

# Russell Sturgis: A Search for the Modern Aesthetic— Going beyond Ruskin

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Russell Sturgis, an influential and prolific late 19th and early 20th century critic of art and architecture, has been labeled as an American follower of John Ruskin and as an American Pre-Raphaelite.<sup>1</sup> A reading of his articles reveals that Sturgis embraced what many 20th century observers consider to be two conflicting attitudes: an admiration for so-called revival architecture, such as the works of George Edmund Street, George Gilbert Scott, Jacob Wrey Mould, Leopold Eidlitz and Henry Hobson Richardson, and a respect for modern skyscrapers, factories and utilitarian buildings—edifices frequently without overt historic references. Russell Sturgis emerged as one of the first champions of Louis Sullivan, the skyscraper and modern architecture. Throughout his long career which stretched from the early 1860s until his death in 1909, Sturgis never encouraged the idea of returning to the past; he never condoned the notion of retreating into the ideal world of ages past and he did not approve of the practice of merely copying historic styles, be they medieval or classic. Not only accepting but welcoming modern innovations, technology and the machine, Sturgis' plea was for an architectural style which answered the utilitarian needs and expressed the character of the modern age. This, however, did not mean that modern buildings could not make reference to or use as a point of departure historic styles. In fact, Sturgis praised Street's architecture for exemplifying the new spirit found in English Medieval Revival buildings and for being as absolutely new for its day as the beautiful Gothic cathedrals had been in 13th century France.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike his friend and rival critic Montgomery Schuyler, Russell Sturgis was a practicing architect from the early 1860s until the mid-1880s. Sturgis' buildings are clearly related to his writings, for they reflect Sturgis' interest in both architecture inspired by the principles of past styles and that which was born of 19th century needs, technology and materials. Like his writings, his buildings call to our attention the fact that many 20th century historians all too often place men like Russell Sturgis into far too narrow categories, defining such men as either revivalists or so-called modernists. For Russell Sturgis, revivalism and modernism were not necessarily at odds if architects relied on the principles, and not merely the external appearance, that made past architecture great when creating their own "modern" Romanesque, Gothic or Classical edifices. The following examines Sturgis' architecture and attempts to place it within the cultural and intellectual context from which it emerged.

Born in 1836, Russell Sturgis (Figure 1) grew up in Antebellum America during a period in which many ideas on art and architecture were still being imported from Europe. Attending an academy in New York City during the 1850s, Sturgis was exposed to the medieval revival buildings of important architects like Richard Upjohn, James

Renwick, Leopold Eidlitz and Jacob Wrey Mould, as well as to the first American magazines and periodicals on art and architecture *The Crayon* and *the Illustrated Magazine of Art*, which were concerned, to varying degrees, with the theories of John Ruskin. Beyond printing essays and excerpts by Ruskin and members of the English Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, *The Crayon* published other articles that reflected a philosophic bent much inspired by Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. For this reason, some historians have labeled it Ruskinian and others have called it the first American Pre-Raphaelite publication.<sup>3</sup> During the 1850s Sturgis and his close friend Peter Bonnet Wight read voluminously and enthusiastically devoured Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*<sup>4</sup> which had just been published by John Wiley in New York.<sup>5</sup> During these years, the favorite building of both Sturgis and Wight was Jacob Wrey Mould's All Souls Unitarian Church, 1855 (Figure 2),<sup>6</sup> an eclectic edifice derided by some as being an "immaculate beef-steak," a "fat and lean," a "holy zebra," and "Joseph's coat,"<sup>7</sup> and praised by others like Eidlitz and Sturgis for not being a servile imitation of any past style or building.<sup>8</sup> Loosely described as "Anglo-Italian,"<sup>9</sup> this building may have been intended as a very free and personalized interpretation of the principles espoused in Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*. The impact of Mould's architecture can easily be seen in Wight's Academy of Design, 1864, a solid, richly ornamented, highly colored edifice inspired by the Doge Palace in Venice, and in his Street Hall, Yale University, 1864–66 (Figure 3). By comparison, Sturgis' Gothic Revival buildings for Yale (Figures 4 and 5) are sober and unadorned, bringing to mind Street's simpler buildings or Philip Webb's Red House.<sup>10</sup>

With its pointed turrets, corner towers, arches, prominent gable and mansard roof, Farnam Hall, 1869–70 (Figure 4), was a product of the High Victorian Gothic and clearly bespoke the kind of architectural honesty espoused by Ruskin, for this scholastic structure has no painted, white-washed or veneered exterior members hiding or disguising the materials that actually support the building. Brick looks like brick and does not imitate marble or stone. The reddish-brown brick of the walls is trimmed with Hudson River Bluestone and Portland Freestone. Creating a variegated color effect, Sturgis followed the program in Ruskin's "Lamp of Truth" (*Seven Lamps of Architecture*) for he used the "true colors of architecture" by allowing the hues and tones of the various materials to function as ornament and a permanent polychromy of enduring fabric. Color patterning is dependent upon a seemingly natural and random juxtaposition of brick and stone. Relating to Farnam Hall in treatment are Durfee Hall, 1870, Lawrance Hall, 1885, and Battell Chapel, 1876 (Figures 4a, b, and 5), all at Yale.

Recalling mid-19th century English ecclesiastical ar-



chitecture, Battell Chapel more closely resembles Street's rather restrained churches of the 1840s than William Butterfield's highly-colored, bacon-striped All Saints, Margaret Street, London, 1858. Having praised Street's architecture for being progressive, Sturgis probably looked at his own work in much the same way as he viewed Street's, seeing it as architecture based upon timeless principles that were rooted in tradition, and not as structures dependent upon the outward forms of past styles. For Sturgis, the Gothic was suppose to be the point of departure for his architecture; the principles which had made it great were to be used to create successful "modern" Gothic buildings. While the hand-carved vegetal capitals and expensive, finely-crafted decoration of Battell bring to mind Ruskin's emphasis upon ornamentation and a plea for a return to nature, the purpose of this building was not Ruskinian; it was not to help recreate the world of the Middle Ages or to encourage a return to the life-style of the past, pre-Renaissance era. Russell Sturgis had faith in the modern world of technology and the machine, and he believed that there could be a truly "modern" Gothic style—a style which had evolved from the eternal principles of good architecture. Obviously, it was not just Ruskin who had influenced Sturgis. While still a student during the 1850s, Sturgis was exposed to and stimulated by the theories of Street, Eidlitz and, most likely, Gottfried Semper. By the early 1860s, he was familiar and in agreement with Viollet-le-Duc's ideas.<sup>11</sup>

With its well-articulated compartments and massings, as well as its overall heaviness and texture, Sturgis' scholastic architecture more closely resembles Richardson's Romanesque Sever Hall, Harvard, 1878 (Figure 6), than Henry Van Brunt's Gothic Memorial Hall, Harvard, 1870. This relationship is not as surprising as one might initially think, for both Richardson and Sturgis were influenced by Prague-born Eidlitz's theories of organic architecture. By the late 1860s, Richardson and Sturgis knew each other.<sup>12</sup>

After graduating from the Free Academy in New York in the year 1856,<sup>13</sup> Sturgis worked in the office of Eidlitz,<sup>14</sup> who was then a well-known medieval revivalist and theorist. Despite the fact that Eidlitz was a revivalist, he did not condone the mere copying of past buildings and admonished those who used medieval forms as veneers. Maintaining that structure should be visually apparent and expressed, Eidlitz developed a far more advanced view of what is now termed organic architecture. The seeds of his ideas were evolving during the period in which Sturgis studied with him and during the years he wrote for *The Crayon*.<sup>15</sup> Describing his belief that all good and significant architecture emerged from and was dependent upon the integrity of structure, Eidlitz disliked applied ornamentation for it had no real or structural purpose. Unlike Ruskin, whom he generally respected, Eidlitz thought in more three-dimensional terms, giving ground plans and the relationship of external form and internal space great attention, for he contended that the interior spaces of a building should be articulated by external wall massings, a notion which relates very much to Henry Hobson Richardson's architecture and to Louis Sullivan's famous adage "form follows function." For him, light and shade modeling and ornament should also be expressive of function, and should enhance and re-emphasize the nature of structure and materials. Eidlitz saw an analogy between the workings of the various compartments of the body, muscles and nerves, and the structure and functions within buildings. As muscles externalized

inner operations of the body so should architectural massings make visible structure and internal spatial groupings. In its distribution of matter, a building was also to represent the unseen, spiritual and intellectual. It was Eidlitz's contention that the grouping of physical matter had a profound affect upon the soul or psyche.<sup>16</sup> Sturgis' appreciation and acceptance of Eidlitz's more progressive notions would have directed him toward the functionalist aspects of Ruskin's ideas and would have adequately prepared him for the advanced theories of Semper and Viollet-le-Duc. It was probably Eidlitz who encouraged Sturgis to study architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts and Sciences in Munich (1859–60) where the interrelationship of engineering and architecture was emphasized and where all students attended lectures on physics, mathematics, ventilation, heating and sanitation.<sup>17</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc perceived the Gothic as a rational system with its own inherent and internal logic, and as a style that had naturally developed from and improved upon the architecture immediately preceding it. For him, Gothic architecture utilized a logical structural system which was not hidden by ornament or embellishment. Most significantly, Viollet-le-Duc's theories did not support the notion that only one style of architecture was rational and, therefore, good; Gothic, Byzantine and Greek art of the Phidian age were all rational. His functionalism stressed utility and actually equated utility with beauty. It was his belief that architectural forms evolved as they met practical and social problems. His genetic and organic interpretation of architecture relates to the theories presented by Charles Darwin in his *Origin of the Species*, 1859, as well as to the notion of progress then so ingrained in the American mind.<sup>18</sup> Unquestionably, Sturgis was influenced by the French theorist's biologically-inspired belief that architecture selectively adapted itself to external conditions and evolved in a natural manner. Viollet-le-Duc's sympathy with the use of modern materials and technology would have appealed to and influenced young Sturgis and his friends then seeking an architectural style that bespoke the modern age and the character of the American nation. Even in the early 1860s, Sturgis and his colleagues championed this cause in their magazine *The New Path*.<sup>19</sup> Like Viollet-le-Duc, these young men admired art of the Gothic and Phidian ages, believing that the principles and not the physical forms of the architecture from these periods should be understood and emulated—used to advance the cause of modern architecture.

The functionalism of Eidlitz and Viollet-le-Duc made an impact on Sturgis, affecting the character of both his writing and his building. While restrained in coloristic treatment, the massings of Sturgis' building at Yale are clearly stated and articulate the inner workings and functions of the rooms and spaces within the structures. Even turrets had a practical function, for they served as part of the ventilation system; staircases were externally expressed by wall massings. While Sturgis' buildings for Yale were generically Gothic, they were a Gothic that was adapted to the demands of modern living. Having received an extremely practical education from the Academy in Munich, Sturgis attempted to design buildings that were fitted with the most up-to-date accommodations and facilities. Emphasizing the importance of fireproofing in all good modern building, Sturgis even wrote about his own Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, Albany, 1872 (Figure 7),<sup>20</sup> a building which



was obviously rendered in a revival style. Praising this edifice for its practical and well-planned design, burglar-proof iron box, and absence of flammable material (such as wood), as well as its exterior ornamental brickwork, Sturgis saw no conflict in producing an utterly up-to-date building in a style based on historic precedents.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the fact that the general form and character of this edifice related to and were derived from tradition did not mean that the building was not modern, and it did not mean that the edifice should not be fitted with all the best in American plumbing, fire-proofing and engineering. It is also important to remember that in Sturgis' estimation, to be modern, a building need not be without ornamentation. His *Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank* is elaborately embellished with ornamental brickwork; the lack of decoration would have been considered unbecoming a bank or civic building.

Eidlitz's compartmentalized system of organization is readily seen in Sturgis' row houses on West 57th Street, New York, 1875 (Figure 8). The exterior of this series clearly articulates the internal functions and divisions of the group: the basement is defined by rough stone; the entry or first-floor level is separated from the basement and upper levels by prominent string courses. Each townhouse is well delineated and appropriately terminated by projecting bays which traverse all five stories. Vertically, the townhouses are ended by a balustrade along the roof line. Texture and color are employed in a manner that helps differentiate function and purpose, and are not merely used as decoration. Entrances have been clearly marked and have emerged as focal points in Sturgis' architectural composition. These buildings bring to mind Eidlitz's first two secular and commercial buildings, *The American Exchange*, New York, 1857 (Figure 9) and *The Continental Bank*, New York, 1856-57 (Figure 10), both of which were erected while Sturgis was in Eidlitz's office.<sup>22</sup> Sturgis much admired these non-ecclesiastic buildings,<sup>23</sup> which were relatively unadorned commercial structures relying more on classical than medieval precedents.

Whereas the *Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank* is a very solid, masonry structure with some iron beams, hollow iron window frames, cement and fireproof jacketing, Sturgis' *Austin Building*, New York 1876 (Figure 11), was a stripped-down commercial structure with an internal metal skeletal system.<sup>24</sup> Resembling Eidlitz's secular buildings (Figures 9 and 10), it was a symmetrically disposed edifice that was more classical than medieval in character. The *Austin Building*, however, was possessed of few direct references to historic styles. Unlike Sturgis' collegiate buildings for Yale University and his bank in Albany, the *Austin Building* was a commercial structure, a new building type which had no artistic past. Accordingly, Sturgis has not treated it as a revival style building. Most likely, the form and general character of this edifice were inspired by Eidlitz's commercial buildings, Bogardus' iron front buildings (which were usually rendered in some historic style), elevator buildings and multi-storey structures, all of which Sturgis knew well.<sup>25</sup> Unlike any buildings designed by Eidlitz, the *Austin Building* had a metal skeletal system—a system which Eidlitz and Ruskin would not have approved. With its iron piers, uninterrupted glass surface, use of a repeated module of simple forms and no ornament, this edifice belies a modernist's aesthetic that goes far beyond Ruskin's truth to materials and even Eidlitz's functionalism. While neither Ruskin nor Eidlitz would have condoned

Sturgis' use of iron, a machine-made product, Viollet-le-Duc had encouraged the utilization of modern materials. For Ruskin, the last fallacy discussed in his "Lamp of Truth" (*Seven Lamps of Architecture*) was the substitution of machine-made materials for those created by hand. Calling this an operative deceit, Ruskin emphasized that all cast or machine-made work was bad because it was dishonest. For Ruskin, the use of iron in a support system would alter the sense of proportion within buildings—a sense of proportion which had evolved over the centuries through the continued use of stone, brick and wood. For these reasons, the use of metallic frame-work would have been a departure from Ruskin's principles of honesty and truth in art and architecture. Quite obviously, Russell Sturgis had broken away from Ruskin and revivalism, creating a structure which Ruskin would not have considered architecture. As this building exemplifies, Russell Sturgis was looking toward the future and not the past, searching for an architectural style that spoke of a new age.

Of equal importance is Russell Sturgis' belief that buildings with decidedly different purposes should be treated in ways that expressed their respective functions. Overt historical references and ample embellishment were appropriate for some buildings, whereas they ill-befit others. For academic buildings like *Farnam Hall*, the principles of good Gothic architecture could be modified for contemporary needs, and the Gothic style itself could effectively express the traditions associated with collegiate architecture. New and peculiarly 19th-century building types like railroad stations, architecturally treated warehouses, the tall commercial skyscrapers and factories should have their own stylistic character which expresses their own unique purposes and functions.<sup>26</sup>

While the *Austin Building* epitomizes Sturgis' break with a Ruskin-inspired aesthetic and historicism, Sturgis probably never completely accepted all aspects of Ruskin's philosophy, for the men associated with *The New Path* saw the 19th century—the modern age—in a positive light. Believing that a new dawn was already on the horizon, they saw the United States as the hope of the future, and thus encouraged American artists to look to the past for knowledge of certain principles, but not for mere prototypes to be copied. Their purpose was not to allow American society to step backwards into the Middle Ages—as Ruskin would have advised—but to help usher in the new age. While greatly admiring Gothic and Greek art, they also revered what they considered to be native American architecture—the log cabin, a form untouched by the European character.<sup>27</sup> As might be gathered, the tone of *The New Path* was often nationalistic; its goal was to help foster the development of art that was worthy of the new age and their country. As their interest in the log cabin relates to Viollet-le-Duc's concern for the primitive, and their admiration for the use of modern materials in certain buildings like the *New York Crystal Palace* may reflect an affinity with the theories of Viollet-le-Duc, these men sought to express the American spirit in the modern world.

To call Russell Sturgis an exponent of Ruskinian thought in America or an American Pre-Raphaelite seems far too limiting, for such categories too narrowly define an architect whose building was probably never completely dependent upon either Ruskin or the Pre-Raphaelites. Russell Sturgis was an individual aware of what was going on around him and was not unaffected by the iron-fronted



edifices of the 1850s and the elevator buildings of the 1870s. Sturgis' Austin Building looked forward to the commercial structures of Chicago such as William LeBaron Jenney's Leiter Building, 1885, or his Home Insurance Building, 1884–85, which is generally considered to be the first true skyscraper. Like Sturgis' writings of the 1860s and 1870s, the Austin Building prophesized Sturgis' early praise of the modernism of Louis Sullivan (Figure 12) and his respect for the purely utilitarian buildings of Babb, Cook and Willard

(Figure 13).<sup>28</sup> As both a "revivalist" and an "innovator," Russell Sturgis must be regarded as an American architect groping for a style or styles which befit the needs and expressed the character of his century and nation. Remembering Farnam Hall, the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank and the Austin Building sheds a great deal of light upon the development of Russell Sturgis, the critic, for these buildings reveal the character of a modernist who never lost touch with the past.

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- 1 Roger Stein sees Russell Sturgis as an American follower of John Ruskin. In *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America: 1840–1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967). Stein goes into considerable detail on the relationship of Sturgis and his colleagues who worked on *The New Path* publication (pp. 147–156). Stein's book is an excellent source for the impact of John Ruskin in America. David Howard Dickason views Sturgis as an American Pre-Raphaelite (*The Daring Young Men*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1953, 71–124).
- 2 In his essay, "Our Articles Examined" (*The New Path*, I, Number 4, 48), Sturgis wrote, "The designs of such men as Street are as absolutely new as were the French cathedrals of the 13th Century."
- 3 Roger Stein contends that *The Crayon* was "the most persistent and outspoken advocate of Ruskin's doctrines in America during these years." While disagreeing with David Dickason's belief that *The Crayon* was "the first American Pre-Raphaelite Journal," an expression of Pre-Raphaelite sentiments in America, he points out that the Pre-Raphaelites were associated with Ruskin after 1851 (Stein, 1967, 102). Volumes I and II of *The Crayon* have many articles dealing with Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites.
- 4 Peter Bonnet Wight discusses how he and Russell Sturgis read all the books available on architecture to be found in the library of their school. Their friendship was "cemented" by their study of Jacob Wrey Mould's drawings for All Souls' Unitarian Church. Both of the young students read Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* and his *Stones of Venice* ("Reminiscences of Russell Sturgis," *Architectural Record*, XXVI, 1909, 123–131).
- 5 Henry-Russell Hitchcock discusses this in some detail in his essay "Ruskin and American Architecture, or Regeneration Long Delayed" (*Concerning Architecture*, Baltimore, 1968, 166–208).
- 6 In his "Reminiscences of Russell Sturgis," Wight describes the great impact Mould's All Souls' Unitarian Church had on both Wight and Sturgis. He states that it was Mould's church that compelled Wight and Sturgis to become architects. In 1855, Sturgis' teacher, Leopold Eidlitz, wrote an article on Mould's church for *The Crayon*. In "The Church of All Souls" (V, 20–21), Eidlitz reluctantly calls the edifice "Anglo-Italian," a term which most likely referred to some variation of the Ruskin-inspired Venetian Gothic; he praises Mould's church for not being a mere copy of a past building. The writers of *The New Path* (I, Number 6, October 1863, 70–71) refer to Mould's church as Byzantine.
- 7 Eidlitz, "The Church of All Souls," *The Crayon*, V, 20–22.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 20–22.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 20–22.
- 10 Hitchcock sees a resemblance between Webb's Red House and Sturgis' Farnam Hall (see n. 5, p. 195).
- 11 Sturgis knew of the theories of Eugene-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc by July of 1864 at the latest, for in the July 1864 issue of *The New Path*, an extract from Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français. Première Partie. Meubles* was included (p. 48). Sturgis knew Viollet-le-Duc to some extent by the late 1860s (Charles Baldwin, *Stanford White*, New York, 1931, 354), and may have become familiar with Gottfried Semper through Prague-born and Vienna-trained Eidlitz in the late 1850s. If not through Eidlitz, Sturgis may have become acquainted with the architecture and, more importantly, the theories of Semper when Sturgis was studying in Munich, 1859–60. Certainly Sturgis would have been aware of the two large monographs on Semper published in 1880 and 1881. During the 1880s, there was a considerable Anglo-American interest in Semper as Lawrence Harvey's "Semper's Theory of Evolution in Architectural Ornament" (trans., *Royal Institute of British Architects*, n.s., I, 1885, 29) and John Welborn Root's "Development of Architectural Style" (*Inland Architect and News Record*, XIV–XV, 1889–90) attest; Sturgis included a section on Semper's career in his *Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, 1901. As for George Edmund Street's theories, Sturgis would have been aware of them in the mid-1850s when Eidlitz reviewed Street's book in an article entitled "Bricks in Architecture" (*The Crayon*, III, 23).
- 12 Peter Bonnet Wight describes how he and Sturgis first met Henry Hobson Richardson at Littel's office in 1867 where Richardson had apparently just returned from Europe ("Reminiscences of Russell Sturgis," 124).
- 13 Most sources indicate that Russell Sturgis actually received his AB from the Free Academy in the year 1856. While this may very well be true, it is unusual because academies did not confer degrees during the 1850s.
- 14 Sturgis was in Eidlitz's office for approximately one year (1856–7).
- 15 Eidlitz, "The Church of All Souls," 20–22; Wight, 123.
- 16 Eidlitz, *The Nature and Function of Art*, reprint, New York, 1977, 51–52, 63–64; William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe, *American Architecture and Other Writings*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961, 11, 27.
- 17 Sturgis discusses different approaches to the teaching of architecture at the various institutions in his "School and Practice Designing" (*Architectural Record*, XIX, 1906, 413–18). Charlotte Ann Kelly discusses some aspects of the teaching procedures at the Academy in Munich in her unpublished thesis ("Russell Sturgis: Architect, Art Historian and Critic," produced for the University of Delaware, May 1980, 11).
- 18 Eugene-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Discourses on Architecture*, 1860, 1959 reprint.
- 19 *The New Path* was first published in May of 1863. It was established by a group of like-minded architects and writers who had founded the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art the previous January. *The New Path* became their mouth-piece. While it was a short-lived publication which ceased production in December of 1865, it made an important contribution to the art and architectural criticism of the period and served as the beginning point of a number of influential writers including Sturgis, Wight, Clarence Cook and Thomas Farrer.
- 20 Sturgis, "Good Things in Modern Architecture," *Architectural Record*, XXIII, 1908, 92–110.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 92–110.
- 22 *The New Path*, 1–2; Wight, 129.
- 23 Wight, 123–124.
- 24 Kelly, 41–42.

25 Sturgis wrote about 19th century building types in his Dictionary, as well as in many articles. "A Review of the Works of Clinton and Russell," *Architectural Record*, VII, 1897-98, 1-61; "High-Building Architecture: The Guaranty of Buffalo," *Evening Post*, New York, April 8, 1897, p.7, column 3; "Modern Architecture," *North American Review*, Number CCXXX, January 1871, 160-77; "Modern Architecture," *North American Review*, Number CCXXX, April 1871, 370-391; "The Works of George B. Post," Great American Architects Series, *Architectural Record*, May 1895; "The Schoenhofen Brewery," *Architectural Record*, XVII, 1905, 201-7; "Some Recent Warehouses," *Architectural Record*, XXIII, May 1908, 373-386; "The Warehouse and the Factory in Architecture," *Architectural Record*, XV, January 1904, 1-17; "The Warehouse and the Factory in Architecture," XV, 1904, 123-133; *Architectural Record*, XV, 1904, 123-133.

27 *The New Path*, 52.

28 Sturgis wrote about Sullivan's work in a number of articles (see notes 20 and 25) including "The Works of George B. Post," "Good Things in Modern Architecture," and "The High Building: The Guaranty of Buffalo." In his article "The Works of George B. Post," Sturgis writes, "... architectural effect, born of the structure, has not even been attempted, with, perhaps, the single exception of what has been done in the Guaranty Building in Buffalo (p.71)." As the articles indicate, Sturgis wrote about purely utilitarian architectural forms like factories and warehouses. Generally, he found great merit in the ways architects were treating these "modern" buildings. Sturgis much admired Babb, Cook and Willard's DeVinne Building (*Architectural Record*, XV, 1904, 3).

26 *Ibid.*



Fig. 1, Russell Sturgis (frontispiece, June issue, *Architectural Record*, XXV, 1909, 147).



Fig. 2, Jacob Wrey Mould, All Souls Unitarian Church, New York City, 1853-55 (Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City).

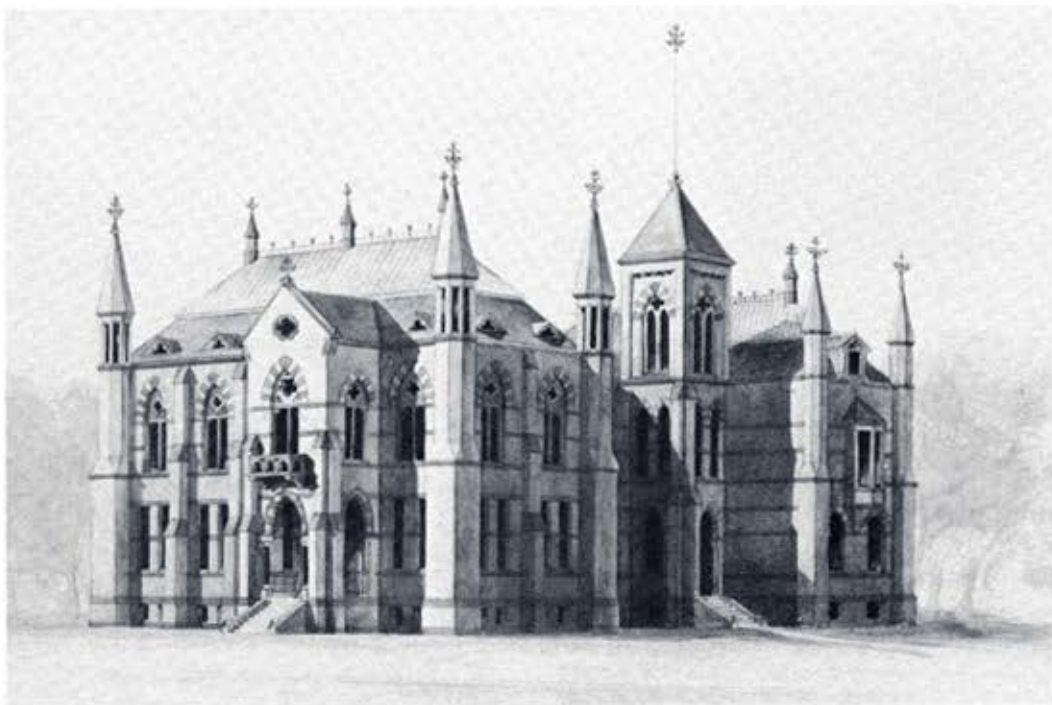


Fig. 3, Peter Bonnet Wight, Street Hall, Yale University, 1864-66 (Courtesy of Yale Archives, Yale University Library).





Fig. 4a, Russell Sturgis, Battell Chapel, 1876 (left) and Farnam Hall, 1869-70 (right), Yale University (*Architectural Record*, XXVI, 1909, 398).



Fig. 4b, Russell Sturgis, Farnam Hall, Yale University, 1869-70 (Courtesy of Yale Archives, Yale University Library).



Fig. 5, Russell Sturgis, Battell Chapel, Yale University, 1876 (*Architectural Record*, XXVI, 1909, 399).



Fig. 6, Henry Hobson Richardson, Sever Hall, Harvard University, 1878-80 (*Architectural Record*, XXVI, 1909, 256).



Fig. 7, Russell Sturgis, Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, Albany, 1872 (*Architectural Record*, XXV, 1909, 404).



Fig. 8, Russell Sturgis, Townhouses on West 57th Street, New York City, 1875 (*Architectural Record*, XXV, 1909, 410).



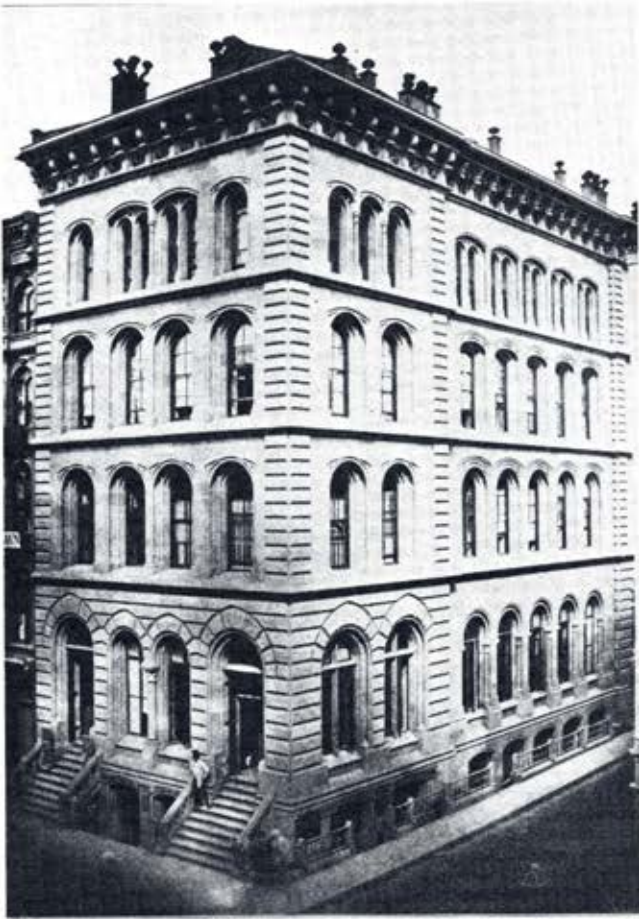


Fig. 9, Leopold Eidlitz, American Exchange Bank, New York City, 1857 (*Architectural Record*, XXIV, 1908, 278).

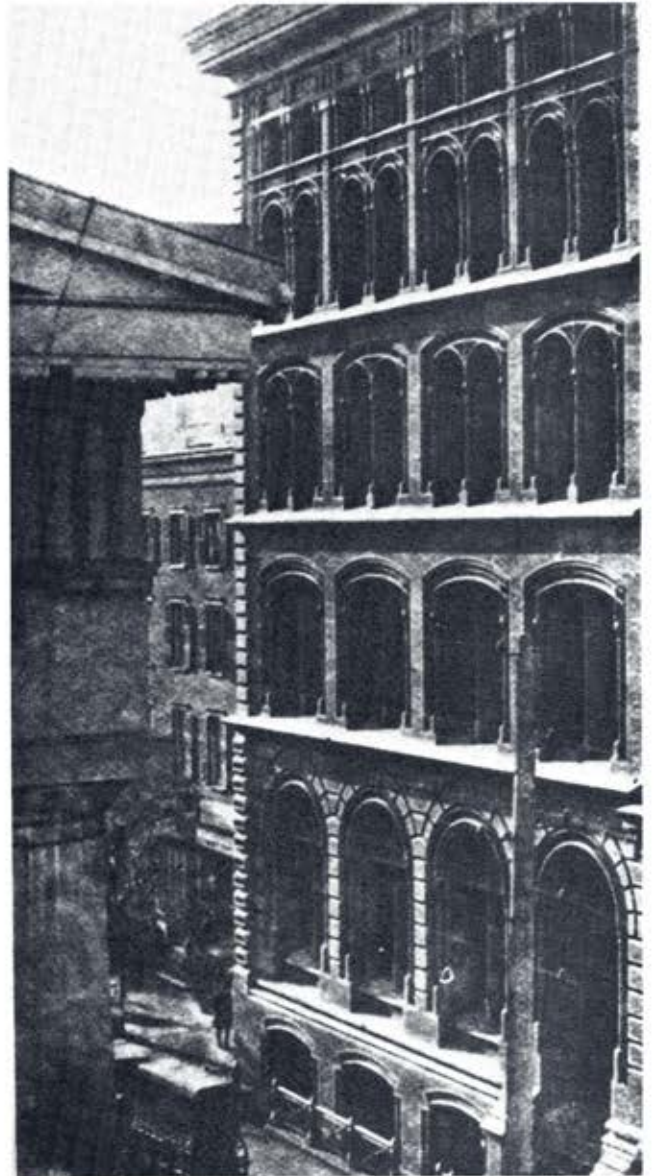


Fig. 10, Leopold Eidlitz, Continental Bank, New York City, 1856-57 (*Architectural Record*, XXIV, 1908, 280).





Fig. 11, Russell Sturgis, Austin Building, New York City, 1876 (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).



Fig. 12, Louis Sullivan, Guaranty Building, Buffalo, New York, 1894-95 (*Architectural Record*, XXVI, 1909, 84).



Fig. 13, Babb, Cook & Willard, DeVinne Building, New York City, 1885 (*Architectural Record*, XV, 1904, 144).