



Figure 1. Kenwood seen from the south.

Kenwood

Initially constructed 1842-45 from designs by New York architect Alexander Jackson Davis as a summer home for Joel and Emeline Rathbone and their family, the house and its 52 acres of landscaped grounds were christened “Kenwood,” reputedly after a place in Scotland¹ (Fig. 1). The interior was extensively furnished with furniture designed by Davis (Figs. 2-3). Some of the furniture that remained on site as late as 2010 may be from his designs.²



Figure 2. Engraving of the parlor at Kenwood.



Figure 3. Parlor table from Kenwood now at the High Museum in Atlanta, GA.

The site for the house was selected to take advantage of views of the Hudson and the Catskill mountains to the south. Kenwood was not the first suburban villa in the neighborhood; Mount Hope, home of the Prentice family, had been constructed in 1833 on a parcel immediately to the north. Nut Grove, the Walsh family house constructed on the hill south of McCarty Avenue, was also designed by A. J. Davis, and was under construction at the same time as Kenwood. To the north and west were a grouping of eighteenth century suburban retreats – Whitehall, Cherry Hill, the Pastures, and Ash Grove – constructed for the Bradstreet, Van Rensselaer, Schuyler, and Yates families respectively.

Davis's office daybook indicates that he visited the site of Kenwood on 20 April, 25 July and 20 October 1843.³ The builders were David Orr (mason work) and an otherwise unidentified "Mr. Smith," who did the carpentry. Rathbone would later complain to Davis that "I have never ceased to regret that on my completing my building, I presented the plans, drawings, & c. to the carpenter Mr. Smith...he has copied them into everything he has built since, so that my windows, mullions, doors, jambs, cornice & c. & c. are duplicated all over and about this city."⁴ Little is known of Smith's career, but later works by Orr, including the Madison Place houses constructed by Orr & Cunningham, incorporated elements of Davis's design for Kenwood as well.

The original specifications for the construction of the house survive and indicate that the stone for the exterior trim was to be quarried at Stockbridge, MA. The main walls of the house were constructed of brick, with secondary partitions wood framed. The exterior walls were built with hollows "to promote ventilation, and ensure dryness." The brick was covered with stucco on the exterior. Davis made the suggestion that the chimney pots be fabricated from "cement or pottery of Gibson, or Basham," both dealers in New York City.

Extensive descriptions of the paneled stucco ceilings on the first floor were prepared by Davis to guide the workmen. The cornice, pinnacles, and turrets at the corners of the house were all to be constructed of white pine, evidently as a cost-saving measure. The exterior stucco appears to have been painted in imitation of marble⁵ (Fig. 4).

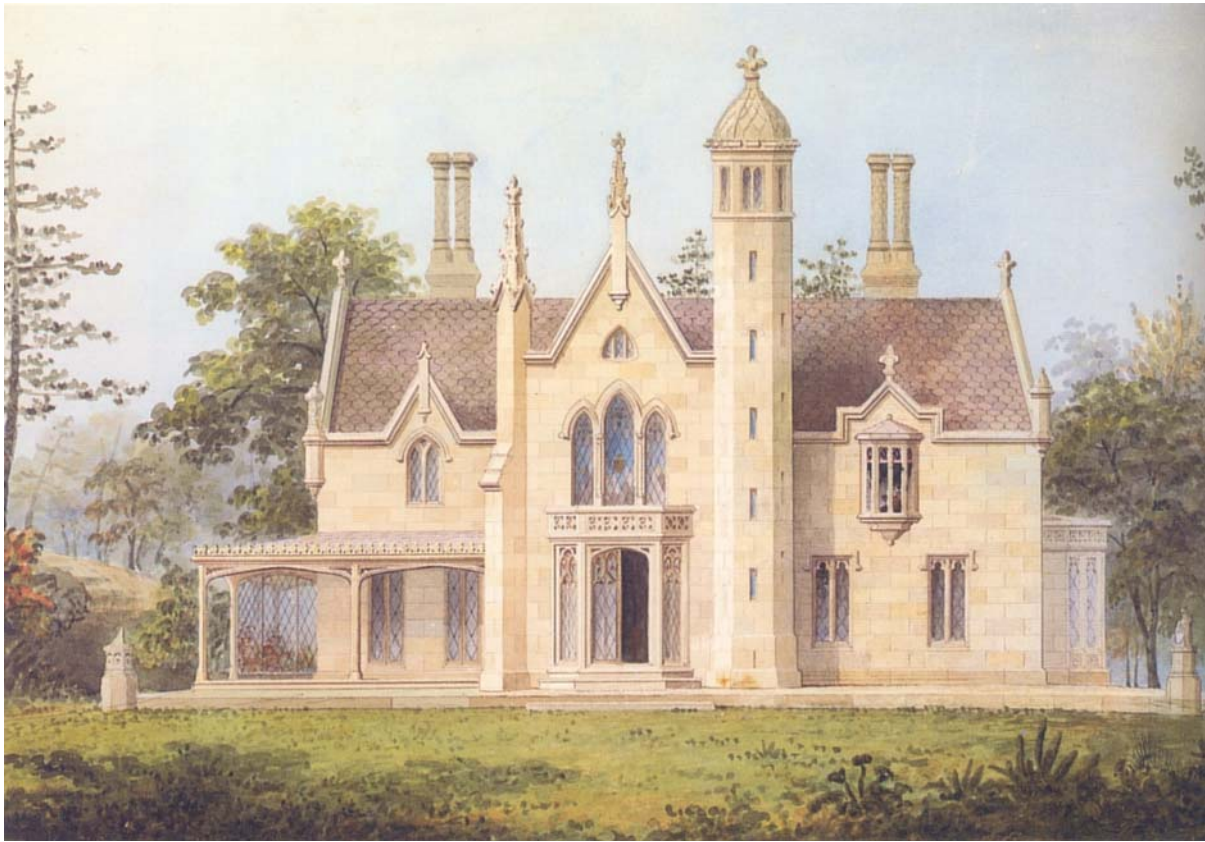


Figure 4. Davis's watercolor of the river front view of the house.

The house was remodeled in 1848-49 by from additional designs provided by Davis, greatly enlarging the original building.⁶ The earliest photographs of the house date to c.1862 and depict the dwelling after these modifications (Fig. 5).



Figure 5. View looking toward the main entrance front of the house as remodeled, c.1862.

As finished at that time, the house was described as “one of the most complete specimens of the Tudor style in the United States. It...is to the amateur, a very instructive example of this mode of domestic architecture.”⁷ An extensive description and illustrations were published by A. J. Downing in his book *Cottage Residences* (Figs. 6 and 7). It remains our chief source for the appearance of the house as completed.

This design of a Pointed Villa, by A. J. Davis, Esq., Architect...[is]... a specimen of the progress which architectural taste is making in this country; it having been recently designed...for the country residence of J. Rathbone, Esq., of Albany. It is proper to add, that this design has not only been executed, but large additions have been made since its erection—which render it a much more spacious and complete residence than appears by our plan....

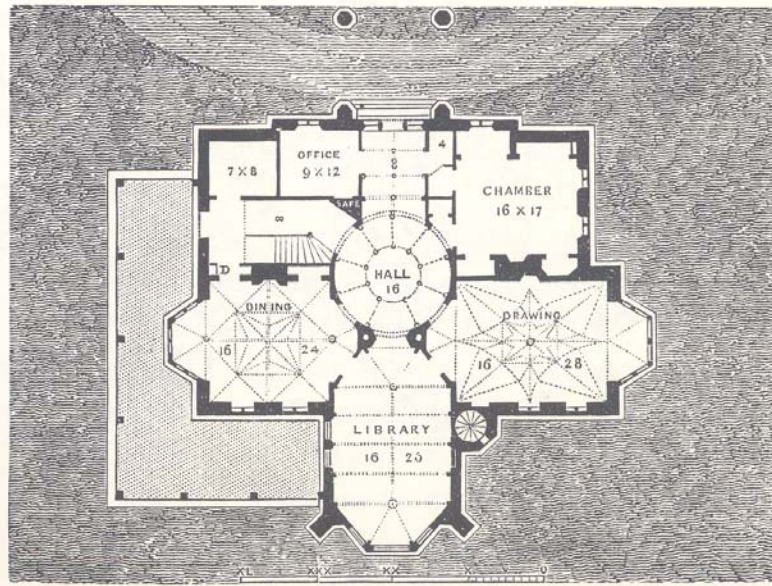


Figure 6. Plan of the first floor of the house.

This villa, now completed, is undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of the Gothic or Pointed style of architecture in this country. Although the whole composition evinces unity of feeling, there is as much variety of feature as we ever remember to have seen introduced successfully in a villa; indeed, perhaps a greater variety of windows, gables, and buttresses than could be introduced in a building of that size with good effect, were it not supported by the corresponding intricacy and variety of the trees and foliage around it, which are here in admirable keeping with the picturesque outlines of the edifice....If we now enter and pass through the vestibule, we shall soon find ourselves in a circular hall, sixteen feet in diameter, that forms a nucleus or radiating point from which all the principal apartments diverge. This (and through it the whole house) is heated by a furnace in the basement. Directly beyond the hall is the library, a sexangular apartment of much beauty of proportion, which will command a very striking view of the Hudson from the bay window at the eastern extremity. This bay window should be filled with rich stained glass, which would produce a mellow tone of light in this apartment, in admirable keeping with its character. On the right side of the library is another window, opening to the veranda or “umbrage,” affording a delightful walk, with a noble view of the river in its southern course.

The dining-room is entered by another door on the right of this hall. It is sixteen by twenty-four feet in its dimensions, and the bay at the south opens into a conservatory for plants, which will give this apartment an air of summer even in the depths of a northern winter. This conservatory, forming as it does a portion of the veranda, may be entirely removed in summer if it should be preferred to have the whole veranda open, by having movable sashes, constructed so as to be easily taken out in the spring and replaced in autumn. The dining-room has a china closet on the right of the chimney breast; a dumb waiter on the left; across the staircase hall is the pantry, and the *stairs* descending to the kitchen and its offices is placed in most convenient proximity to the door leading to this passage. The drawing-room opens on the left of the hall, and forms a *suite* with the library and dining-room. Its bay has a charming sylvan view to the north, and the two windows on the river front another looking east.

The two remaining doors of the hall lead, on one side to the staircase hall, and on the other into the family bedroom. The latter has three closets, a space for a wardrobe, and an alcove which may be used as a dressing-room, or a recess for placing a bed. On the south side of the vestibule is the office, or gentleman's own room, to be neatly and appropriately fitted up as a business room, or study, for the master of the house. The dotted triangular space at the corner of this office, indicates a place for an iron safe built in the wall. On the north side of the vestibule is a large closet for cloaks, umbrellas, etc. This story is thirteen feet in the clear, and the dotted lines in the hall and principal rooms show the form of the ribbed ceilings.

The second floor contains six sleeping apartments of various sizes, a bath-room, and a water-closet; and the attic furnishes sleeping accommodations for the servants. We regret that we are not able to show, by engraved plans, the ample and convenient arrangements of this and the basement story.

The whole internal arrangement of this villa by Mr. Davis is, we think, highly remarkable for its elegance, its compactness and the abundance and convenience of its accommodations. While any portion of the house may by itself be used by the family at any time, the effect of the entire first floor, when thrown open at once, would be more striking than that of many mansions we have seen of four times the size, where the rooms, having no connection and being badly arranged, produced little effect as a whole.⁸

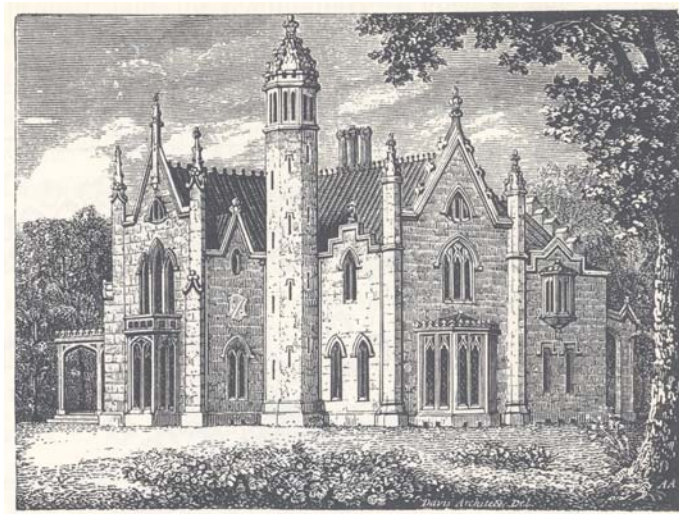


Figure 7. View of the house looking northwest.

Downing also offered an extensive description of the grounds as planned, and illustrated their arrangement, including the location of outbuildings (Fig. 8). He noted among the structures being added to the grounds were a rustic bridge “constructed of the roots and stems of the trees felled in opening the road” on the grounds and illustrated a “rustic pavilion or summer house” (Fig. 9) that had been built.⁹ Elements of the original arrangement of the grounds can be detected in the landscape today.

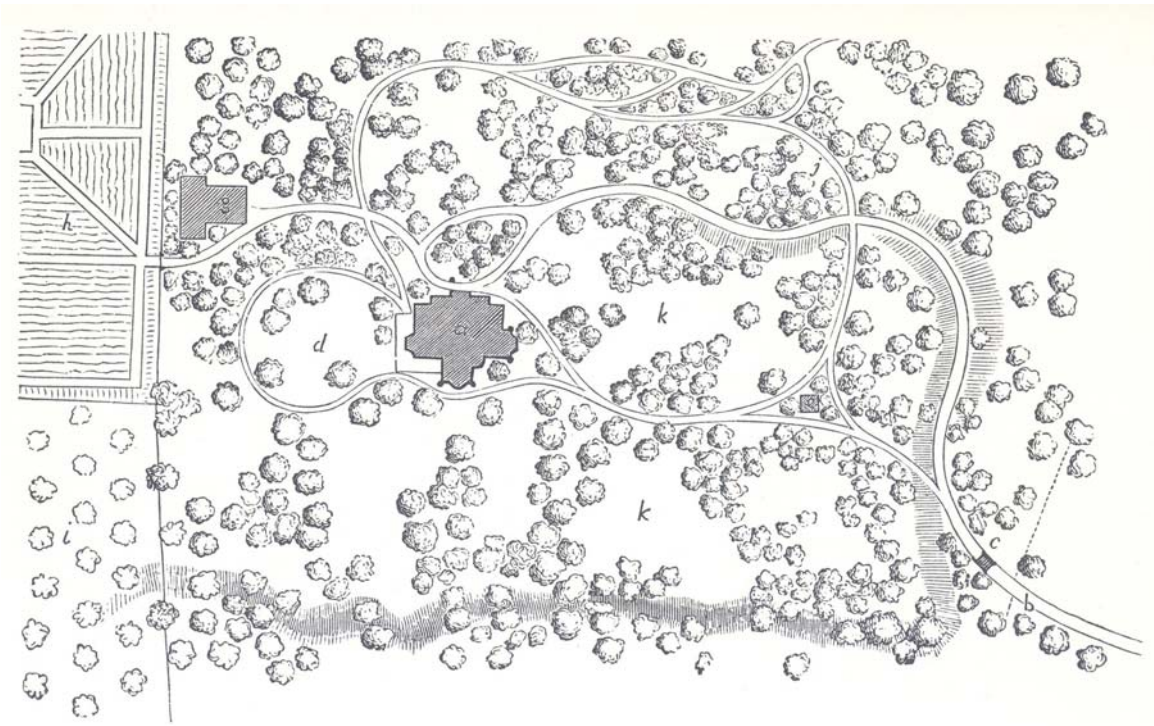


Figure 8. Downing's landscape plan of Kenwood's grounds, showing the outbuildings.



Figure 9. The summer house.

The Tudor style was differentiated by architects of the period from the simple gothic in that it did not partake of some of the more refined detailing of the latter, which was deemed too ecumenical for residential architecture by some. Downing opined that

A mansion in the *Tudor Style* affords the best example of the excellence of Gothic architecture for domestic purposes. The roof often rises boldly here, instead of being concealed by the parapet wall, and the gables are either plain or ornamented with crockets. The windows are divided by mullions, and are generally enriched with tracery in a style less florid than that employed in churches, but still sufficiently elegant to give an appearance of decoration to these parts of the building. Sometimes the low, or Tudor arch, is displayed in the window-heads, but most commonly the square-headed window with the Gothic label is employed. Great latitude is allowed in this particular, as well as in the size of the window, provided the general details of style are attended to....Not only is each individual window divided by mullions into compartments whose tops are encircled by tracery; but in particular apartments, as the dining-hall, library, etc., these are filled with richly stained glass, which gives a mellow, pleasing light to the apartment. Added to this, the windows, in the best Tudor mansions, affect a great variety of forms and sizes. Among these stand conspicuous the bay and oriel windows....The sky outline of a villa in the Tudor Gothic style, is highly picturesque....The pointed gables, with their finials, are among the most striking, and the neat parapet wall, either covered with a moulded coping, or, perhaps, diversified with battlements...The roof line is often varied by the ornamented gablet of a dormer window, rising here and there, and adding to the quaintness of the whole. We must not forget, above all, the highly enriched chimney shaft, which, in the English examples, is made of fancifully moulded bricks, and is carried up in clusters some distance above the roof.¹⁰

According to Downing's description, Kenwood was among the premier examples of the Tudor style in America. Among the details mentioned in his description, the "parapet wall...with battlements" is of special interest. A. J. Davis utilized this detail on a number of suburban villas for the Hudson Valley, but it occurs infrequently on his other work and in that of his contemporaries. At the beginning of his career, Davis executed engravings for the *New York Mirror* that illustrate just this type of parapet treatment on the few remaining structures at that time in New York that were associated with the Dutch settlement of the island.¹¹ Davis utilized the stepped gable in other domestic commissions, including the Warren villa, Mount Ida, in nearby Troy. The prospect that the adoption of a quickly vanishing regional vernacular feature to mid-nineteenth century domestic design was being promulgated by Davis is intriguing.¹²

Several nineteenth century outbuildings remain on the site. In keeping with contemporary taste which dictated that "the entrance lodge should correspond in style with the mansion...a maxim insisted upon by all writers on Rural Architecture" and that it "should bear evidence of emanating from the same mind," the lodge was constructed in the Tudor style.¹³ It remains largely as constructed today, with a two story flat-roofed addition constructed some time before c.1905 (Fig. 10).



Figure 10. The gatekeepers lodge in a photograph from c.1910.

Additional buildings on the site include a second Tudor style structure used as a vicarage at present, but probably intended originally as the gardener's cottage (Fig. 11). An extant carriage barn is located on a site identified on Downing's landscape plan from the 1850s as the site of the same type of structure, and may represent a later modification of the original building (Fig. 12).



Figure 11. The gardener's cottage, 2006.



Figure 12. The carriage barn, 2006.

Kenwood School and the Convent of the Sacred Heart (1866-1871)

Thomas S. Wall

In 1859 Joel Rathbone sold the estate to the Society of the Sacred Heart who established the Female Academy of the Sacred Heart there. The school was successful and was soon outgrown, and so the Mother Superior contracted with John V. Parker, carpenter and builder on 27 March 1866 to construct a new school building from designs prepared by Thomas S. Wall, an architect practicing in New York from at least 1853 to 1870, for a total of \$23,000.¹⁴ Wall was naturalized in 1855¹⁵, and had experience designing high end gothic villas for clients such as Christian H. Lilienthal ("Belvoir," in Yonkers, NY, 1850s) and Henry Spalding ("Oaklawn," in Riverdale, the Bronx, c. 1863).¹⁶ It is not presently known how long Wall continued to act as architect for the building, but subsequent contracts indicate that the foundation for the entire complex was constructed early on, suggesting that the general plan of the complex follows Wall's design. Nichols and Brown, architects based in Albany, were involved with the project by 1870, and may have served as superintending architects from the beginning.¹⁷

The first wing of the building, extending from the northeast side of the Rathbone house toward the north, was completed in 1867. Later that year the house was dismantled and its parts were reused in the construction of the novitiate wing, which was completed in 1868.¹⁸ The builder of this section of the building was Martin White.¹⁹

Surviving fragments of the original house include a marble mantle in the administrator's office (Fig. 13), some doors and possibly the library bookshelves (Fig. 14), the fronts of which have largely disappeared, but a few of which are in storage in an outbuilding. Some of the hardwood flooring from the Rathbone house was refashioned into parquet flooring and installed in two of the reception rooms.²⁰ A triangular window and some of the Stockbridge marble window labels were used in the novitiate wing (Fig 15) but most of the stonework was moved to a makeshift dump at the north end of the property, where the fragments remain today. Some of these elements have recently been set up as benches in an outdoor chapel on the grounds. Later phases of the building incorporate reused elements from a second building, the State Hall, constructed 1797-99 on State Street after designs by William Sanders, and razed c.1857. Rafters from that structure are said to have been used in the chapel.²¹



Figure 13. Mantle currently in the administrator's office, 2006.



Figure 14. The library in a view from c.1900.



Figure 15. Stockbridge marble lintel, 2006.

Nichols & Brown

Charles C. Nichols (1840-1898) and Frederick W. Brown were in practice for approximately nine years, beginning in 1862. They appear to have specialized in institutional and religious structures, but some residential work by the firm is also known. In addition to their work at Kenwood, the firms commissions include the State Street Presbyterian Church, Albany (c.1862, destroyed); the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Broadway, Albany (1865-66, destroyed)²²; Llenroc, the Ezra Cornell house, Ithaca (1865, 1875, National Register Listed)²³; Morrill Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca (1866, not executed); Cascadilla Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca (1866)²⁴; St. Bernard's Church, Cohoes (1866)²⁵, the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Middletown, CT (1866-68); St. Anne's Church, Fourth Ave., Albany (1867-68)²⁶; Methodist Episcopal Church, Ten Broeck at Livingston Ave., Albany (1868-69, razed)²⁷; Our Lady of Angels Church, Central Avenue at Robin Street, Albany (1868-69)²⁸; Second Congregational Church, New London, CT (1868-70); St. Mary's Church, Lodge St., Albany (1869, National Register listed); First Congregational Church, Somerville, MA (demolished), and the Second Baptist Church in Albany (n.d.).²⁹

Toward the end of their professional association Thomas Fuller, an Ottawa architect whose design for the New York State Capitol had just been selected, joined the firm which was in 1869 known as Fuller, Nichols & Co. It appears that this firm was established specifically to facilitate Fuller's continuing work on the capitol, and Nichols and Brown were listed at the same address in the city directory of that year.³⁰

Little is known of Frederick W. Brown's life, but it is clear from drawings that survive for a proposed alms house at Albany that he was offering architectural designs by the middle years of the 19th century.³¹ After his association with Nichols ended, he worked on his own for a period of time. He designed the Stove Building, a temporary pavilion for the New York State Fair in Albany in 1873.³² In 1877 Brown was in partnership with Clarence Cutler and during the late 1880s with Walter F. Dawson in the Keenan Building in Troy, a building which they may have designed.³³ Parkview Terrace at 566-578 Madison Avenue in Albany (1877-78, National Register listed) has been attributed to Brown who lived there throughout the 1880s while he worked in Troy.³⁴

Beginning in 1873 Nichols was in partnership with John B. Halcott, a former draftsman for the office. In that year the firm designed the temporary Manufacturer's Hall for the Albany Agricultural and Arts Association for the New York State Fair.³⁵ The firm designed St. Joseph's Church in Cohoes in the following year.³⁶ Nichols and Halcott executed specifications for alterations to a carriage house and stable of Mr. G. R. Gray, Kenwood, NY, dated 27 September 1875, Albany.³⁷ Nichols designed the row of houses at 249-255 State Street sometime before 1886.³⁸

Patrick Charles Keely

The specifications for the construction of the chapel "according to the drawings provided by Patrick Keeley, architect" and written by John J. Curran survive and although undated were likely written in 1867 or 1868.³⁹ Keely had earlier provided designs for the Albany Diocese in the form of plans for the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (1848), St. Joseph's Church (1855), both in Albany, and for St. Peter's Church in Troy (1848). Keely was the most prolific church architect of the nineteenth century, and is said to have provided designs for more than 600 churches.⁴⁰ The chapel was consecrated in 1869 and the complex was finally completed in 1871 with the completion of the porte-cochère at the main entrance and the suite of reception rooms.⁴¹ (Figs. 16-22)

The building as a whole makes use of disparate design sources, as one might expect of a building which incorporated materials from an earlier structure and which was designed by at least three different architectural firms. The majority of the body of the building is gothic after models promulgated by John Ruskin, an English critic who advocated for the honest use and expression of materials. His influence is most clearly seen in the use of alternating brick and stone in the voussoirs of the arches over the windows and doors. In contrast to this, the porte-cochère, tower and west wing all utilize a greater amount of detailing culled from traditional gothic revival sources, while the mansard roof is of French derivation.



Figure 16. View of Kenwood in 1903.



Figure 17. The chapel in 1880.



Figure 18. The Bishop's parlor, c.1900.

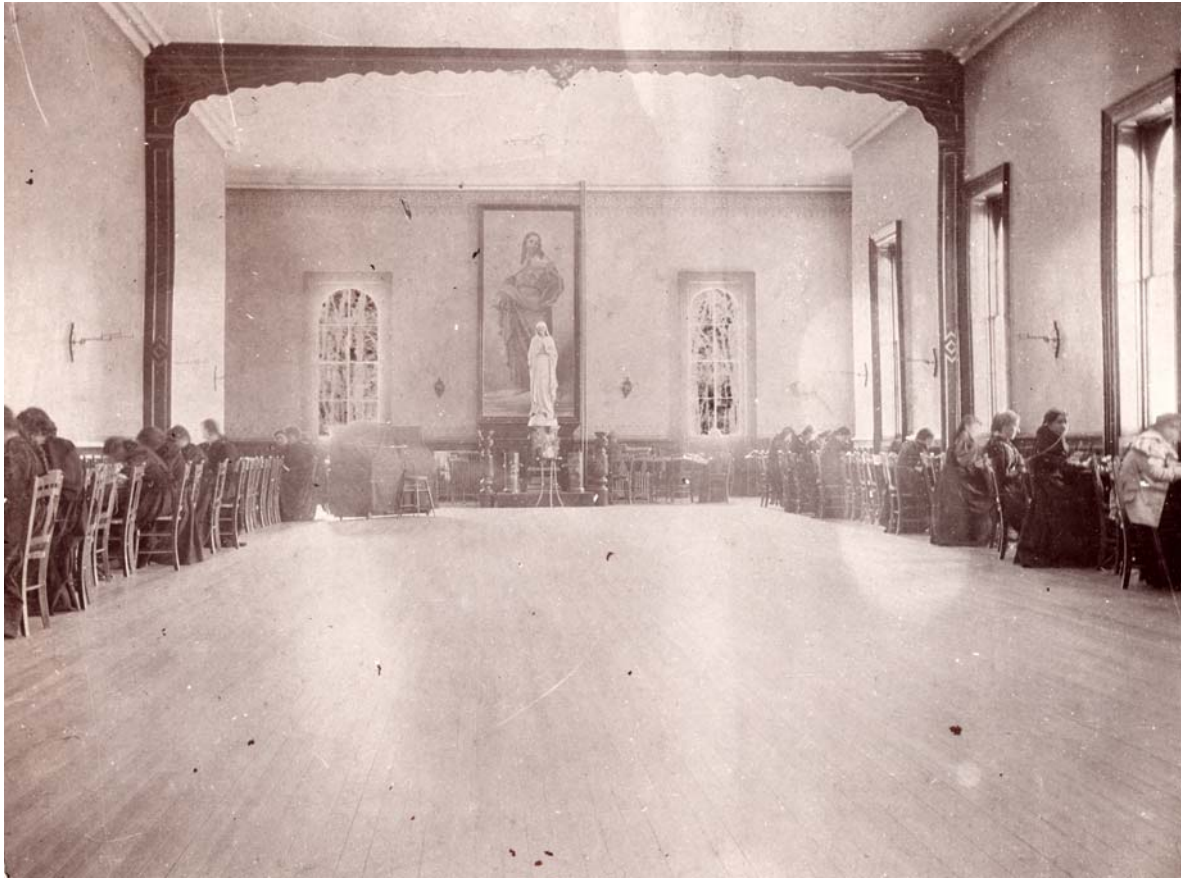


Figure 19. The Study hall, c.1890.



Figure 20. The dormitory, c.1890.



Figure 21. The studio, c.1900.



Figure 22. One of the reception rooms, 2006.

Except for the creation of a copper flèche (by c.1895)⁴² and construction of a vestry (c.1925), and insertion of fire stairs and a redecoration of the chapel soon after 1950, the building remains largely intact to the period of its 1871 completion.

Most of the original outbuildings survived well into the 20th century. The gardener's cottage, gatekeeper's lodge, and carriage barn have already been discussed. A group of stables and greenhouses, a cottage known only as the "men's house" and chicken coops and a tea house were all razed c.1987.⁴³ (Fig. 23) A cobblestone smokehouse appears to have been constructed c. 1900, since its hardware was cast by the Gold Coin Stove Company, active during that period; it remains in a good state of preservation. (Fig. 24)

The campus was occupied by sisters of the Convent of the Sacred Heart and staff and students of the Kenwood School (known after merging with the St. Agnes School in 1975, as the Doane Stuart School) until 2009, when the School relocated to a new campus in Rensselaer, New York. It is presently vacant.



Figure 23. A barn formerly on the grounds, c.1900.



Figure 24. The smokehouse, 2006.

End notes

¹ Cornelia Craigie. *Kenwood: The First Hundred Years, 1853-1953* (Albany: Convent of the Sacred Heart, 1953), p. 7.

² A gothic revival sofa, reportedly from Kenwood, was sold at the Carlsen Auction Gallery in Freehold, New York within the past ten years.

³ A. J. Davis, Daybook. Davis Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

⁴ Tony Opalka. "Orr & Cunningham: Gothic Revival Builders in Albany," in *Preservation League of New York State Newsletter* 15:4 (Winter 1989), p. 4. The original letter, dated 15 March 1845, is in the Davis Collection, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.

⁵ "Specification of Mason's Work," and "Carpenter's Work." Davis Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

⁶ Jane B. Davies, comp. "Works and Projects," in Amelia Peck, ed., *Alexander Jackson Davis American Architect, 1803-1892* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Rizzoli, 1992), p. 110.

⁷ Andrew Jackson Downing. *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening. Adapted to North America; With a View to the Improvement of Country Residences...Seventh Edition,...with a supplement...by Henry Winthrop Sargent* (New-York: Orange Judd Agricultural Book Publisher, 1865), p. 346. The house had previously been described and illustrated in Andrew Jackson Downing, ed. *The Cultivator* 2:3 (March 1845), p. 81.

⁸ Andrew Jackson Downing. *Cottage Residences: or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and their Gardens and Grounds*. With additional material by Henry Winthrop Sargent and Charles Downing, edited by George E. Harney (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1873), pp.158-61.

⁹ Downing, *Cottage Residences*, pp. 161-63. See also Downing. *Landscape Gardening*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Downing, *Landscape Gardening*, pp. 344-45.

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- ¹¹ Davis's engravings appeared in the 10 and 24 July 1830, 1 January and 19 March 1831, 2 February 1833, and 15 November 1834 issues of the *Mirror*. Thus these drawings were contemporary with the designs of his earlier step-gabled villas.
- ¹² See also, Walter Richard Wheeler. "The Last of the Urban Dutch Houses in Manhattan," *Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture Newsletter* 13:7-9 (July-September 2010), 4-7.
- ¹³ Downing, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 358.
- ¹⁴ Contract with John V. Parker, 29 March 1866, the Society's archives, St. Louis, MO.; Dennis Steadman Francis, *Architects in Practice, New York City 1840-1900* (New York: Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records, Inc., 1980), p.79.
- ¹⁵ New York Court of Common Pleas. Naturalization Document Thomas S. Wall, December 4, 1855.
- ¹⁶ www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/revi/hod_1986.204.htm accessed 30 March 2006; Christina Halsey Way, ed., *The Architectural and Historical Resources of Riverdale, The Bronx, New York: A Preliminary Survey* (New York: The Riverdale Nature Preservancy, 1998), p. 48.
- ¹⁷ Nichols and Brown, "Specification of materials to be furnished and labor to be performed in the erection of a new building to be attached to the present buildings of the "Academy of the Sacred Heart" at Kenwood, Albany Co., N. Y.," dated 10 January 1870. At the Society's archives, St. Louis, MO.
- ¹⁸ Craigie, *Kenwood*, p. 7.
- ¹⁹ Craigie, *Kenwood*, p. 7.
- ²⁰ Craigie, *Kenwood*, p. 7.
- ²¹ Craigie, *Kenwood*, p. 7.
- ²² Joel Munsell, comp., *Collections on the History of Albany* 3 (Albany: J. Munsell, 1870), p. 328-330.
- ²³ National Register Nomination Form, building #80002781.
- ²⁴ www.fs.cornell.edu/fs/facinfo/fs_facilInfo.cfm?facil_cd=3001 accessed 15 March 2006.
- ²⁵ Arthur H. Masten, *The History of Cohoes, New York, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1877), p. 229.
- ²⁶ Munsell, *Collections* 3, p. 369; *Collections on the History of Albany* 4 (Albany: J. Munsell, 1871), pp. 40-41.
- ²⁷ Munsell, *Collections* 4, p.81.
- ²⁸ Munsell, *Collections* 4, pp. 38-39.
- ²⁹ Elizabeth Spencer-Ralph, "Nichols and Brown," in *Albany Architects, the Present Looks at the Past* (Albany: Historic Albany Foundation, 1978), p. 5. All attributions not otherwise substantiated here are from this source.
- ³⁰ Spencer-Ralph, p. 5.
- ³¹ Albany County Hall of Records, Albany, NY. City Engineers Maps #034 85-03122.
- ³² New York State Fair, Albany 1873. Broadside collection, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.
- ³³ Arthur James Weise, *The City of Troy and its Vicinity* (Troy: Edward Green, 1886), advertising section; Spencer-Ralph, p. 5.
- ³⁴ Spencer-Ralph, p. 5.
- ³⁵ New York State Fair, Albany 1873. Broadside collection, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.
- ³⁶ Spencer-Ralph, p. 5.
- ³⁷ New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany, NY. Item 15848, NYSL-MS.
- ³⁸ Spencer-Ralph, p. 5.
- ³⁹ John J. Curran. "Specifications of the material to be provided and the labour to be performed in the erection of a centre building to the New Convent at Kenwood, Albany, N.Y. according to the drawings provided by Patrick Keely, architect." MS-2017, Albany Institute of History and Art Library, Albany, New York.
- ⁴⁰ J. Philip McAleer. "Keely, 'The Irish Pugin of America'," in *Irish Arts Review* 4:3 (Autumn 1987), 17. Keely's work is advocated for by the Keely Society, who support symposia and a website, <http://www.keelysociety.com/society.htm>.
- ⁴¹ Ruth Cunningham. *Life Through 125 Years, 1852-1978*, revised edition (Albany: Kenwood, 1988), p. 9.
- ⁴² The flèche appears in an image reproduced in M. J. Loudon, ed., *Catholic Albany* (Albany: Peter Donnelly, 1895). Kenwood is discussed on pp. 216-230.
- ⁴³ Personal communication from Brian Hoffman, Director of Maintenance for Kenwood, 22 March 2006.

The author thanks Bill Krattinger, J. William Bouchard, Bill Brandow, Sharon Frank, Bob Mathews, Brian Hoffman, Dr. Richard Enemark, Eric Stahura, Doug McCombs and Sr. Meg Canty, for assistance in assembling the materials for this essay. Sr. Fran Gimber, the Society's archivist at St. Louis was also very helpful. Justin DiVirgilio helped with the formatting of this publication, and assisted in the design of the cover.

This essay was originally published in 2006 for distribution at Historic Albany's Moveable Feast, the reception for which was held at Kenwood. It was reissued in a slightly revised form for the Victorian Society in America conference, held in Albany in May 2010. This third edition was revised in November 2012 for distribution to attendees at Historic Albany's symposium on Alexander Jackson Davis and Andrew Jackson Downing, held on 17 November 2012.

Figures 5, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21 and 23 are from the Doane Stuart School archives. Figures 11, 13, 15, and 24 were taken by J. William Bouchard. Figures 12 and 22 were taken by Walter R. Wheeler. Figures 19 and 20 are from the author's collection. Figure 3 is taken from the High Museum's website. Figure 4 was taken from Amelia Peck's *Alexander Jackson Davis*, see endnote 6. The remaining figures are from Downing's books.

Notes