterfall about five feet in height; whether this was natural or modified by Downing or someone else is not known.

Figure 13: This stream adjacent to the house feeds a waterfall. Photo by author, 2000.

The tiered lawn on the property appears similar to the "sunk fence or ha-ha" described by Downing along with design 3 in Cottage Residences. Such an invisible fence, with a hidden drop-off, gives the viewer from above an uninterrupted sloping vista yet provides an effective visual and physical barrier against livestock, for example.

Other hints at landscaping come from writings by Headley's contemporaries. Willis, writing from nearby Cornwall about his Vaux-designed house, Idlewild, and its surroundings, favorably described the road on which the Headley house lies: "'Round by Headley's" we commonly call it--an upper road, along the bank of the Hudson, on which our friend the hero-grapher built his beautiful house, and

the most charming of carriage-drives, avenued with cedars and country seats for miles. As the finest rural outlet from the handsomest streets of Newburgh, we drove over it often, particularly with friends and strangers, whom we wished to impress agreeably with the scenery between Idlewild and there."[87]

This description is in keeping with other references to the Headley estate as "Cedar Lawn." An article on Washington Irving's Sunnyside estate and environs laments the death of Downing, mentioning Downing's "own favorite creation, the picturesque villa at Cedar Lawn, the residence of Headley. Poor Downing, who was an ardent lover of the Hudson, was gazing upon its moonlit charms with even more than his wonted delight, as he sat on the piazza here on the very eve of the fatal day which gave him so early a grave beneath its waters."[88] Author, illustrator, and chronicler of Hudson Valley socialites T. Addison Richards likewise describes Cedar Lawn as a "charming river estate" and a "beautiful retreat," noting "the double temptation of the landscape charms without, and the social delights within doors."[89] A later visitor to the area finds that "[a] casual glimpse of the house is all that can be had, owing to the numerous trees with which the lawn is dotted."[90]

Taken together, these cursory descriptions lend

credence to the idea that Downing and Vaux may have designed a garden, orchard, and/or landscaping for the Headley estate. The fact that neither of them wrote about it seems to diminish that plausibility, however. Perhaps the landscaping was not completed at the time of Downing's death; he could have been working on his plans the day before his fateful steamship voyage--thus the reason for his visit to the Headleys' mentioned in "Sunnyside"--and not planning to write about the grounds until the work was done.[91] Headley, for all his interest in history, left frustratingly scant record of his personal life. No memoirs or papers appear to be extant, and he did not reflect upon his house and grounds in any writings or speeches that I found.

5. The House's Influence

Whether despite or because of Downing's death, or for unrelated reasons like its relatively modest size, it seems that Headley's house did not achieved widespread renown. Except for the few brief items quoted in chapter 4, I found no examples of it being written about or commented on for a general audience. Despite its inclusion as the frontispiece in the 1852 edition of Country Houses, it did not garner much attention there either. Rather, the new chapter "Further Hints on the Gardens and Grounds of Cottage Residences" was dubbed the "most important addition" to the new edition of the book.[92] Downing did not write about the house or its landscaping anywhere else that I found, and the comment by T. Addison Richards that Cedar Lawn was Downing's "own favorite creation" is not echoed in the speeches and writings compiled after Downing's death; on balance, it seems unsubstantiated. When Headley was memorialized twenty-seven years after giving up the house, it was never mentioned either. Nor does discussion of the house appear in Vaux's works. Indeed, Vaux's late recollection of the design points to its relative lack of importance in the grand scheme of Downing, Vaux, and American house designs. At the time, it was just one of many mid-sized examples of a proper residence.

Of Headley's occupancy, we know that it lasted nearly twenty years, during which time he raised a family with his wife, had a brief political career, continued to publish book after book, and remained somewhat in the public eye. In short, the house seems to have allowed the domestic life that Downing hoped it would.

The next owner made extensive renovations to the property (see chapter 6), but these could have been made to address perceived shortcomings of the house as built or for a variety of other reasons: because the new owners had different needs than the Headleys, to accommodate technological innovations, to establish themselves as well-heeled successors.

A Midwestern Version: The LeDuc House

Given that Downing published the Headley house design, and that he did so in order that readers might use it as the basis of their own house, it is no surprise that a house built to the same design exists. Fortunately for this study, it is well documented--much more so than the original--and can be used to consider living conditions within the original.

The William and Mary LeDuc house on Vermillion Street

in Hastings, Minnesota, was built in the 1860s following the Headley plans published in Cottage Residences. Their carriage house, ice house, and grounds were built and laid out in accordance with Downing principles and designs, too, remaining to this day as testament of Downing's appeal years after his death and far from his stomping grounds.[93] The house was donated to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1958 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970.[94]

Figure 14: The LeDuc house is a mirror image of the Headley house. Coincidentally, even its coloring is similar. Over the Years 42, no. 2 (Dec. 2001), cover.

Hastings was a Minnesota Territory frontier town when

William LeDuc (1823-1917) arrived from Ohio in 1850. A year later--at approximately the same time the Headleys occupied their new house--LeDuc brought his new wife, Mary (1829-1904), to the settlement.[95] Almost immediately, she lamented the lack of refinement and cultural offerings available. "I would rather live on the Hudson River banks, within a few hours of New York City, than anywhere else," she wrote to her mother in 1854.[96] But in 1862, ten years after Downing's death, the LeDucs were still there, living in a white Greek Revival house. Owners of both Cottage Residences and Rural Essays, they were well aware of Downing's unfavorable thoughts about houses like their own, and they set about to build something matching their aspirations of gentility and refinement.[97]

The LeDucs chose a site for their new house in 1860 and began working on plans in 1861.[98] To best achieve their ideas, they decided to follow the design for the Headley house, and Mary reversed the plan herself in order to better accommodate it to its environs, just as Downing would have wanted.[99] The reasons behind their selection have not been found, but perhaps they fancied its river-inspired design (Hastings is on both the Mississippi and Vermillion Rivers), or maybe they chose it for its recognizability as the frontispiece in the book they owned.

Figure 15: Mary LeDuc sketched this reversed plan by tracing the Headley house design against a window pane. Minnesota Historical Society Collection, Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 7.

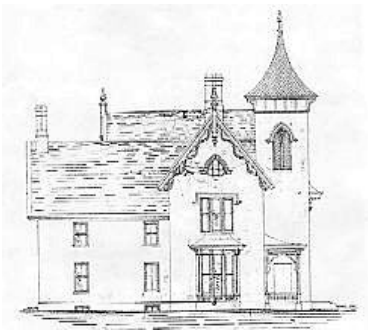


Figure 16: The architect Augustus F. Knight developed Mary LeDuc's sketch and Downing's plans into a workable design. The view here is the north elevation. Minnesota Historical Society Collection, Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 7.

Downing's plans were not detailed enough for them to follow on their own, however, so they hired architect August F. Knight (1831-1914)--himself a Hudson Valley transplant--to help them turn the design, with its "rather vague details," into reality. The builder was Eri Cogshall, a local contractor, and he brought in a second architect, Abraham M. Radcliffe, to further clarify the plans. One modification he made--to Mary LeDuc's objection--was to raise the windows some 15 to 22 inches from the floor in an attempt to accommodate the LeDuc's budget. Other modifications during the building process affected the main entry, the window caps, and the vestibule moldings.[100] There is no evidence of communication between the LeDucs or their architects and Headley, Vaux, or any Downing associate.[101] As

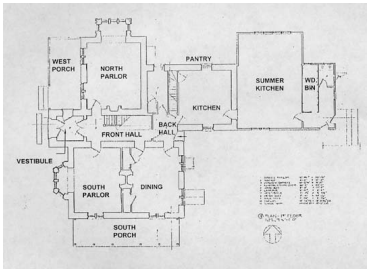
Downing and Vaux both believed in the value of using professional architects, they would have been pleased to learn that their published design received expert help in coming into fruition.

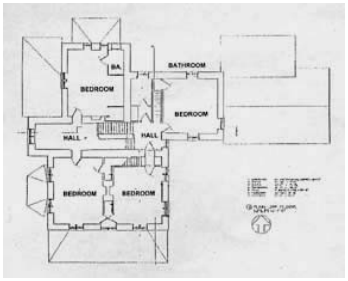
Figure 17: Like the Headley house, the LeDuc house has a curved approach to the front entrance (seen here with members of the LeDuc family in front). Hastings, Minnesota Historical Society Photograph Collection, c. 1910, location no. MD2.9 HS3.2L r6, negative no. 32070.

Along with the main house, the LeDucs also planned a Downing-inspired carriage barn and ice house and an appropriate grounds layout. Though construction was interrupted by the Civil War, the LeDuc house became the family home in 1865, while still under construction, and house and grounds were mostly complete by 1867. The price tag had ballooned from the initial estimate of $2,000 to nearly $30,000, a cost the family could scarcely afford.[102]

It is interesting to note that although the house was built of limestone rather than brick, its pale brown stones and reddish trim are very similar in coloring to the original.

Like the exterior, the house's interior closely adheres to the Headley design. On the first floor, the





Figures 18 and 19: The first- and second-floor plans of the LeDuc house neatly mirror the Headley house's arrangement of spaces (compare versus figures 7 and 8, p. 47). The kitchen addition was not part of their original plan. LeDuc Historic House Site, Kodet Architectural Group, 2000, courtesy Minnesota Historical Society.

"south parlor" corresponds to the Headleys' library, and the "north parlor" to the drawing room. William LeDuc filled his library with a rich collection of books in pine bookcases. During the cold winter, the family used the room as a social space.[103] The second floor also mirrors the Headley house's chamber floor, the most significant difference being the inclusion of a bathroom inside the largest bedroom. The third floor contains three servant's rooms, which may have been used by hired hands who worked in the house and on the grounds.[104] Placement of doors,

windows, halls, and stairs all correspond to the Headley design as well.[105]

In addition the high cost, the LeDucs were dissatisfied with the fireplaces, which were too shallow to provide heat. Even when replaced by coal stoves, the house was difficult to keep warm. This fault was more likely due to the house's situation and/or a building error than Downing's prescription. A later change was the construction of a frame addition at the back of the house. By the late 1860s, seven or eight people lived there.[106]

Whereas Headley's house was just one of many fine estates in close proximity to one another, the LeDuc house attracted such notice that it was called the finest home in the state by a contemporary newspaper.[107] Still, this was not enough for poor Mary LeDuc, who found her fellow Hastings residents to be poor company due to their lack of refinement. She and her family escaped for an interlude in Washington, D.C., while William worked as U.S. commissioner of agriculture (1877-1881). They left their house closed during this time, save for a return to Hastings with President B. Hayes in 1878, when they hosted a reception for him in the house.[108]

As is made clear by others' research into the LeDuc house, it "did not signal the fulfillment of the ideal they

were seeking. It embodied the struggle of their quest" and "fell short of their expectations and affected the lifestyle for which they strived," making it harder to attain.[109] This was partly due to their own straitened circumstances, but it also had much to do with the financial and social obstacles involved in pioneering "refinement" in the U.S. frontier. Neither the materials, the skills, nor the good company necessary to enjoy such a home were found in Hastings, showing that refinement was not as easily attainable as Downing's writings often suggested.

6. The House after the Headleys

The Headleys sold their house in 1870 for reasons I did not determine. Their eldest child, Russel, was in college by this time, and their youngest, Joel Jr., was already 15, so perhaps they felt that they no longer needed or could care for such a large estate.[110] Other explanations could be that they were looking to avoid having to decide which child to leave their estate to, or maybe they simply wanted to enjoy the conveniences of Newburgh. The Headleys first appear in the Newburgh City Directory in the 1871-1872 edition, living downtown at 172 South Street near Lander Street. (The 1877 directory is when they are first listed at 277 Grand Street, the address Headley remained at until his death twenty years later.)

Whatever the circumstances of the Headleys' move, Harriet Musgrave (née Pardee) became the new house owner in November 1870. Although married to Stephen B. Musgrave at this time, she is the sole purchaser listed in the deed (see appendix). Her father, "R. H. Pardee, Esq., of New York," is named as the client for renovations that were completed shortly after the house was purchased, so it seems likely that he provided the purchase money and possibly even lived in the house with his daughter and her husband.[111] According to census records, Stephen and Harriet

Musgrave were still in the house in 1880, along with a child, Bessie (b. 1870); Harriet's mother, Elizabeth, age 60; and five servants; R. H. Pardee had died in 1877.[112]

Renovating architect George E. Harney (1840-1924), for his part, first appears in the 1868-1869 Newburgh directory, with a practice in downtown Newburgh and a house across the river in Cold Spring. Vaux had relocated to New York in 1856, followed by Withers in 1863, and both had expanded their respective focuses beyond residential design.[113] Thus, neither was a natural choice for new work on the house.

Harney had begun to make a name for himself by 1870, when he published his only book wholly of his own making, Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences, and had a design in American Architect and Builders' Monthly.[114] Although he worked in the Hudson Valley for the same type of clients as Downing and Vaux, and like Vaux would eventually relocate to New York City, he did not share their habit of imparting general information about landscaping and architecture and articulating the reasons behind his stylistic decisions; instead, the text of his book as well as designs he added to Cottage Residences focus on descriptions of specific designs.


PRACTICAL STANDARD PUBLICATIONS OF
GEO. E. WOODWARD,
191 Broadway, New York.
WOODWARD'S NATIONAL ARCHITECT.
Twelve Dollars.
HARNEY'S BARNS, OUT-BUILDINGS, AND FENCES.

Figure 20: This advertisement shows Harney's book priced at $10. Harper's Weekly, 12 Feb. 1870, 112.

At approximately 8 1/2 by 11 inches in trim size, and selling for $10 in 1870, Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences was more akin to the builder's guides that were in wide use before printing innovations made possible the inexpensive illustrated books like those by written by Downing.[115] It includes options for stables (17), farmhouses (2), barns (3), poultry houses (4), a manure pit (1), a dairy (1), outbuildings (3), an ice house (1), a billiard house (1), fences (18), gateways (14), and "rustic structures" (6). As described in the preface, "It has been our aim to present as great a variety of designs as possible, and, although it would be impossible to suit all tastes as to design, and

all requirements as to accommodation, in a work of this kind, yet it is hoped that, as most of them have been made to suit cases occurring in the ordinary run of professional practice, they will meet the general demands of the market."[116] Indeed, the styles do vary widely, and there seems to be no strong aesthetic rubric governing them. From the text, however, we can see that Harney was concerned about aesthetic refinement, even regarding the indelicate manure pit. "A manure heap is never a pretty thing to look at, but a screen can always be made attractive, especially if covered with vines or flanked by evergreens."[117] Brick was his material of choice for stables, "even better to stone, from the fact that the walls inside, having a smoother face, may be kept cleaner, freer from cobwebs and dust deposits than stone walls; and, if built with hollow walls, more free from dampness also."[118] Plate 12, "An ornamental stable for four houses," with its four stalls, passage, small rooms, and carriage room, has an interior similar to the stable Harney would design for the Musgrave-Pardee property.

Shortly after completing his own book, he must have begun revisions to Downing's Cottage Residences; as editor of the 1873 edition, he contributed nine new house designs in addition to updates to the original text. I did not

determine how he came to edit this revision, but he must have had professional contacts with many of Downing's associates, including his brother Charles, his friend Henry Winthrop Sargent, Vaux, and Withers, as all of them made contributions to the new edition. (For a subsequent revision that was never completed, Downing's widow Caroline enlisted Frederick Law Olmsted.[119]) With respect to Downing's text, Harney was able to incorporate most revisions "by means of notes placed in brackets where they were found necessary, so that Mr. Downing's original matter has been preserved just as he wrote it."[120] In the case of Headley's former house, his touch was not so light.

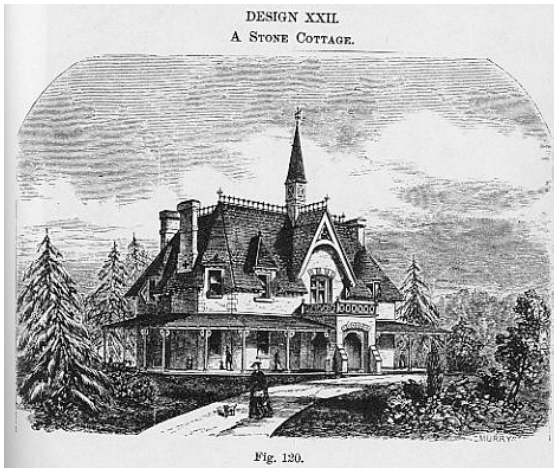
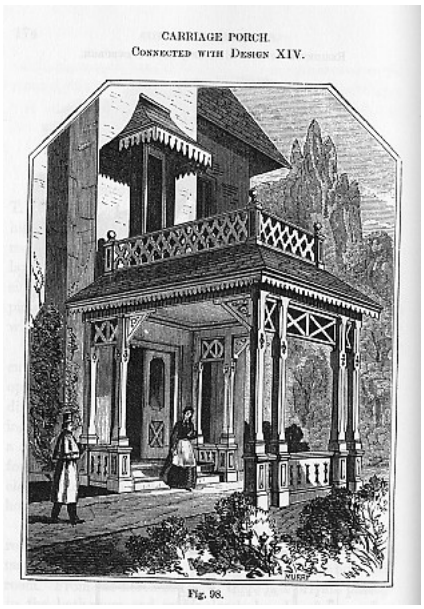
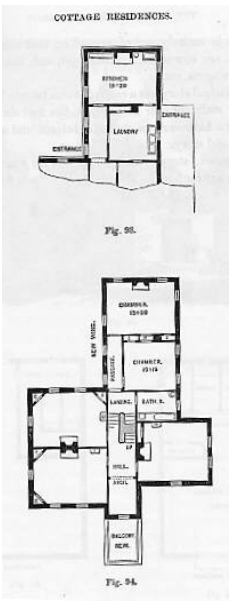


Figure 21: One of Harney's additions to Cottage Residences, this $18,000 "stone cottage" exemplifies his eclectic, stilted style. Victorian Cottage Residences, reprint of 1873 edition of Cottage Residences, ed. George E. Harney, New York: Dover Publications, 1981, opp. 200.

For the Musgrave-Pardee household, as commissioned by R. H. Pardee, Harney in 1871 added a covered porch around the front entrance, creating a balcony above it and necessitating an extension of the second-floor window to reach the new balcony; removed the second-story dressing room and the walls around the attic stairs, allowing the hall to stretch across the entire floor; replaced the kitchen wing with a larger one with more bedrooms above; remodeled the pantry; added closets with running water to the bedrooms; renovated the bathroom; remodeled woodwork "to some extent throughout the house"; painted the exterior gray; and constructed a stable with carriage room, horse and cow stalls, storage space, a caretaker's room, and a manure pit.[121] With their several servants and three generations, the Musgrave-Pardee house may have needed the space.

These changes affected the exterior in three ways: the color, the front entrance, and the kitchen wing. We are not given any information about the appearance of the new kitchen wing, and it has since been rebuilt again. The gray color was passable in Downing's scheme. The carriage porch (figure 22) was undertaken for the right reason--to allow better enjoyment of the view from the house--but its execution would likely displeased Downing and Vaux,





Figures 22 and 23: Harney's 1871 modifications to the Headley house added a carriage porch extension with balcony from the front entry (left), replaced the kitchen wing (top right), and added water closets to the bedrooms (bottom right). The busy, boxy ornamentation on the carriage porch and balcony contrast with the original house's more graceful orientation and the gently curving lines of the tower, veranda, and window caps. Victorian Cottage Residences, reprint of 1873 edition of Cottage Residences, ed. George E. Harney, New York: Dover Publications, 1981, opp. 174, 177.

for it does not relate to the rest of the house design or to the surroundings. Its columns, sharply angled woodwork, and busy trim detract from the simplicity of the front entrance and clash with the preexisting ornament.

The stable he designed at the same time also diverges stylistically from the house, although in a different manner from the front entrance. Its steeply sloped roof and dormer window lack the charm of the original house, and the ventilating tower, which so easily could have been given a

curved roof to match the house's Rhenish tower, is similarly stark.

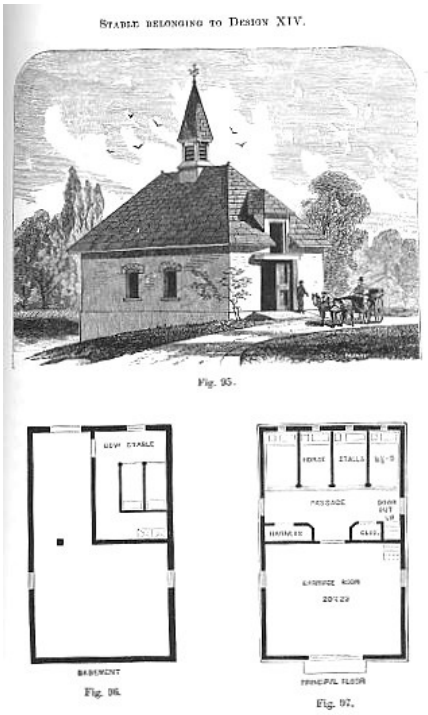


Figure 24: The Harney-designed stable makes no attempt to echo the curved tower of the main house in its ventilation tower. Victorian Cottage Residences, reprint of 1873 edition of Cottage Residences, ed. George E. Harney, New York: Dover Publications, 1981, opp. 178.

The house remaining today has been altered again, increased in size from the approximately fifteen rooms in 1871 to twenty-three (including three kitchens!) in 7,000 square feet. The grounds, meanwhile, have been parceled off so that only 4.9 acres of the original estate remain part of the property.

Although my research focused on the house's original design and occupants, I will summarize here what I learned

about the intervening years. As this information is outside the scope of my original study, I did not verify it.

A gardener's cottage/gatehouse was built between the house and the road in 1883; it is still standing but owned separately.[122]

The next owner I know of after the Musgrave-Pardees was John A. Corcoran, who in 1924 commissioned Rogers and Haniman, Architects (110 East 42nd Street in New York), to design a large renovation that included combining the library and dining room into a living room with black walnut paneling and a built-in humidor; this renovation also added the back wing.[123]

Figure 25: View of the Headley house from the east, including the main entrance. Harney's carriage entry-balcony has been turned into a sun room that relates to the rest of the house even more awkwardly. Photo by author, 2000.

Figure 26: The south facade of the house has been greatly altered from the original, including the addition of a chimney through the gable and a large annex (1924), left, with different jigsaw ornamentation. Photo by author, 2000.

The subsequent tenant was named O'Connor; this occupant left behind cottage-style furniture that became

the property of Andrea Igoe's grandfather when he bought the house, "semi-abandoned," in 1942 as a safe place for his family to live out the war. Young Igoe and her brother and parents moved in in 1943, sharing the main house with her grandparents while "Aunt Fran" and her husband, Fred, lived in the back part of the house. They rented out an upstairs apartment separately. Despite the large amount of space, they found the house "not set up for easy living," particularly with regard to the small number of bathrooms and closets. Although Ms. Igoe left the house after she went to college, her family remained until 1985. She remembers the house being among several properties on what was known as "Estate Row." They had rose arbors and grape arbors among the four tiers in the back. Her family did not add or subtract any major portions of the house, although they did sell the stable to someone who converted it to a single-family house; the person who lives there now is grandson of the original owner.[124]

Linda Anderson and Scott Henry bought the house from artist Kenny Scharf in 1993. They in turn sold it in early 2002 to Lisa and Harry Blackman. Mr. Henry's research linked the house to design 14 in Cottage Residences. He also did some investigation of the grounds, turning up what he believed to have been a 300-foot grape arbor on one of

the lower tiers. The stream and waterfall remain, as do traces of a 40- by 60-foot porcelain outdoor pool fed by the waterfall. This was built by occupants c. 1903-1911 and remained until the stream was ceded to the town after World War II. There is a seasonal pond fed by an underground spring as well.[125]

Inside, the most striking room is the enlarged living room, with its ornamental plaster ceiling and tiger-striped maple flooring. The front entry, with the Moorish arch repeated inside, is also quite bold.

7. Conclusion

My research indicates that Downing and Vaux collaborated on the design for a house and possibly grounds for the Headley estate in New Windsor in 1850-1851, as published in the fourth edition of Cottage Residences (1852). The LeDuc family in Hastings, Minnesota, followed this published design with modifications for their own purposes.

The only fact I found by which to gauge the Headleys' satisfaction with their house is that they spent nearly two decades there. When they left, however, they left their rural, landed lifestyle along with their prestigious house, for they moved to downtown Newburgh. The next occupants, the Pardee-Musgrave family, made extensive renovations, as did a 1920s occupant, indicating that the house did not fully suit them. Before the early 1940s, the house was abandoned for a time.

The LeDucs had numerous problems with their rendition of the house, not least being that it far exceeded the budget given in Cottage Residences and by their own architects. The difficulty they had procuring skilled workers and necessary materials in their Midwestern town was one factor behind the overage, something that Downing did little to address in his best-selling pattern books. Another was Mary LeDuc's belief that the house would enable

her to transcend her Hastings existence, an impossible goal that she nevertheless poured money toward. Although the house did succeed in rooting the family, as Downing thought a good home should, it felt to the LeDucs like they were trapped. Indeed, more than once they tried unsuccessfully to sell their house so they could move elsewhere.[126]

Four years after Downing's death, Vaux left Newburgh for New York, where he became increasingly involved with more public-oriented works: urban parks, multifamily housing, and institutional buildings for museums and charitable organizations. Downing's other English associate, Withers, would join Vaux in New York several years later and become known for ecclesiastical work. Thus, in 1871, an architect with seemingly no connection to Downing--and little understanding of his principles--made modifications to the original Headley design and to Downing's Cottage Residences as well. That neither Vaux nor Withers took on these jobs seems to indicate that they no longer had such strong beliefs in the virtues of single-family homes on their own plots of land. They had watched the Northeast's continued urbanization and decided to direct their professional energies toward improving the needs of city dwellers rich and poor.

Still, despite increasing urbanization and the Civil

War, Downing's fame lingered long after his death. His books continued to inspire home builders and sell prodigiously, even with the inferior designs added by Harney twenty years later. Whether Downing's interests would have shifted in the same direction as his former associates is impossible to say, but it is worth noting that with his Washington work and his proposal for a "Central Park" in New York he was becoming more involved with cities.

With these thoughts in mind, I see the Headley house as exemplifying the shortcomings of Downing's vision. The house design, while originally considerate of its surroundings, was altered to a less harmonious form within a generation, and again fifty years later, and much of the attached land was sectioned off. Furthermore, the design proved difficult to replicate. Perhaps most telling, although Downing fancied himself a democratic idealist, his views appealed to a client who was a reactionary jingoist.

In other ways, however, the house is clearly a success. Most important is that it is still standing, unlike many structures from the 1850s, having survived modifications to meet the needs of generation after generation.

Beyond these reflections, my most certain conclusion

is that worthwhile work remains to be done on this topic. Additional site visits, including a mapping of trees and their approximate ages; a reconstruction of the property's original boundaries versus what is left today; a study of the use of water on the grounds; a search for Headley family records in Albany and Stockbridge; following up with Andrea Igoe and her family to review their knowledge about the house and compare it with the findings contained herein--all could shed light on the questions of Downing and Vaux's collaboration on this house and possibly grounds, and how their work met their clients' needs.

It is not singly the residents, the architects, or the setting that make the house so intriguing, but rather the combination that shed light on what it stood for and how it succeeded and failed, making it such an interesting subject.

Appendix[127]

Deed of sale to the Headleys, May 10, 1850

This Indenture made the tenth day of May in the year one Thousand Eight hundred and fifty Between Thomas W. Chrystie and Elizabeth L his wife and Margaret T. Ludlow all of New Windsor County of Orange and Sate of New York, of the first part and J. T. Headley of the City and County of New York, of the second part Witnesseth That the said parties of the first part for and in consideration of the Sum of Two Thousand and Six Hundred Dollars lawful money of the United States of America to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged have granted bargained, sold aliened remised, released, conveyed and confirmed and by these presents do grant bargain sell alien remise release convey and confirm unto the said party of the Second Part and to his heirs and assigns for ever. [All those two certain lots of land situate lying and being in the Town of New Windsor aforesaid, and known and distinguished on a map made by Charles Clinton as lots numbers Eighty and Eighty four Bounded Easterly by lands of Eli Hasbrouck as now enclosed. North by lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased West by Lot number Eighty Eight and South by a strip of land designated on said map as and for a street or way by the name of Cumberland Street also all that part of a certain lot known on the aforesaid map as Lot number Eighty Eight bounded as follows Viz West by a road leading from the residence of Samuel A Walsh Southwardly, North by lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased East by Lot Number Eighty four, and South by the aforesaid Strip of Land designated on said map as and for a Street or way by the name of Cumberland Street together with all the right title and interest of said parties of the first part to any street or streets described on said map of Charles Clinton as running through or adjoining said Premises Excepting and reserving from the above described Premises, the following portion thereof Viz beginning in the South line of Lands of Thomas Machaness deceased at a point Six chains and Thirteen links on a course of North fifty Seven degrees and thirty minutes west from the Northwestwardly corner of lands of Eli Hasbrouck as now enclosed and running thence North Seventy Eight degrees West Three chains then North Seventy Eight degrees and Thirty minutes West one chains and Ninety five links thence South Fifty Three degrees West

twenty three Links thence North Fifty one degrees and thirty minutes West two chains and thirty nine links thence North Thirty one degrees west one chains and fifty links, thence north Thirty nine degrees and thirty minutes west two chains and Eighty Links to the aforesaid line of Lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased, at a Point Eight chains and forty two links from the Middle of the road leading from the residence of Samuel A Walsh southwardly thence along the said line of lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased South Fifty Seven degrees and thirty minutes East ten chains and eighty Seven links to the place of beginning. The Premises hereby conveyed were owned by Charles Ludlow in his life time and contain over and above the lands reserved and excepted as aforesaid Thirteen and a half acres be the Same more or less.] Together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents issues and profits thereof And also all the estate right title interest, Dower right of Dower property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever as well in law as in equity of the Said Parties of the first part or in the above described premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances To Have and to Hold all and Singular the above mentioned and described premises Together with the appurtenances unto the said party of the Second part, his heirs and assigns forever. And the Said Thomas W Chrystie for himself his heirs executors and administrators, doth covenant promise and agree to and with the said party of the Second part, his heirs and assigns that he has not made done committed, executed or suffered any act or acts, thing or things whatsoever whereby or by means whereof the above mentioned and described Premises or any Part or Parcel thereof now are or at any time hereafter shall or may be impeached, charged or encumber, in any manner or way whatsoever.

In Witness Whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto Set their hands and Seals the day and year first above Written Sealed and delivered in the Presence of
Tho. W. Chrystie (seal)
E. L. Chrystie (seal)
Margaret T. Ludlow (seal)
the word “estate, right” being, first interlined and the words “as now enclosed” interlined over the twenty first line before Signing
Stephen. C. Parmenter.
State of New York) Orange County) (seal)

The above deed contained an error in the description of the premises, preventing the survey from closing. In exchange for $1, the following deed corrected the error.

This Indenture made the twenty ninth day of December in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty two, between Thomas W Chrystie and Elizabeth L. his wife, and Margaret T. Ludlow of the town of New Windsor in the County of Orange and State of New York of the first part, and Joel T. Headley of the same place of the second part, witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part, for an in consideration of the sum of one dollar, lawful money of the United States of America to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part, at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have remised, released, and quit claimed, and by these presents do remise, release and quit-claim unto the said party of the second part, and to his heirs and assignees forever, all those two certain lots of land situate, lying and being in the town of New Windsor aforesaid and known and distinguished on a map made by Charles Clinton as lots numbers eighty and Eighty four. bounded Easterly by lands late of Eli Hasbrouck, now of John Gowdy as now enclosed north by lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased, west by lot number eighty eight, and South by a strip of land designated on said map as and for a street or way by the name of Cumberland Street, Also all that part of a certain lot known on the aforesaid map as lot number eighty Eight, bounded as follows, viz. west by a road leading Southwardly from the residence late of Samuel A. Walsh, now of Charles H. Havermyer, north by lands formerly of Thomas Machaness, deceased, East by lot number eighty four, and South by the aforesaid Strips of land designated on said map as and for a street or way by the name of Cumberland Street; together with all and singular the right, title and interest, of said parties of the first part to any street or streets described on said map of Charles Clinton as running through or adjoining said premises; Excepting and reserving from the above described premises the following portion thereof, viz: beginning in the South line of lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased at a point six chains and thirteen links on a course of north fifty seven degrees and thirty minutes west from the northwestwardly corner of lands late of Eli Hasbrouck, now of John Gowdy, as now enclosed and running thence north seventy eight degrees west three chains, thence north seventy eight degrees and thirty minutes west

one chain and ninety five links; thence north fifty one degrees and thirty minutes west two chains and thirty nine links thence, north thirty one degrees thirty minutes west two chains and eight links to the aforesaid line of lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased at a point eight chains and forty two links from the middle of the aforesaid road leading Southwardly from the residence late of said Samuel A. Walsh, now of Charles H. Havemyer, thence along the said line of lands formerly of Thomas Machaness deceased South fifty seven degrees and thirty minutes east ten chains and eighty seven links to the place of beginning. being the same premises which were intended to be conveyed in and by a certain deed bearing date the tenth day of May one thousand eight hundred and fifty. Executed by the parties of the first part to the party of the second part by the name of J. T. Headley, and recorded in Orange County Records for Deeds in Liber No. 106, pages 329 etc on the eleventh day of June one thousand eight hundred and fifty (in the description of the premises in which deed there was an error in one of the lines which prevented the Survey of said premises from closing, the correction of which error is the purpose of this deed) The premises thereby conveyed were owned by Charles Ludlow deceased in his lifetime and contain over and above the land reserved and excepted as aforesaid thirteen and a half acres be the same more or less: Together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues and profits thereof; and all the estate, rights, title, interest, dower and right of dower, property, possession, claims, and demands whatsoever as well in law as in equity of the said parties of the first part. of. in or to the above described premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances__ To have and to hold all and singular the above mentioned and described premises together with the appurtenances unto the said party of the second part, and to his heirs and assigns forever__ And the said parties of the first part for themselves and their heirs, executors and administrators, do covenant, promise and agree to and with the said party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, that they have not made, done, committed, executed or suffered any act, or thing whatsoever, by means whereof the above mentioned and described premises or any part or parcel thereof now are or at any time hereafter shall or may be charged or incumbered in any manner whatsoever, Except the

aforesaid deed to J. T. Headley__
In witness whereof the said parties of the first part have herewith set their hands and seals the day and year first above written__
Sealed & delivered in the presence of Robt Proudfit. Jr.
Tho. W. Chrystie (seal)
Elizabeth L. Chrystie (seal)
Margaret T. Ludlow (seal)

Deed of sale by the Headleys, November 7, 1870

This Indenture made the seventh day of November in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy Between Joel T. Headly *[sic]* and Anna his wife of the town of New Windsor in the County of Orange & State of New York of the first part and Harriet Musgrave wife of Stephen B. Musgrave of the City County and State of New York of the second part. Witnesseth that the said parties of the first part for the consideration of the sum of Twenty-one thousand Dollars lawful money of the United States of America to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and the said party of the second *[sic]* part her *[sic]* heirs executors and administrators forever released and discharged from the same by these presents have granted bargained sold aliened remised released conveyed and confirmed and by these presents do grant bargain sell alien remise release and confirm unto the said party of the second part and to his *[sic]* heirs and assigns forever.

All that certain lot piece or parcel of land situated in the Town of New Windsor in the County of Orange aforesaid Bounded and Described as follows to wit. Beginning in the middle of the road leading from Queen Street to Newburgh lies in line of Lands belonging to Benjamin F. Clark and runs thence along said Clarks lands south fifty six degrees fifteen minutes east thirteen hundred and ninety three feet to the intersection of the fences being the north east corner of said Clarks lands & Thence along lands of Benjamin Walsh north ninety three degrees forty five minutes east four hundred and twenty three feet, to a post set for the corner of said Walsh's lands thence along lands of Thomas W. Chrystie north fifty six degrees twenty five minutes west passing through a marked chestnut tree four hundred and four feet and six inches to a stake set in the ground five feet northwest of said marked chestnut thence north seventy seven degrees fifteen minutes west one hundred and forty seven feet to a large Chestnut tree marked Thence north seventy eight degrees west one hundred & forty nine feet to an oak marked thence north forty eight degrees thirty minutes west sixty seven feet to a stake four and a half feet north of a cedar tree marked thence north fifty three degrees west eighty three feet and six inches to a wild cherry tree marked thence north thirty three degrees west one hundred and eighteen feet and six inches to the north side of a marked

chestnut tree thence north thirty eight degrees west one hundred and eighty nine feet and six inches to a stake set north of the Pond, thence north fifty six degrees fifteen minutes west passing through a large cedar standing in the fence five hundred and fifty four feet and five inches. To the center of the aforementioned road thence along the middle of said road north fifteen minutes east four hundred and eighty one feet and six inches thence south fourteen degrees thirty minutes west fifty nine feet to the place of beginning containing fourteen acres and five hundredths of an acre of land be the same more or less.

Together with all and singular the tenements hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and the reversion and reversions remainder and remainders rents issues and profits thereof and also all the estate right title interest dower right of dower property possession claim and demand whatsoever as well in law as in equity of said party of the first part of in and to the same and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances. To have and to hold all the above granted bargained and described premises with the appurtenances unto the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns to her and their own proper use benefit and behalf forever and the said parties of the first part for themselves and their heirs executors and administrators do covenant grant and agree to and with the said party of the second part his *[sic]* heirs and assigns that the said Joel T. Headley at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents is lawfully seized in his own right of a good absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple of and in all and singular the above granted bargained and described premises with the appurtenances and hath good right title power and lawful authority to grant bargain sell and convey the same in fee owned & possessed aforesaid and the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns shall and may at all times hereafter peaceably and quietly have hold and occupy possess and enjoy the above granted premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances, without any let suit trouble molestation eviction or disturbance of the parties of the first part their heirs or assigns or of any other person or persons lawfully claiming or do claim the same which shall lie accrue now are free clear discharged and unencumbered of and from all forever and after grants title charges estates and interests such as assessments and encumbrances of which nature is freed forever. And also that the said parties of the first part their heirs and assigns and all

and every person or persons whatsoever lawfully or equitably deriving any estate right title or interest of in or to the herein before granted premises by from under or in trust for them shall and will at any time or times hereafter enforce this reasonable request and all the proper costs and charges in the care of the said party of the first part his heirs and assigns make do and execute or cause forever to be made done and executed all and every such further and other lawfull and reasonable acts conveyances and assurances in the law to the letter and name effectively vesting and confirming the premises hereby intended to be granted to the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns forever as by the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns or her or their counsel learned in the law shall be reasonably devised advised or required. And that the said Joel T. Headley and his heirs the above described and hereby acquitted and released premises building part and parcel freely with the appurtenances unto the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns against the said party of the first part their heirs and against all and every person whomsoever lawfully claiming or to claim the same shall and will warranted by these presents forever defend.

In witness whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written sealed and delivered in the presence of John C. Noe

J. T. Headley
Anna A. Headley

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Acknowledgments

Thanks to Professor Robert Twombly for suggesting this topic and patiently guiding my research and analysis. I am also grateful to the professors in whose classes I did related work: David Jaffee, Louis Masur, and Bill Rednour.

Several people at various institutions enthusiastically aided this investigation: Philip Terrie of Bowling Green State University; Wayne Gannaway and Thomas Ellig of the Minnesota Historical Society; Betsy McKean of the Newburgh City Engineer's Office; Pat Favata of the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Hudson Highlands; the local history librarians at the Newburgh Free Library and Poughkeepsie's Adriance Memorial Library; Glenn Marshall, New Windsor town historian; and the staff of the Orange County Historical Society. It was a pleasure to do research at three of my favorite institutions: Avery Art and Architectural Library, the New-York Historical Society, and the New York Public Library. The Making of America online collection of nineteenth-century primary sources, hosted by Cornell University and the University of Michigan, provided a number of fruitful citations.

I also wish to extend thanks to: my mother for introducing

me to Springside and continued encouragement; my father and Dorothy Thomas for their enthusiasm about the project, including research tips and discoveries, chauffeur services, and deciphering of handwriting; Kerith Gardner, particularly for securing NYU library books on long-term loan; Scott Henry, who first recognized and publicized the importance of the house, and gave me a tour; Andrea Igoe for her reminiscences of living in the house; and Chris Gasiorek and other friends and family for continued interest and support.

Finally, I owe a large debt to the community of Downing scholars and aficionados, whose previously published research greatly facilitated this work. Their interest is at once encouraging and daunting, and I hope that they find this paper a worthy contribution to the field.

[1]Notes

Chapter 2

. Although several sources give 1814 for Headley's birth, 1813 seems to be the more reliable date, found in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., "Headley, Joel Tyler," Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1931-1932, 479-80; his New York Times obituary (1 Jan. 1897); and Philip G. Terrie's introduction to the 1982 facsimile of Headley's Adirondack (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books) among other places.

[2]. Headley would write about his maternal grandfather, Rev. Abner Benedict, in The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution (New York: Charles Scribner, 1861).

[3]. Quotes from the unsigned publisher's preface to The Beauties of J. T. Headley (New York: John S. Taylor, 1851), 13; and E. M. Ruttenber and L. H. Clark, comps., History of Orange County, N.Y. (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1881), 360.

[4]. Headley's life is detailed in a number of sources, including Johnson and Malone, eds., DAB; Almet S. Moffat, comp., Orange County New York: A Narrative History (Washingtonville, NY: 1928), 68-69; and Ruttenber and Clark, comps., History of Orange County. The quote is taken from the principal address at Headley's memorial as printed in the Newburgh Daily Register (2 Feb. 1897).

[5]. Ibid.

[6]. Review of The Adirondack, Holden's Review 4 (July 1849): 438.

[7]. Ibid.; "Profits on Books in America," review of H. C. Cary, Letters on International Copyright, reprinted from the Tribune in Living Age 40, no. 504 (14 Jan. 1854): 112-115; and Johnson and Malone, eds., DAB.

[8]. Review of The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution, New York Times, 7 May 1864, 2.

[9]. World, 17 Jan. 1897.

[10]. Quote from letter from Headley to the New-York Daily Times, 5 Aug. 1858.

[11]. Dixon Ryan Fox writing in the WPA-produced New York: A Guide to the Empire State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 14, credits Headley with increasing awareness of and curiosity about the region.

[12]. Terrie, introduction to Adirondack, 9.

[13]. Headley, Sketches and Rambles, 61.

[14]. Election dates and offices from Harper's Weekly, 30 Jan. 1897, 103. Background on Know-Nothing movement from Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed.

[15]. Letter from Headley to the nominating convention, 14 Sept. 1857; reprinted in New-York Daily Times, 16 Sept. 1857, 1.

[16]. World, 17 Jan. 1897.

[17]. Holden's Review: review of The Adirondack, July 1849, 438; Boston Post: review of Miscellanies, reprinted in Living Age, 23 Mar. 1850, 574; Poe: cited in Terrie, introduction to Adirondack, 19 n. 2. An interesting aside is that some five years earlier, Poe had turned his pen against Downing and the very notion of using "the aid of a professional gentleman in the matter of building a house, or adorning our grounds with trees." See Adam W. Sweeting, Reading Houses and Building Books: Andrew Jackson Downing and the Architecture of Popular Antebellum Literature, 1835-1855 (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996), 125, 216 n. 8.

[18]. Although statistics are scant from this time period, life expectancy has been estimated at 38.7 years for men in Massachusetts in 1855. (George Rosen, "Life Expectancy," Dictionary of American History, 7 vols. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.]) Headley was 36 at the time of his wedding.

[19]. Wedding date: Johnson and Malone, eds., DAB. The 1880 census lists Russel's birth date as 1825 in Massachusetts. According to records at Family Search (www.familysearch. org), the marriage took place in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. I would imagine that it was in or near Stockbridge, Headley's former workplace, but I found no listing of it in either the Pittsfield Sun (which covered Stockbridge events) or Newburgh papers.

[20]. According to Russel Headley's obituary in the New York Times (4 June 1934, 17:2), he was 81 at the time of his death, placing his birth in 1853 or 1854, but other records have him born earlier: The 1870 census lists him as a 20-year-old college student, and according to Portrait and Biographical Records of Orange County, vol. 1 (New York and Chicago: Chapman, 1895), 140, he studied at Cornell from 1868 to 1872. In 1860, according to the census, Lucy was 6 years old and Joel T. the younger was 4. Names of all three children as well as the senior Headley's community accomplishments appear in several of his obituaries.

[21]. Quote from review of The Adirondack, citing passages where Headley harps on a negative review of Napoleon and His Marshals and argues with people who disagree with him, Athenaeum, 18 Aug. 1859, 833.

[22]. Willis would purchase the Cornwall property that became Idlewild in 1852, just a few miles south of Headley's estate; Sweeting, Reading Houses and Building Books, 125, 140.

[23]. For a description of Newburgh's growth, see Mark C. Carnes, "The Rise and Fall of a Mercantile Town: Family, Land and Capital in Newburgh, New York 1790-1844," Hudson Valley Regional Review 2.2 (Sept. 1985): 17-40, esp. 23-24, 31, and 38 n. 20, and "From Merchant to Manufacturer: The Economics of Localism in Newburgh, New York, 1845-1900," Hudson Valley Regional Review 3.1 (Mar. 1986): 46-79. Quote is from Ruttenber and Clark, comps., History of Orange County, 217, cited in Carnes, "Rise and Fall," 39 n. 28.

Chapter 3

[24]. Francis R. Kowsky, Country, Park, and City: The Architecture and Life of Calvert Vaux (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), chap. 1; Francis R. Kowsky, The Architecture of Frederick Clarke Withers: And the Progress of the Gothic Revival in America after 1850 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980), 21.

[25]. The details of Downing's life have been published in several places. Here and below, my main source is David Schuyler, Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852 (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[26]. Appreciation by John O. Simonds Jr. The edition was published in New York by Funk & Wagnalls.

[27]. Charles B. Wood III, "The New 'Pattern Books' and the Role of the Agricultural Press," in George B. Tatum and Elisabeth Blair MacDougal, eds., Prophet with Honor: The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852 (Philadelphia: Athenaeum, and Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 166; "Profits on Books in America," Living Age, 112-115.

[28]. Quoted in Sweeney, Reading Houses and Building Books, 183, 222 n. 46; as noted, the quote actually appears in Frederika Bremer, Homes of the New World (1853).

[29]. Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), 45.

[30]. Ibid., viii.

[31]. Ibid., 21, 39.

[32]. Ibid., ix-x, 20.

[33]. Ibid., 100, 356, 75, 63.

[34]. Ibid., 140, 145, 152.

[35]. Ibid., 18.

[36]. Ibid., 42.

[37]. Ibid., 318-19.

[38]. Ibid., 49.

[39]. See ibid., 339–42.

[40]. Ibid., ix.

[41]. Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850), 45.

[42]. Ibid., 271, 274.

[43]. Ibid., 39, 41.

[44]. John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, The Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 79, 97.

[45]. Leland M. Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 103–4.

[46]. Landscape Gardening, 86, 286, viii.

[47]. Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), 33-34. A revised edition of this work was issued in 1864.

Chapter 4

[48]. Ten land sales, one correction (involving the Headley property), and one lease by the Chrysties in the period from 1847 to 1869 are listed in Index of Deeds, Orange County, NY, 1703-1869. As noted in the Headley deed (see appendix), the land previously belonged to Charles Ludlow, presumably the father of Chrystie’s wife, Elizabeth L., and either the father or husband of Margaret T. Ludlow.

49

. The property is included in Farm Map of the Town of New Windsor and Part of Cornwall, Orange Co., N.Y. (1864), surveyed and drawn by James Hughes. A reprint of the map is available at the Orange County Historical Society in Goshen.

50

. Price per acre of the lands of Henry Robinson in Newburgh cited in Carnes, "From Merchant to Manufacturer," 53. Economic data from William E. Gienapp, "The Antebellum Era" in Encyclopedia of American Social History, vol. 1, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993).

51

. Publication timing in George B. Tatum, "Introduction: The Downing Decade (1841-1852)," in Tatum and MacDougal, eds., Prophet with Honor, 36.

52

. Cottage Residences, 4th ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1852), 184.

53

. Fees based on standards noted in the "Addenda" to ibid., 214-15.

54

. Country Houses, 258, 259.

55

. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes are from Cottage Residences, 4th ed., 184-85.

56

. Details about the approach are inferred from a site visit (4 Dec. 2000) and the 1864 Farm Map of New Windsor in addition to the exterior view in Cottage Residences.

57

. Landscape Gardening, 336-37.

58

. Phone interview with Scott Henry, who with his family owned and occupied the house from 1993 to 2002, 27 Nov. 2000.

59

. Henry told me that he restored the house to its original colors--pale yellow with reddish-brown trim--according to a paint analysis that he commissioned (house visit, 4 Dec. 2000).

60

. Cottage Residences, 14.

61

. Country Houses, 66, 67, 326-27, 328.

62

. Cottage Residences, 45.

63

. Country Houses, 321-23.

64

. Labeled design 31 in the original edition, the numbering was corrected to 32 in the 1969 Dover reprint. In both editions, the design appears on the plate opposite page 343, where the description begins.

65

. Country Houses, 343, 344-45, 347-48. It is worth noting the initials AJD in the lower left corner of the design, indicating that this is a Downing work. Many other designs in this volume involved A. J. Davis, with whom Downing frequently collaborated before hiring Vaux. For a discussion of Davis's involvement in Country Houses, see Jane B. Davies, "Davis and Downing," in Tatum and MacDougal, eds., Prophet with Honor, 119-123.

66

. Joel T. Headley, The Alps and the Rhine: A Series of Sketches (New York: Wiley and Putman, 1846), 116, 123 (emphasis added).

67

. Cottage Residences, 3-4.

68

. Country Houses, 272.

69

. In 1846, Downing's father-in-law charged him with circulating fraudulent notes drawn on his account; as part of the settlement, which was in Downing's favor, Downing had to sell assorted assets. See Schuyler, Apostle of Taste, 89-90, and George William Curtis, "Memoirs," in Downing's Rural Essays (New York: George P. Putnam and Company, 1853), xlii.

70

. Quote from Vaux to Marshall P. Wilder, 18 Aug. 1852, cited in Schuyler, Apostle of Taste, 156.

71

. Tatum, "Introduction," 36.

72

. S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1858), 812.

73. Schuyler, Apostle of Taste, 192-93; Tatum, "Introduction," 39-40.

74

. Landscape Gardening, 388.

75

. Villas and Cottages, 33.

76

. "Hints for Country House Builders," Harper's New Magazine, Sept. 1855, 773.

77

. "Villa with Tower and Attics" appears as design 16 in ibid., 775, and as design 24 in Villas and Cottages, 270-73. The "Design for a Villa Proposed to Be Erected at Poughkeepsie for M. Vassar, Esq.," is reproduced in William Alex, Calvert Vaux: Architect and Planner, with introduction by George B. Tatum (New York: Ink, Inc.), 1994, 50-51. Like the villa proposed by Downing and Vaux some three years earlier, this would remain unexecuted.

78

. Ibid., 273.
79

. Vaux Papers, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Kowsky, Country, Park, and City, 325 n. 34, dates this list. Alex, Calvert Vaux, "Listing of Works," 240, transcribes it but incorrectly gives the Headley listing as "G. T. Headly House, Hudson, N.Y."
80

. Cottage Residences, viii.
81

. Estimate provided by George E. Harney in the 1873 revised edition of Cottage Residences, 176.
82

. "The Beautiful in a Tree," Horticulturist editorial reprinted in Rural Essays, 19.
83

. "Rare Evergreen Trees," ibid., 322.
84

. Listing of trees from "Downing's Design XIV Is More Than a Cottage," Mid Hudson Times, 21 July 1999, 17, and a sheet about the house from 1998 Downing and Vaux house tour, obtained at the Newburgh Historical Society; quote from Andrea Igoe, phone interview, 1 July 2002. Igoe lived in the house as a child from 1943 into the 1950s, and her family remained there until 1985.
85

. Thanks to Glenn Marshall, New Windsor town historian, for providing this information. The 1870 deed specifies 14 5/100 acres, or slightly more than half an acre bigger than when Headley purchased it. I was unable to account for this discrepancy.
86

. Landscape Gardening, 349. On page 350 he notes that in the United States, "every sheet of water of moderate or small size is almost universally called a pond."
87

. Nathaniel Parker Willis, Outdoors at Idlewild, or, The Shaping of a Home on the Banks of the Hudson (New York: C. Scribner, 1855), 267.
88

. "Sunnyside, the Home of Washington Irving," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 14, no 79 (Dec. 1856): 1-22. This article was attributed to T. A. Richards in The Cambridge History of English and American Literature (1907-1921), vol. 15.
89

. "Charming river estate": T. Addison Richards, Appletons' Illustrated Hand-book of American Travel (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857-1861), 131. "Beautiful retreat" and "double temptation": T. Addison Richards, "Idlewild: The Home of N. P. Willis," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 16, no. 92 (Jan. 1858): 157.
90

. Lewis Beach, Cornwall (Newburgh: E. M. Ruttenber and Son, 1873), 133.

[91]. The "memoir" by George William Curtis supports the possibility that Downing could have been still at work on the Headley estate, noting that although Downing planned to leave Newburgh on July 27, his business delayed his trip a day (Rural Essays, liii).

[92]

Chapter 5

. See the review in the May 1852 Horticulturist, 232-33.

[93]. I am grateful to Dorothy Thomas for bringing this house to my attention, and to Wayne Gannaway, formerly of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Thomas Ellig for enthusiastically answering my inquiries and providing the materials cited here.

[94]. Wayne Gannaway, "A House of Ideals: The LeDuc Mansion," Over the Years 42, no. 2 (Dec. 2001), 16. According to Gannaway, ownership may eventually be transfered to the Dakota County Historical Society in partnership with the City of Hastings (e-mail to author, 21 Feb. 2002).

[95]. Ibid., 2.

[96]. Quoted in ibid., 3.

[97]. Carole Zellie, "Historic Structures Report: The William Gates LeDuc House," prepared for the Minnesota Historical Society, Historic Sites Division, 1987, 6, 8.

[98]. Ibid., 8.

[99]. Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 7-8.

[100]. Ibid., 7-9, and Zellie, "Historic Structures Report," 9-13.

[101]. Wayne Gannaway, e-mail to author, 21 Feb. 2002.

[102]. Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 9.

[103]. Ibid., 12.

[104]. Third Floor Plan of the William G. LeDuc Historic House Site, Kodet Architectural Group, 2000, courtesy Minnesota Historical Society. Use of servants: Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 14.

[105]. Second Floor Plan of the William G. LeDuc Historic House Site, Kodet Architectural Group, 2000, courtesy Minnesota Historical

Society.

106

. Zellie, "Historic Structures Report," 12-14.

107

. Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 9.

108

. Ibid., 14, and Zellie, "Historic Structures Report," 14-15.

109

. Ibid., 17.

Chapter 6

110. Details about children are from the 1870 census.

111

. The renovation is described by George E. Harney in his revised edition of Downing's Cottage Residences (New York: John Wiley, 1873).

112

. Family Search (www.familysearch.org) has a record of Harriet Pardee's marriage to Stephen B. Musgrave on October 8, 1868. The 1877 date is from the Latter Day Saints Web site. Thanks to Richard Borgeson for tracking down this information. S. B. Musgrave died on November 11, 1884, in New Windsor, according to the New York Times (13 Nov. 1884), but I did not determine whether he still resided in the Headley house at this time.

113

. Tatum, Calvert Vaux, 9, and Kowsky, Frederick Clarke Withers, 55.

114

. Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences (New York: Woodward, 1870); "Country Parsonage," American Architect and Builders' Monthly 1, no. 9 (Nov. 1970): 139.

115

. Price listed in advertisements in Harper's and Manufacturer and Builder.

116

. Harney, Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences, vi.

117

. Ibid., plate 2, "A cheap stable for two horses and a cow."

118

. Ibid., plate 4, "A brick stable for a horse and cow."

119

. Schuyler, Apostle of Taste, 21, 243 n. 39.

120

. Cottage Residences (1873), preface.

121

. Ibid., opp. 175-opp. 178.

[122]. Henry, 4 Dec. 2000.

[123]. Ibid.

[124]. Igoe, 1 July 2002. According to Igoe, she and her aunt Fran both have more information about the house, including the list of owners from a title search. They were not aware of the house's designers or its importance while they were living there.

[125]. Henry, 4 Dec. 2000.

Conclusion

[126]. Gannaway, "House of Ideals," 15.

Appendix

[127]. These deeds were photocopied at the Orange County (New York) Clerk's Office in Goshen. Reading and transcribing them proved to be a great chore, due to the difficult handwriting of the anonymous people who originally copied them into the record books. Although I made fairly accurate transcriptions myself, I am grateful to Richard Borgeson, whose legal background, knowledge of nineteenth-century U.S. history, and great patience helped me get them right down to the last letter.