



Fig. 1. Stanford White, about 1905.
(Collection of the New York Historical Society)

Gary Hughes

Beaux-Arts in the Forest ? Stanford White's Fishing Lodges in New Brunswick

At the turn of the twentieth century, Stanford White was probably the best known and well liked man in New York City (Fig. 1). He had a talent for getting attention, an instinct to make the gift of popularity a profession. His friend and critic, John Jay Chapman wrote "Not a day passed without one's hearing something new about him. His flaming red hair could be seen a mile ; and every night at the Opera he would come in late, and sit for an hour in the centre of the house, not purposely advertising himself, but intuitively knowing that every millionaire in town would see him, and that the galleries would whisper, and the very supers on the stage would mutter, 'There's Stanford White'."¹

New Yorkers knew him, of course, as a principal in the firm of McKim, Mead and White, Architects, the most active partnership in the city and probably the United States at the beginning of the century. Evidence for this could be seen specifically and in profusion along Manhattan's thoroughways and byways where, in the space of 20 years, the firm had done much to transform an urban landscape of "mean monotonous streets, without architecture, without great churches, or palaces or any visible memorials of an historic past"² to "a city of towers and porticoes, of marble and bright terra cotta".³ In a partnership of different personalities, White was the most effervescent and the busiest with an almost galvanic effect on his well to do clientele. His passion for work and play found him everywhere. He was sketching frenetically in the office, at a building site checking progress, summering on Long Island, buying antiques in Europe, or attending club functions in the city.⁴ White was also an ardent fisherman who vacationed in New Brunswick and Quebec as a member of the exclusive Restigouche Salmon Club. His biographer, Paul Baker, devotes several paragraphs to the architect's time north of the border where, typically, work followed play or vice versa and he designed fishing lodges on the Restigouche River for William K. Vanderbilt and the Camp Harmony Angling Club for a consortium of New York owners.⁵

Baker tells us very little about these lodges in terms of their style or construction.⁶ The lack of photographs or drawings of these buildings in archival collections and published sources,

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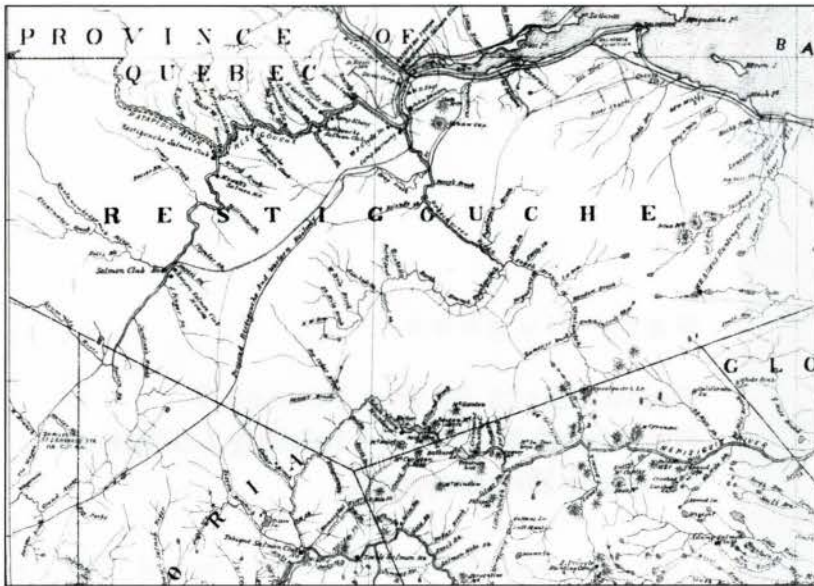


Fig. 2. A detailed view of Restigouche County in New Brunswick with the Restigouche River flowing from left middle to top centre and into the Bay of Chaleur at top right. About twenty lodges are marked on this turn of the century map, most on that portion of the river bordering Quebec but several below and to the left, including the "Rogers (sic) Salmon Club Houses", site of Kedgwick Lodge. Further up the river, Indian House, Robert Goelet's Toadbrook Lodge, Henry Hollins' Brandy Brook and Camp Harmony are all marked along with the Restigouche Salmon Club headquarters at the junction of the Matapédia River. (New Brunswick Museum, M203-1902)

including the firm's *Monograph*, likely contributed to this omission.⁷ This is not surprising when it is considered that the lodges were located on a river in a forest wilderness in a remote corner of North America, not the Newport mansions or grand public buildings of Boston or New York that made the partnership famous. Leland Roth's *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* mentions only his salmon fishing excursions in Canada, omitting the camps altogether.⁸ They are similarly absent from his earlier publication *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White 1870-1920: A Building List*.⁹ Other sources on the firm are no more forthcoming.¹⁰ The widest published coverage of Stanford White's time along the Restigouche comes from a book on fishing, not architecture. Sylvain Gingras' straight-forward *Hunting and Fishing in Quebec: A Century of Sport* first mentions the architect's work in the United States and then credits him with the design of four lodges on both sides of the river, including the Vanderbilt's Kedgwick Lodge and Camp Harmony as well as camps for Henry B. Hollins and the Restigouche Salmon Club. Since this is a hunting and fishing book, however, more stock is placed on the story of White's attributed invention of the 'Night Hawk' salmon fly.¹¹

The Stanford White Papers at the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, contain a significant number of letters from the architect concerning his activities on the river. Some details of camp construction, cost of furnishing, engineering difficulties, trouble with customs, labour supply and client relations are included as well as descriptions of salmon fishing in the various pools. The library has no photographs of the lodges, but it is evident from the correspondence reviewed that Camp Harmony and Kedgwick Lodge in New Brunswick and Toadbrook Lodge in Quebec were built from White designs.¹² Oral tradition on the river and the Gingras publication give him credit for two more, Brandy Brook and Indian House, on the Quebec shore. Altogether, the letters form a wealth of information on a little known aspect of the architect's life and work. They also underline White's intensity both in satisfying his

client's needs and his own standards of building in rather difficult and isolated circumstances. What the letters cannot show us are the finished products and how they succeeded on their river site.

This article will look at White's role in the design of the two New Brunswick fishing lodges on the Restigouche River, Kedgwick Lodge and Camp Harmony. A background on the Restigouche River and its camps will be provided followed by an analysis of McKim, Mead and White's previous work in the

northeastern United States. The camps will then be examined in detail in an effort to demonstrate that the partnership's work in the city and country and their architecture in the forest was more closely connected than first appearances might suggest in terms of plan, siting, materials and style. Further, that in establishing these similarities, the importance of the lodges in the firm's oeuvre will be recognized and their place in the architectural heritage of New Brunswick enhanced.

Salmon fishing on the Restigouche

The Restigouche River forms part of the inter-provincial boundary between Quebec and New Brunswick and, at 220 miles in length, is one of the most famous Atlantic salmon rivers in the country (Fig. 2). Known to enthusiastic anglers from Britain, Canada and the United States since the mid-nineteenth century, the river attracted a growing number of fishermen after 1860, leading to the establishment of several permanent fishing camps in the late 1870s and early 1880s.¹³ Increasingly, these visitors were Americans, attracted by the 'King of Sport Fish' from their homes along the northeastern seaboard where river dams and pollution had all but ruined salmon angling.

In 1880, a group of New York City businessmen formed the Restigouche Salmon Club and acquired an existing farmhouse and hotel complex in Matapédia, Quebec, just upstream and across from Campbellton, New Brunswick. In the next few years renovations and additions resulted in a large and very comfortable lodge and outbuildings. With an entrance fee of 5 000 \$, club membership was reserved for the wealthy. Soon, family names such as Vanderbilt, Tiffany, Goelet and Whitney were represented amongst an expanding roll, most from New York City and environs. Indeed, America's business capital accounted for over 90 % of club membership, a dominance that would extend into the 1920s.¹⁴

The club executive made sure that members were provided with rich angling opportunities through its purchase of private land and lease of Crown Land in large stretches along both sides

Fig. 3. "Southside", Robert Goelet's summer house in Newport Rhode Island, built between 1882 and 1884 and typical, in the grandest sense, of McKim, Mead & White's early shingle style houses with its picturesque towers, porches, dormers and chimneys all lending support to a visual delight (G.W. Sheldon, *Artistic Country Seats*, New York, 1886-1887, Plate 5)



of river during the 1880s.¹⁵ The club subsequently established several fishing lodges on these upper stretches before the turn of the century. Some club members, like Robert Goelet and William Vanderbilt, had their own camps built on land they either acquired or leased. Other anglers, mostly independent of the club, established or helped to establish lodges fronting different sections of the river. Henry Hollins from New York is thought to have occupied Brandy Brook in the late 1890s and Dean Sage from Albany joined with New Yorkers Colonel O.H. Payne and Restigouche club member William C. Whitney to rebuild Camp Harmony in 1895-1896 near its original site at the confluence of the Upsalquitch and Restigouche Rivers. The Restigouche club's Indian House, Goelet's camp, called Toadbrook, and Hollins' Brandy Brook were all on the Quebec shore while, as we have seen, Kedgwick Lodge and Camp Harmony were in New Brunswick.¹⁶ Together they formed a significant part of a New York sport fishing empire stretching along one hundred miles of shining water, an exclusive preserve enjoyed by Knickerbocker families and nouveau riche alike, as much a part of their social scene as the elegant clubs they attended in Manhattan during the winter. Their architect of choice was club member Stanford White whose work on the river preceded or followed commissions gained from the same owners in the city.

White's previous works

White's key to the north was presented by Robert Goelet in 1887 when he sponsored the architect's entry to the Restigouche Salmon Club.¹⁷ Goelet and his brother Ogden had inherited the family's extensive real estate holdings in New York and White had designed a large summer home for Robert at Newport, Rhode Island in 1882 (Fig. 3). As with other wealthy clients, Robert Goelet became a friend and this, in part, led to a pair of office commissions for the brothers in Manhattan in 1885 and 1886. Much more than Mead and McKim, White had large social aspirations and valued these connections, using them to further his career and, by extension, that of the firm. In 1886 his election to the Century Association, a prominent New York men's club, was an important move upward, a position greatly enhanced by Goelet's sponsorship the next year since membership in the Restigouche club was seen as a pinnacle of belonging amongst the social and business elite. White would later design a new building for the Century Association in 1889 and one for another exclusive Manhattan club, the Metropolitan, in 1891.

If 1887 was a good year for White personally, it would be a better one for the firm. Together since 1879, William Mead,



Fig. 4. William Mead, Charles Follett McKim and Stanford White, about 1905. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York)

Charles Follett McKim and Stanford White had completed a volume of business worth over four and a half million dollars, most of it in New York City and the northeastern United States with some work in the mid-west (Fig. 4). A good deal of this business originated in house commissions, especially country and seaside houses, largely characterized by their picturesque massing and open floor plan with a stylistic language ranging from Richardsonian Romanesque to François Premier and points in between. This tangent represented a search for style, in the rural commissions at least, and was consistent only in the asymmetry of the compositions and wall plates of shingles and clapboard. At the same time, the firm explored a present and growing interest in a revival of American colonial vernacular form, a style that particularly fascinated McKim in its simplicity and geometric possibilities. As the 1880s progressed, this taste for classical form grew more disciplined and evident in their work, taking shape in their city house façades adapted from the American colonial period in warm red brick and, in one New York complex, the Italian Renaissance in a cooler and more restrained brownstone.¹⁸ The percentage of urban commissions also increased during the decade, hardly a surprising development given the country's movement from the farm to the city at this time. Yet it was a crucial one for



Fig. 5. Madison Square Garden, New York, N.Y., 1887-1891. At the top stood a copper statue of Diana by White's friend Augustus Saint-Gaudens, her nakedness prompting many letters of protest despite its height of three hundred feet from the ground. (Madison Square Garden, 1891. Museum of the City of New York, McKim, Mead, White Collection)

the firm, which retained, ever after, its urban outlook, even in rural jobs.

While Mead essentially ran the office and served as critic for the other two, McKim and White experimented with style and plan, collaborating on many of the early commissions but spending

less time together as their reputation for good work spread and business grew. By the start of 1887, they were on the cusp of their first major statements in European classical form in downtown America, commissions which proclaimed the importation of old world culture to the new and, in time, became symbols of an emerging world power. Clearly, McKim's Boston Public Library and White's Madison Square Garden were benchmarks in their skilful cultural pillaging of European form in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹

McKim's formal training at the *École des Beaux-Arts* had included the gospel of clarity for a building's plan and the hierarchy of its various sections. His shedding of the picturesque irregularities for the harmony and symmetry of orchestrated classicism was not a surprising direction. The library's central courtyard interfered with these precepts in organizing the plan but McKim's flexibility resulted in a circulation pattern that mixed pleasant surprise at this internal yard space with admiration for the palette of marbles used in the floors, stairs, pilasters and walls, fine art sculpture and paintings by the likes of Whistler and Sargent. Outside, its Italian Renaissance styling in granite was a sensitive fit on the west side of Copley Square, adding a strong horizontal element to the vertical emphasis of Richardson's Trinity Church to the east.²⁰

White lacked his partner's Paris education and was less adept at working up a plan with the clarity demanded by the *Beaux-Arts* school, but he was the more intuitive designer whose outlook was not welded to the formality of the *École*. In comparison with McKim's library in Boston, White's Madison Square Garden was altogether a more frothy affair, meant to be fun in its sheathing of buff and yellow brick and its buff and brown terra cotta trim (Fig. 5). The body, once again in the Italian Renaissance, clearly announced the firm's choice of style as a preferred mode of design. The accompanying tower likely owed as much to Spain as Italy, but again demonstrated the partner's willingness to experiment to achieve effect.²¹ This was, more

precisely, allusion in suggesting functional character. Hence places like Madison Square Garden, intended to be lighthearted, drew from examples in northern Italy and Spain where a more passionate classicism was found. On the other hand, places of serious business like McKim's library gained inspiration from the High Renaissance of central Italy and, later, ancient Rome.²² White's exuberant showplace lacked the staying power of McKim's more restrained library, failing to attract sufficient business to meet costs. It closed in 1925 and was demolished shortly thereafter.

Despite their differences in approach and ultimate fate, the firm's adaptation of form to function in both jobs was consistent with its credo of providing not just a well working building but also an appropriate character in symbolic terms. This underlined the *École's* influence, a tautly stretched line which ran through the office and demanded serious attention to such variables as a building's site, local climate, quality of materials and historical associations, based on a sense of place and building type. Place was especially important since a chosen terrain did not always cooperate or was not appropriate historically or visually, especially to the absolute bilateral symmetry demanded of the *École's* formal plans. Bending form to function could also result in asymmetry of plan. In such instances, and there were many, the partnership found a solution that softened this code and moved on.²³

While Madison Square Garden had a checkered financial history, even early on, White and his partners were more fortunate, seeing their business double in the five years after 1887. Their approach to design continued to develop, settling firmly on more formal interpretations of European and American antecedents. Gone was the playful asymmetrical massing, the off centre porches and towers and the contrasts between light and shadow and different building materials. Colour, ornament and form simplified and, in their urban public and commercial jobs, it became more monumental in scope. Their work also increasingly emphasized its relationship to the urban fabric in an attempt to impose some order in a rapidly changing nation. McKim's library brought order to Copley Square in Boston, as did his Georgian-Federalist Rhode Island State Capitol (1891) from its hilltop view in Providence.²⁴ In 1893, McKim's sprawling Agriculture Building at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago anchored one side of a central lagoon circled by other classical confections in the perfectly planned 'White City', harbinger of the future and the City Beautiful Movement.²⁵

McKim's Agriculture Building featured symmetrical wings framing a domed central pavilion, an embrace of monumentalism that went beyond the Renaissance and into Baroque

Fig. 6. Gould Library, Hall of Fame Terrace, New York University. Photograph by George P. Hall, 1914. The library and terrace were designed between 1892 and 1894 and completed in 1903. (Collection of the New York Historical Society)

territory. Two years earlier, in 1889, White's Washington Memorial Arch in New York explored the Roman model, a seemingly more appropriate choice than the Renaissance in honouring the centennial of George Washington's inaugural in 1789.²⁶ This grander scale strengthened in the 1890s with the Roman Pantheon and its dome adapted for several of the firm's public buildings, again no doubt emphasizing America's new role as an emerging world power. Two of the more important commissions in this vein were White's library for New York University and McKim's Columbia University Library both awarded in 1893. The partners received inspiration in their choice from another American icon, Thomas Jefferson and his design for the library rotunda at the University of Virginia in 1817.

The Georgian-Federalist strain of Roman classicism embraced by Jefferson at Charlottesville sought to express its designer's ideological overtones in the library, a principle anchor in the academic village, composed of a dome on a high drum with fronting portico. This exercise in geometric order recalled Jefferson's alterations at Monticello at the turn of the century, adding a dome and octagonal drum to a perfectly good Palladian house. Such action likely followed the belief that geometric order represented the Enlightenment's faith in Reason in which power was acquired through the democratic process in the same way as, for example, a European castle might represent control by heredity.²⁷

Jefferson's highly charged ideology was of less interest to the firm than a more general philosophy of achieving an appropriate character of building type and site given its historical association to the former President. White's New York University featured a library group composed of a dome on a cruciform plan with portico entrance and balanced dependencies connected by a semicircular ambulatory walk (Fig. 6). Set on a bluff overlooking the Harlem River in the Bronx, the Gould Library was the focus of attention with the other university buildings out of sight behind. McKim's commission for the new site at Columbia University at 116th Street featured an octagonal drum on a cruciform plan (Fig. 7). With its limestone construction, the Low Library was a crowning feature on the campus with its bi-level podium overlooking a formal plan of brick dormitory and classroom buildings, all bound together in a very urban concoction of pavements, landscaping and retaining walls. Ironically, while both buildings were being constructed in 1895, Jefferson's library in Virginia was destroyed by fire and the firm was awarded the design contract for reconstruction with White as lead hand.²⁸

The Gould and Low libraries were central to each university plan; a hierarchy emphasized by the grandeur of their domes, geometric drums and porticoes in the Pantheon mode. McKim

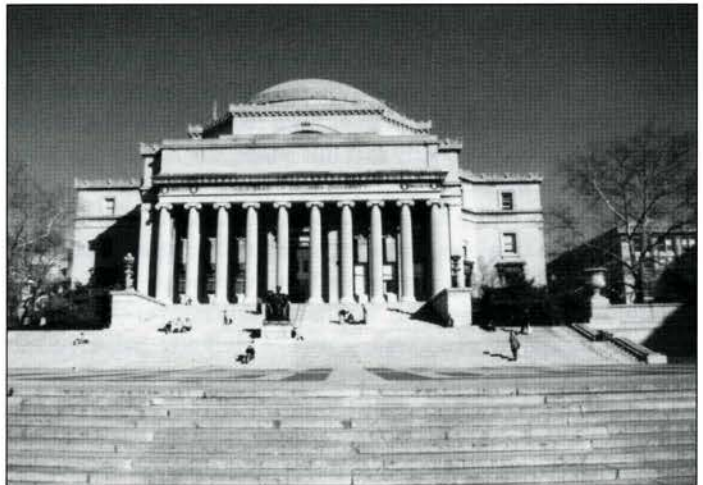


Fig. 7. Low Library, Columbia University, December 1999. The library was designed in 1894 and completed in 1898. (New Brunswick Museum, 1999)

called his building "the common laboratory and workshop of the college"²⁹ and both architects were pleased with the planning and execution of these important commissions. Indeed, their influence appears to have led White in some unusual directions. Through his comings and goings at the office and discussions with McKim he was no doubt familiar with his partner's octagon plan for the Low Library, a plan which possibly inspired White for one of his domestic commissions at this time. Perhaps too, he thought of Jefferson's Monticello and its octagon addition overlooking Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. In any case, as the Columbia design matured during 1894, White applied a similar plan to a house design for his sister-in-law, Kate Wetherill, near his summer home, Box Hill, at St. James, Long Island.³⁰

The Wetherill house, known as Head of the Harbour, was completed in 1895. Octagonal in plan, with a service unit attached, a verandah on five of eight sides, it faced the edge of a steep hill running down to Long Island Sound with the Connecticut shore in the distance. The exterior featured restrained colonial revival styling consistent with the firm's mature classical vocabulary, ranging from Palladian window treatments to Ionic columns supporting the verandah, all in white paint and



Fig. 8. "Head of the Harbour", designed by White for his sister in law, Kate Wetherill in St. James, N.Y., 1894 and finished in 1895. (Jonathan Waller)

set against the natural shingle surfaces of the wall plate (Fig. 8). The house geometry was deceptive since the living space of the ground floor was, in fact, cruciform with porch space around the unit fulfilling the octagon plan as seen from above. The second and third floors more nearly met this shape, the latter a pinwheel of gables from the outside, decidedly orthogonal within.

At the base of the hill leading to the boathouse and harbour, White added a small teahouse, repeating the octagonal plan from the main house above and using Tuscan columns to support a delightful thatched roof (Fig. 9). This combination of the classical and picturesque worked well, a sort of civil and half civil mix that simplified the basic geometric theme of the Wetherill house and possibly inspired another White design, this one very remote and known mainly to the wealthy fishing 'sports' on the Restigouche River.³¹ As Head of the Harbour neared completion in 1895, White was drawing plans for the new lodge at Camp Harmony in northern New Brunswick. Two of Harmony's principals, W.C. Whitney and Oliver Payne, would be future clients in New York and White later designed expensive house projects for each on Fifth Avenue.³²

Camp Harmony and Kedgwick Lodge

The camp, which took form in the spring of 1896, was located on a sloping contour of land that broke sharply downward to meet the junction of the Upsalquitch and Restigouche Rivers (Fig. 10). Fronted by a wrap-around verandah supported by debarked logs, the composition hinged on a central octagonal lodge room with shallow polygonal tower housing the club dining room, main fireplace and living room. The supporting wings contained bedrooms and bathrooms with a kitchen and maid's complex to the rear of the main lodge and other outbuildings behind and to one side. The walls were adzed half-timber, adding to the rusticity and picturesque flavour.

In contrast, the camp's plan recalled more recent work in which the octagon form represented the principle or central unit of a composition. Camp Harmony's lodge room was the obvious nerve centre of the complex and, unlike Head of the Harbour, all the internal octagon space was used, with passages off for the bedroom and bath wings, one of which had a slightly enlarged pavilion at its end. While far removed in terms of function and

Fig. 9. The teahouse below "Head of the Harbour" with the boat-dock in the background, n.d., probably turn of the century. It is no longer standing. (Collection of the New York Historical Society)

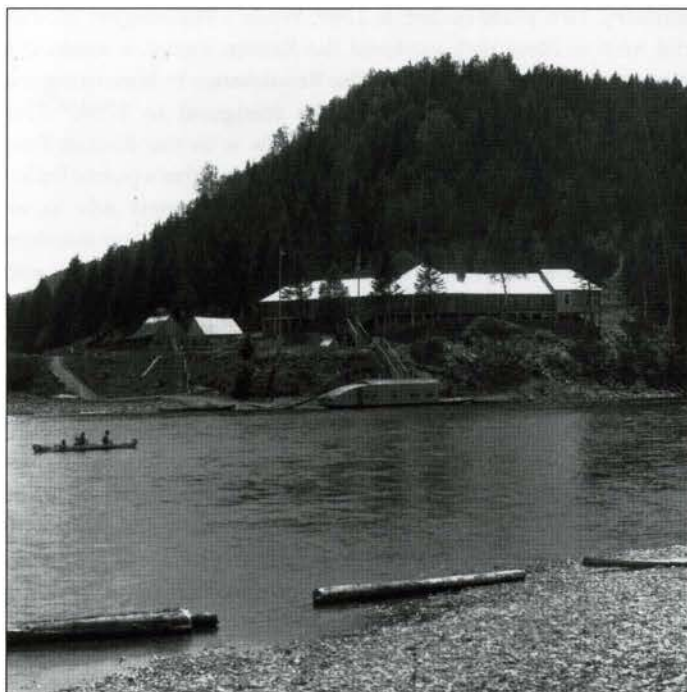


Fig. 10. Camp Harmony Club, Restigouche and Upsalquitch Rivers, NB, 1898(?). The lodge is newly completed since its support piers are still exposed. They were later screened in with logs. Below the lodge is Colonel Oliver Payne's houseboat scow, also designed by White. A team of horses was secured by rope to the deck at right and the vessel steered by the large oar at left. The Restigouche, running down at right, was a shallow river and the common method of transport was by scow, although most were of the open variety. (Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, Quebec, View-2844)

relative importance, the lodge plan satisfied, in a minimal sense, the hierarchy of spatial relationships that McKim's library exerted over the Columbia campus. If the library was the focal point, the 'workshop', so too was the lodge room where members met, ate, planned their day and relaxed ; it was the centre of human interaction (Fig. 11). The polygonal tower over the lodge underlined this focus. It also recalled the use of this element in the firm's picturesque country house designs of the early 1880s, located usually to one side, covering a porch and assisting the asymmetry.³³ Now, instead of a Roman dome, which would never do on the Restigouche, the tower was at the centre, completing the rustic skin over a symmetrical plan in the École fashion (Fig. 12).

While Harmony was being constructed for its consortium of owners, White designed another lodge 40 miles up the river for William K. Vanderbilt. Again, city followed country and he would later design a house for Vanderbilt's son, William Jr., next to his parents' residence on Fifth Avenue in 1904.³⁴ Kedgwick Lodge was finished in the summer of 1897 at the intersection of

Fig. 11. The interior of the main lodge at Camp Harmony with the geometry of the wall plan evident, summer, 1999. The kitchen and maid's quarters were reached through the door at right centre but these service accommodations are now gone since employees drive to the lodge. The door to one bedroom wing is to the left, the camp's original sideboard is at right and the stuffed heads, which White provided as a gift, decorate each section of wall.
(New Brunswick Museum)



the Little Main Restigouche and the Kedgwick Rivers on land that Vanderbilt had leased from the owner, Archibald Rogers of Hyde Park, New York.³⁵

If anything, Kedgwick Lodge was more rustic than Harmony with branch stubs on its debarked logs supporting a hipped roof over the main lodge room (Fig. 13). Slightly smaller than Harmony's, the space performed similar functions as a dining room and main gathering point. Of more significance, the plan of the room was an octagon with attached pantry (Fig. 14). Breezeways separated but also connected a bedroom/bath wing on one side and the kitchen on the other, both units with hipped roofs. Support buildings such as the ice house and guide's camp were behind the main complex. In contrast to Harmony, Kedgwick Lodge was sited in a meadow facing the Restigouche at the base of large hill, which rose over 200 feet behind. Its overall size reflected family ownership, meant to accommodate a few guests but less than Harmony's club membership. Since the bedroom/bath wing was larger than the kitchen, a symmetrical plan was not achieved and this was further skewed by the addition of another bedroom/bath section in the first half of the twentieth century (Fig. 15).

White and his clients considered the siting of both complexes carefully. Facing two rivers from above and leaning on posts driven into undulating terrain with a forested hill rising behind, Camp Harmony brought a sense of order to its setting in the wilds through a linear delineation and an obvious axis point. Perhaps, in White's mind, the rivers doubled as an intersection of two streets, a show of the firm's urban proprioception, miles from nowhere. There was flatter land immediately to the left to situate the lodge without the need for the additional expense of driving posts on a hill and yet architect and clients went ahead anyway. This despite efforts to cut costs elsewhere. In July, 1895 White wrote to Dean Sage, one of owners, stating "I have left out the closets which were indicated on the first plan, as they would have added greatly to the expense, and I think that with the bureaus and hooks you will have all you want in the bedrooms". White further added, "if it (the camp) costs more than you think it should, it is due to the size rather than to any expensive layout of the plans".³⁶

Kedgwick was no less dramatic, although its position in the meadow was not as dependent on the expense of posts. In a letter to Vanderbilt on its location White advised that "if it was on the side of a hill, extra lengths of piers and timbers would be an additional cost." It was eventually decided that "it should be as close to the river as is safe",³⁷ the note of caution showing a healthy respect for the spring freshets. In any case, Vanderbilt's

lodge didn't need a side hill location to achieve a visual impact. There was lots of gentle terrain running up to Broderick's Hill, a towering presence which exerted an almost sublime effect on the composition when viewed from the river (Fig. 16).

A closer look at the wall plate on each camp suggests careful thought in selection.

In a letter to Vanderbilt, White stated that the finish for both lodges was similar, "that is, adzed half timber for the outside, with a shingle roof and inside ceiled with spruce or pine or birch slightly stained".³⁸ According to camp tradition at Kedgwick, the adzing of timber for the walls was performed by lumbermen on the Upsalquitch River during the winter of 1896-1897 and then sledged over the ice to the lodge site. Oral tradition at Harmony is similar but less labour intensive with the wood cut from the hill behind the camp.³⁹ Used to squaring timber for market and then adzing the surfaces smooth, a lumbering team then fashioned the dove tail joints for the corners on each lodge building (Fig. 17).

The use of half timbering for wall plate was a common method of construction in northern New Brunswick during the second half of the nineteenth century as the area became more settled. After caulking the joints, a layer of shingles or clapboard was sometimes applied and sometimes not, usually based on the economic circumstances of the settler and even the availability of nails and other hardware.⁴⁰ White was certainly familiar with indigenous housing in the region having traveled through Grand Falls, St. Leonard, and points in between on his way to several portages to the head of the Restigouche.⁴¹ His use of this wall finish for a lodge was unusual since any other fishing or hunting camps encountered in the province through on site inspection or historic photographs used full log construction. These ranged from high-end complexes like one at Holmes Lake (Fig. 18) northwest of Miramichi City to the more basic Camp Comfort near Fredericton on the Saint John River, both dating from the turn of the century.⁴²



Fig. 12. The tower over the octagonal lodge room at Camp Harmony. The Restigouche River is to the right, the Upsalquitch is to the left and the action of the tower and lodge as a hinge for the two wings can be seen more clearly.
(New Brunswick Museum, 1999)



Fig. 13. Kedgwick Lodge, rear elevation, about 1915, showing a portion of the bedroom wing to the right, the lodge proper at centre and the original kitchen block at left, the latter destroyed by fire in the early 1970s. (Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, P2-0160)



Fig. 14. The interior of the main lodge room at Kedgwick, summer, 1999, giving a strong indication of its octagonal drum. The dining room table and chairs at right are original to the camp. White may have provided the moosehead specimen above the fireplace. (New Brunswick Museum)



Fig. 15. Kedgwick Lodge showing the rebuilt kitchen wing, the lodge proper, the original bedroom wing and, at far right, the bedroom wing built in the first half of the twentieth century. (New Brunswick Museum, 1999)

White had obviously left his stamp on both lodges. Moreover, the partnership's credo was in evidence through his sure hand in guiding form to function with the centralized dining and living rooms, an appropriate symbolic character in rustic terms, sensitivity to indigenous use of building materials and importance of building site. If these factors satisfied major elements of

Fig. 16. Kedgwick Lodge from the Restigouche River. Broderick's Hill rises to the left. (New Brunswick Museum, 1999)



the Beaux-Arts school, picturesque and rustic skin aside, it merely underlined the care which the partnership took with their clients, especially this group of clients. The importance of these lodge projects to the architectural and cultural heritage of New Brunswick is not well known, remaining part of the local lore along the river. The isolated and private nature of these buildings has prevented wider recognition but this will come given the architectural pedigree, their connection to the social and cultural history of the river, and a burgeoning tourism industry up and down its waters.



Fig. 17. An example of the dove-tailed joints and adzed half timber construction at Camp Harmony. (New Brunswick Museum, 1999)

The impact of Camp Harmony and Kedgwick Lodge on the New York office at the time and on architectural historians since appears to have been negligible. White himself seems to indicate that they were minor works, writing to Oliver Payne about Harmony in 1895 that "I went over your Club House ; you are in fine shape there. We are going to have a two cent shanty put up there before long".⁴³ Yet his correspondence makes evident the desire to please his clients not just in terms of the camps' design, layout and furnishings, but ensuring that travel, food and accommodation arrangements for visits by the owners and guests were carried out efficiently.

The Restigouche presented special difficulties in satisfying these logistics. There were no roads and travel for passengers and freight in the summer was by horse drawn scow, usually open but in the case of the wealthy sports, with a house built on top. In 1896-1897, White designed rather luxurious houseboats for Colonel Payne (Fig. 19), William Vanderbilt and Robert Goelet.⁴⁴ He also coordinated anticipated travel movements by guests from New York with the supply of work crews, including canoe men, maids and cooks and directed that one scow or the other be on hand at Matapédia, Quebec, to meet the incoming Intercolonial passenger train. During these two years, as work on Harmony and Kedgwick neared completion, he made several



Fig. 18. The camp at Holmes Lake, northwest of Miramichi City, N.B. The main lodge is at left centre in the distance, a bedroom wing is at right centre with a covered walkway to right leading to another bedroom complex. The full log construction is evident. Summer, 1999. (New Brunswick Museum, 1999).

visits over the portage from the Saint John River to view progress, make corrections, and consult with carpenters and the Manager of the Restigouche Salmon Club on future refinements.

If the logistics weren't tough enough, weather bound delays, customs trouble, client friction and uncooperative tradesmen hardened the mix. Even though full sets of plans were produced for both lodges and the houseboats, no office copies have survived and the drawings sent to New Brunswick haven't been located. Both arrived as charted in the correspondence but Vanderbilt's set was held for payment of duty much to White's chagrin. Worse, Dean Sage of Harmony complained (although not to the architect), that the lodge room was not high enough and had a 'squatty' look. White had already altered the plans once at Sage's request and wrote to Colonel Payne in some exasperation asking "What in the Devil did he have me as architect for [...] must have had one of his fits".⁴⁵ Finally, White experienced problems with the contractor for Kedgwick Lodge over his failure to follow instructions regarding the placement of the ice-house and some other outbuildings.

White's reaction to Sage's criticism was quick and blunt, clear evidence that he cared about the quality of his lodge projects as he would any of his professional work. Known as 'Fierce Dean', Sage had a temper and White appealed to Colonel Payne as a friend and client for his opinion. The Stanford White Papers make no further mention of alterations and it is likely that the Colonel prevailed on his cantankerous partner. The incident does show that the atmosphere was perhaps more charged on the Restigouche than elsewhere, with the exception of New York, by virtue of White's presence season after season as his alter ego, the fisherman. The river was a closed shop, his client base had him surrounded and if there were armchair critics, they had a target. But Sage struck the only discordant note on record.

*

White not only fished the river (Fig. 20), but also took an active part in the life of the Restigouche Salmon Club, even designing several bulkheads to improve river flow in the main pool at Matapédia. He also served as a director of Harmony for a time and often brought family members and guests to the various lodges. In June of 1897, his wife Bessie and son Larry



Fig. 19. Colonel Oliver Payne, left and fellow Camp Harmony member, Frankie Ellis, on the deck of Payne's houseboat scow, Restigouche River, n.d., probably late 1890s. (Camp Harmony Angling Club)



Fig. 20. Stanford White's alligator skin fly fishing box and its six trays of salmon used on the Restigouche River, photographed December, 1999, St. James, N.Y. (New Brunswick Museum)

accompanied him to Kedgwick where Bessie landed a 43 pound salmon, the largest ever in the records of the Restigouche Salmon Club to that time and four pounds more than White had ever caught in all his years of fishing there.⁴⁶ First a 'squatty' roof and then your wife outfishes

you. Stanford White surely felt the sting!

The Restigouche provided its rewards however, and they easily outweighed any shortcomings. In August of 1897, with Kedgwick completed, White decided to journey north again to do a final inspection. This time he brought Mead and McKim with him for a bit of a holiday and the three portaged to the Restigouche on horseback via the forest trail with their baggage on a summer sled behind. Canoeing down the river, White oversaw a few changes at Kedgwick, they fished there without success but further down "we all stopped at Devil's Half Acre and perched ourselves on the rock high above it to watch Mead fill his boat with fish. Here he did get, and at once, a very splendid rise – a great big salmon jumping away out of the water at the fly and nearly scaring Mead's life out of him". Writing later to a friend, White summed the trip up by saying that "We had the most magnificent weather all the time, like warm October days, with brilliant moonlight nights, and both McKim and Mead were simply enraptured with the river and the trip".⁴⁷

Mead once commented that the Restigouche was "something he [White] always looked forward to and out of which he took the greatest pleasure in his life".⁴⁸ The movement of the well to do from the cities of the northeast to seaside resorts or wilderness locations in Canada was an established trend by the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ White needed vacation time more than most, leaving a complicated lifestyle in New York largely characterized by overwork, overplay and indebtedness. His fishing lodges on the Restigouche and, in this context, his New Brunswick lodges remain symbols of Manhattan's Gilded Age on the river, a clean and healthy playground for millionaires and the architect who served them. Camp Harmony and Kedgwick Lodge exude this holiday rustic charm while keeping their New York roots much more discrete. Charm and discretion, a mixture of traits one might compare to the designer himself.

Notes

1 In Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture*, New York, The Free Press, 1978, 163, from John Jay Chapman, "McKim, Mead & White", *Vanity Fair* (September 1919).

2 Quoted in Leland M. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper & Row), 1983, 2, from Edith Wharton, *A Backward Glance* (New York), 1934, 54-55.

3 Roth, McKim, Mead & White..., 3.

4 See the short biography of White by Brendan Gill, *MacMillan Encyclopaedia of Architects* (New York: The Free Press), 1982, 390-394.

5 Paul R. Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: The Free Press), 1989. See especially pp. 123-124, 258. Baker sketches White's invitation to join the club, membership, fees, individual and family visits and the two lodge projects in New Brunswick. This article is based on a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the SSAC in Toronto in June 2000. It originated in a larger project on the Atlantic fishery involving the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Newfoundland Museum, the Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation, the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia and the New Brunswick Museum. These institutions have mounted a series of traveling exhibitions titled *Lifelines: Canada's East Coast Fisheries* which were initially shown at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) until the late winter of 2002 and then traveled in the Atlantic region. Various topics were featured, including out-port material culture in Newfoundland, lobster fishing off Prince Edward Island and sport fishing

in New Brunswick. CMC coordinated the project and contributed three exhibition units, including sealing and whaling, cod fishery and aboriginal fishery. The New Brunswick exhibition on the sport fishery features a segment on Stanford White's role as a designer of fishing lodges on the Restigouche River. Research support for the exhibition was received from the Museums Assistance program, Department of Canadian Heritage which also assisted with the production and circulation costs.

6 Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life...*, 258. Baker refers to Vanderbilt's lodge as 'rustic' but that is the sum total of his commentary and one must conclude that he based his description on the outgoing correspondence of the Stanford White Papers at Columbia University dealing with the Restigouche and not on a visual record of the camp.

7 *Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead & White 1879-1915*. 4 vols. (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Co.), 1915. No drawings or photographs of any of the Restigouche fishing lodge projects were located in the Stanford White Papers or in the McKim, Mead and White office materials held by the New York Historical Society.

8 Roth notes the attribution of many far flung commissions to the firm, including a bank in Mason City, Illinois (1904) credited to Stanford White, p. 351. When research began on the sport fishing exhibition, information was received from the Restigouche River area that a well known American architect had designed several lodges on the river and that the same architect had designed Grand Central Station or the Empire State Building or both. It was with some surprise when White's presence on the river was confirmed, although

authorship of each supposed commission in New York quickly proved incorrect.

9 Leland M. Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White 1870-1920: A Building List* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., Inc.), 1978.

10 See Samuel G. White, *The Houses of McKim, Mead & White* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc.), 1998, and Lawrence Grant White, *Sketches and Designs of Stanford White* (The Architectural Book Publishing Co.), 1920. Lawrence White was the son of Stanford White and Samuel White is a great-grandson. The latter's publication makes brief mention of the Restigouche Salmon Club in two instances, pp. 76, 238 and Charles C. Baldwin, *Stanford White* (New York: Dodd, Mead), 1931, devotes two pages dealing with White as fisherman at the same club, pp. 182-183.

11 Sylvain Gingras, *Hunting and Fishing in Quebec: A Century of Sport* (St-Raymond, Québec: Les Éditions Rapides Blancs Inc.). Gingras incorrectly states that White was a graduate of the École des Beaux-Arts, focuses some attention on the architect's tragic death and gives him credit for the Mount Royal Club in Montreal (1905), an attribution which has not been confirmed. Gingras relates the 'Night Hawk' story as occurring at the Restigouche Salmon Club's headquarters in Matapaedia where "one of the club members spent an entire evening tying some flies which he intended to use the next morning. After varnishing them well so they would last longer, he hung them on a line above the river to dry overnight. White was unable to sleep, and in the middle of the night he went out on to the porch, where he inadvertently broke the line and the flies drifted away. At breakfast White's fellow member was furious and White realized

that he had probably been responsible for the accident. He immediately decided to make a salmon fly on his own. He placed a hook inside a vice. 'Salmon like something silver, right?' The member agreed. White answered, 'They also like something black' and added two crows' feathers. Then he placed a jungle cock feather on each side, put a dab of red paint on the fly's head. 'That will get you a salmon', he pronounced, and it did. At dinner the member returned in a high state of excitement, wanting to know the name of the fly. 'Let's call it the Night Hawk' was the creator's answer", pp. 56-57. True or not, the Night Hawk has been a staple of fly fishermen on the river ever since.

12 The Stanford White Papers (in the Prints and Drawings Room, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University) include 35 press books of several hundred pages each with copies of letters sent from White's private office. Much valuable information about his work on the Restigouche is contained in letters to clients (and friends) for whom he built lodges on the river such as W.K. Vanderbilt, Robert Goelet, W.C. Whitney, Col. O.H. Payne and Dean Sage. Other correspondence is directed to club officials and tradesmen. The correspondence confirms the design for Camp Harmony and Kedgwick Lodge, the focal points of this study, as well as Toadbrook Lodge. For Camp Harmony see the Stanford White (SW) to Dean Sage, July 15, 1895, Stanford White Papers (SW Papers), Press Book (PB) 14: 21; for Kedgwick Lodge see SW to W.K. Vanderbilt, October 23, 1896, SW Papers, PB 1: 18; for Robert Goelet's Toadbrook Lodge in Quebec see SW to Elias Falle, Restigouche Salmon Club, May 20, 1897, SW Papers, PB 18: 210. White also makes reference to Henry Hollins in a letter to

Percy Baker, Manager of the Restigouche Salmon Club, April 1, 1897, PB 18: 22 concerning the services of a maid and cook formerly in Hollins' employ, likely at Brandy Brook, and now sought for Robert Goelet's Toadbrook Lodge.

13 For additional information on some of these early camps see Dean Sage, *The Restigouche and Its Salmon Fishing*, with a chapter on Angling Literature (Edinburgh: Douglas), 1888, and Peter Thomas, *Lost Land of Moses: The Age of Discovery on New Brunswick's Salmon Rivers* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions), 2001.

14 See Thomas, *Lost Land of Moses...*, 196-197 and Gingras, *Hunting and Fishing...*, 55-58, also "Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961", *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. III, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, and especially Geoffrey Wall, *Recreational Lands*, Plate 36.

15 See Thomas, *Lost Land of Moses...*, 195-197. A more extended discussion on this subject is contained in an unpublished paper delivered by Bill Parenteau (University of New Brunswick) to the Canadian Historical Association, Quebec City, May, 2001 entitled "Anglers, Settlers, Conservation and Social Conflict in the Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867-1900". A similar process of land assembly by wealthy Americans occurred in the Adirondacks in upstate New York during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. See Harvey H. Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc.), 1982, 50-53.

16 See Gingras, *Hunting and Fishing...*, 54-57 and notes 11 and 12.

17 Baker, Stanny : *The Gilded Life...*, 123.

18 The brownstone was the Villard complex, a house group of six

townhouses for railway developer Henry Villiard, completed in 1885 between 49th and 50th Streets in Manhattan. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 84-90 and Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 79-83. A good example of a freely adapted Georgian colonial urban house is a design for John F. Andrew of Boston, completed in 1886. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 97-99 and Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 96-101.

19 See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 116, 124, 180. Also Alan Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Functions and Cultural Expression* (New York: HarperCollins), 1992, 211-212, for a background to the expansionist spirit of the age in the United States.

20 McKim used the Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevieve in Paris as a starting point for his composition. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 119, and Russell Sturgis, "Great American Architects Series, No. 1, McKim, Mead & White", *The Architectural Record* (May 1895), New York, Da Capo Press, 1977, 82-86.

21 White's Madison Square Garden street arcade was inspired by the grand *cortile* of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, Italy, and the tower by the Moorish *Girlanda* in Seville, Spain. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, 161 and Sturgis, "Great American Architects...", 15.

22 Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 7-8.

23 For a discussion of the firm's artistic inspiration from their study of history and their underlying office philosophy of design from the École, see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 354-359.

24 The firm's Georgian-Federalist classicism sought to revive a home grown architectural style that developed after the American

Revolution and lasted to about 1815. More restrained and correct than their earlier colonial interpretations, it celebrated America's heritage of early nationhood one hundred years later. It was especially popular in New England. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 147, and, for the Rhode Island State Capitol, pp. 150-155.

25 Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 179.

26 Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 135-136.

27 Gowans, *Styles and Types...*, 107-109.

28 Jefferson's original library rotunda and dependencies has attracted much criticism over the years. See, for example see Gowans, *Styles and Types...*, 109-110. Roth, not surprisingly, defends the firm, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 197-199.

29 Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 194.

30 Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 165-171.

31 Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 171. At least one rustic teahouse similar to the Wetherill example was added to a great camp in the Adirondacks. Hexagonal in shape with a shingle roof supported by rough logs and built on a small island, it was connected to the camp proper by a 100 foot long footbridge. Originally the property of the Stott family on Raquette Lake from the late 1870s, the camp was turned into a great camp of over 20 structures by magazine publisher Robert Collier after the turn of the century.

Stanford White knew the region as a member of the Adirondack League Club but there is no record of his involvement in any of its camp buildings. He would at least have been familiar with the rustic style of the area's lodge structures and outbuildings, although the Collier teahouse could not have

inspired the Wetherill creation since the former dated from about 1912. See Kaiser, *Great Camps...*, 52-53, 108. Also see Alex Shoumatoff, "Camp Life", *Vanity Fair* (May, 1997), 158-168, 188-194 for more on the great camps of the Adirondacks.

32 W.C. Whitney was a former Secretary of the Navy during Grover Cleveland's first administration and the controller of most of New York City's streetcar lines. He was a friend of and later brother-in-law to Colonel Oliver Payne who had become wealthy as a partner of John D. Rockefeller and treasurer of the Standard Oil Company. White was friends with both men and maintained that friendship through the years despite a falling out between the two. He remodeled and expanded a massive brownstone for Whitney on Fifth Avenue, a process completed in 1902 and, the same year, designed an elaborate Renaissance style house for Colonel Payne's nephew, Payne Whitney, and his new bride Helen Hay, daughter of John Hay, Secretary of State under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. See Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life...*, 310-314, and Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 224-231.

33 Good examples of these early designs include the Isaac Bell Jr. house, Newport, Rhode Island, 1881-1883 and the Cyrus Hall McCormick house, Richfield Springs, New York, 1880-1882. See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 72-73.

34 See Roth, *McKim, Mead & White...*, 263-264.

35 William K. Vanderbilt commissioned the lodge and remained active on the Restigouche for a few years but stopped coming north in the first decade of the twentieth century and the property was taken over by the Rogers family. The Vander-

bilts and the Rogers were on familiar terms. Archibald Rogers lived in Hyde Park, New York, 50 miles from the city on the Hudson River and, in 1895, the firm, mostly McKim and Mead, designed a huge mansion in the same place for Frederick William, the seventh of William K. Vanderbilt's nine children. See Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 190-197.

36 SW Papers, SW to Dean Sage, July 15, 1895, PB 14 : 21.

37 SW Papers, SW to William K. Vanderbilt, October 23, 1896, PB 17 : 18-19.

38 SW Papers, SW to William K. Vanderbilt, October 23, 1896, PB 17 : 19.

39 Philip Lee, *Home Pool : The Fight to Save the Atlantic Salmon* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions and the New Brunswick Publishing Company, Limited), 1996, 107-108.

40 See Robert Cunningham and John B. Prince, *Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay : Artifacts of New Brunswick* (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick Press), 1976, 32-33. A photograph of half-timbering and dove-tailed joints from the Bathurst area of northern New Brunswick is featured but no date is attached to the structure. A good example of half-timbering and dove-tailed joints is shown in *In Old New Brunswick : A Victorian Portrait*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1978, Plate 106 entitled "Madawaska region. Houses on the Saint John River. G.T. Taylor (Photographer), 1890s". Generally, half-timbering and dove-tail joint construction would have been more common in southern New Brunswick during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries during the region's settlement period which achieved greater levels of concentration earlier than in the north.

41 See for example SW Papers,

SW to Colonel Payne, May 25, 1896, PB 16 : 135 in which he talks about traveling to the Restigouche via Boston and Bangor and going "with Breese over the hills to the head of the Restigouche and run down in a canoe, arriving at Camp Harmony Monday the first or Tuesday the second". James (Jimmy) Breese was a close friend of White's, a member of the Restigouche Salmon Club and the more notorious and secretive Sewer Club in New York. He was also a future client, hiring the firm to expand and existing property in Southampton, New York at the turn of the century. See Samuel White, *The Houses of McKim...*, 238.

42 The lodge complex at Holmes Lake was completed early in the twentieth century for the Pratt family of New York. The architect is unknown but the buildings, including the main lodge, resemble the great camps of the Adirondacks in both their full log construction and the extent of the buildings and services. There is, for example, a separate dining room and attached kitchen/pantry, bedroom/bath units attached to the main lodge by covered walkways, separate cabins for maids/guides/canoemen, a pump house, garden shed, laundry, boathouse, even a photographer's darkroom in one of the utility buildings. An exception of full log construction in the Adirondacks were the main buildings of the original Stott family complex on Raquette Lake begun in 1877. Here the principle structures were of square-hewn logs with corners of square-cut dove-tails, unusual for the Adirondacks. Whether White saw these buildings during a visit and copied them later on the Restigouche is uncertain. It is just as likely that he was inspired by examples in Restigouche and Madawaska Counties. See Kaiser,

Great Camps..., 106-107. For a view of Camp Comfort in the Fredericton area, a basic log structure, see Mike Parker, *Rivers of Yesterday: A New Brunswick Hunting and Fishing Journal* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited), 1997, 4.

43 SW Papers, SW to Colonel Payne, April 30, 1895, PB 13 : 224. The comment might just as well be tongue in cheek knowing White's friendship with Payne.

44 See, for example, SW Papers, SW to Elias Falle (Restigouche Salmon Club), March 9, 1895, PB 12 : 463 in which he mails plans for Colonel Payne's scow and notes that "there is a double roof, that is, an air space between the canvas and inner roof, in order to keep the cabin cool".

45 SW Papers, SW to Colonel Payne, March 17, 1896, PB 15:318.

46 SW Papers, SW to J. Alden Weir, Esq., July 6, 1897, PB 18:282.

47 SW Papers, SW to Robert Goelet, August 19, 1897, PB 18:430-433. White notes that Mead and McKim "were tickled to death also at Toadbrook Lodge and its picturesqueness". Since he was writing to his friend and the camp owner, White might be expected to relay the praise of his partners. Still, it may present a fair indication of the success of Toadbrook Lodge. Unfortunately, the lodge no longer exists and no photographs of it have been located. One might extrapolate from this feeling that White was pleased with all his lodge projects on the river. In Charles Baldwin's *Stanford White* there is a curious reference to W.K. Vanderbilt in a letter from him to White in which he writes "Plans received : you are authorized to proceed with the work ; I am writing Rogers about the site", p. 243. No context for this quotation is given other than White was a busy man and there is no reference. One is left to

assume that the plans were for Kedgwick Lodge since Vanderbilt was to write 'Rogers, presumably Archibald Rogers, concerning the site. A most curious insert but it would appear to indicate that Vandebilt was at least satisfied with the design of the lodge if we may take that as an accurate reference to it.

48 Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life...*, 124.

49 A full treatment of this phenomenon with reference to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, is given in Andrew Sackett, "Inhaling the Salubrious Air: Health and Development in St. Andrews, N.B., 1880-1910", *Acadiensis* (Autumn 1995), 54-63.