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Creating a Maine railroad landscape, 1890-1897: architecture of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad

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Thesis

CREATING A MAINE RAILROAD LANDSCAPE, 1890-1897: ARCHITECTURE OF THE PORTLAND & RUMFORD FALLS RAILWAY AND THE RUMFORD FALLS & RANGELEY LAKES RAILROAD

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1890, paper magnate Hugh Chisholm chartered the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway to provide service between Maine's largest city and the nascent industrial community of Rumford Falls. From 1890 to 1897, directors of that railroad embarked upon a cohesive building program to distinguish its stations from competitors and to attract traffic to Rumford Falls. This railroad's program represents a seminal moment in small town railroad station architecture because it was an early manifestation of a planned, replicated design. Civil engineer Frederic Danforth implemented the comprehensive landscape developed by architect Edwin Lewis. This pattern of architect-driven designs would be developed in the early twentieth century by railroad companies nationwide as they more aggressively created corporate branding, while also balancing community relations.

In 1894, Chisholm and associates chartered a second rail line, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, to service nearby timberlands and outdoor sporting locales. This line would further increase the prowess of Rumford Falls and the profitability of the

Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. Lewis was not associated with this project, but its directors maintained a complementary architectural program almost indistinguishable from the earlier campaign.

This thesis examines the initial development of the two rail lines based on photographs, architectural drawings, and documentary research. It explores how these building programs fit into the greater schema of corporate railroad architectural development. It elucidates the national trends toward an interconnected industrial landscape and early attempts at corporate branding through vernacular architecture.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MHPC:	Maine Historic Preservation Commission
MHS:	Maine Historical Society
P&RFRy:	Portland & Rumford Falls Railway
RF&BRR:	Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad
RF&RLRR:	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad
RHS:	Rumford Historical Society

INTRODUCTION

By the nineteenth century's conclusion an intricate American railroad network touched an immense number of metropolises, rural communities, and everything between. Disparate players vying for economic gain, not one overarching entity seeking connectivity for the country's population, incrementally built this interlocking system. In time these players formed conventional wisdom about best business practices, which included the general design of their structures. Executives realized that mere access to a locale did not ensure traffic. Competition took many forms, but progressively railroad companies turned to architecture. As a form of advertising, each building attempted to demonstrate that its respective railroad provided the most modern, reliable, and comfortable travel experience.[1] Yet railroading remained fundamentally a business, and overly individualized station design proved fiscally imprudent whereas overly basic design failed to attract. To reach a balance, railroads created synergistic designs where an adaptable template made buildings easily recognizable in a horizontally-diffuse group. Railroads increasingly turned to architectural professionals to achieve these goals. One of the earliest railroads to experiment with the concept was the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, a line connecting Maine's largest city with a nascent industrial community. This railroad's director had great stake in development of the town, in which he had made substantial investments, as well as the railroad. Soon after, he and others created the subsidiary Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad to service timberlands and seasonal vacation spots. That line imposed complementary building designs. The expedient,

[1] Hans Halberstadt and April Halberstadt, *The American Train Depot & Roundhouse* (Osceola, WI: Motorbooks International Publishers, 1995), 82.

initial building campaigns of these two railroads represent potent examples of a cohesive railroad landscape that reflected proprietor ambitions and provide insight into vernacular influences on railroad architecture.

Historians have demonstrated the profound effects that connectivity in the nineteenth century via railroads held for small towns, causing those with depots to thrive and those without to wither.[2] Having a station meant a community could tap a vast nexus that facilitated economic productivity and prosperity. The nexus also invited communications and the proliferation of modern ideas that further united people and places in what is known as the "metropolitan corridor."[3] No larger body, such as the federal government, actively coordinated this shaping of the landscape. Instead a plethora of large conglomerations and small lines competed and worked together to rapidly industrialize the nation. While each line had its own goals and tactics for servicing customers, competition between proprietors could influence pricing, reliability, and amenities. Railroads sought traffic of two fundamental types, passenger and freight. In an era in which travel by other means was still rudimentary, uncomfortable, slow, or even dangerous, passenger traffic comprised an important revenue stream. As importantly, railroads shipped a mammoth amount of raw materials and finished products that ushered in an era of capitalistic enterprise not previously experienced.

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[2] John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 193. Strictly speaking "station" can mean more than a singular structure, but all the related buildings at a particular location. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "depot" was the common term for a particular freight or passenger building, although in the twenty-first century the two are used interchangeably. They will be used interchangeably in this study as well to mean a single structure.
[3] Ibid., ix.

Without a doubt, location was crucial to the success of a railroad and the communities it touched. Railroads nevertheless competed for both passenger and freight traffic by advertising the advantages of the locations they served over those of competitors. Published advertisements and promotional literature embodied popular forms of marketing, but architecture provided an important reinforcement of the security and reliability of the railroad.[4] Shabby buildings instilled a sense of poor railroad operations even if service itself was exceptional, whereas well-kept stations could do the opposite. Therefore, the competing designs of railroad stations had a direct impact on profitability. Investment in railroad building design came to represent an important component of railroad corporate decision-making. At this time of intense competition, other material factors would serve as equally important to attracting business, but station design became an economic investment as much as an aesthetic one.

Station design could embody the confluence of several conscious goals of railroad executives. On one level the transition from haphazard, disjointed development of individual stations to organized, replicated design reflected the interconnected industrial landscape railroads served. That is, the existential quality of a railroad lies in its system of nodes to bind disparate locations together over time and space. It followed that as networks solidified, so too would general decisions related to design regardless of cargo hauled or locations served. The fact that railroads themselves could create standard

[4] Consider, for example, the smaller lines in Maine that were dependant upon transfer traffic from the conglomerate Maine Central. Both the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the competitor Sandy River Railroad advertised access to different parts of the Rangeley Lakes vacation area in the Maine Central's official newsletter under the "Our Connecting Lines" section. As will be demonstrated, the station design supported these other forms of advertising to different, yet comparable locations from the perspective of a prospective traveler. "Our Connecting Lines," *The Maine Central: The Official Organ of the Maine Central Railroad Company* 2, no. 12 (September 1895), 2.

designs in remote places reflected their own influence on the construction business. Their shipping capabilities made available to diverse frontier markets uniform machine-cut lumber, nails, and prefabricated architectural parts that spurred homogenization.[5]

On another level, station design could deliberately reflect the very industry it supported. Here, the lumber industry proves a particularly powerful example. Not only were stations serving that industry built of wood, but their designs often subtly or overtly represented that supporting business. Architectural historian James Buckley has argued that capital-intensive and corporate-based industry of the period, particularly with lumber and mining operations, resulted in booms of development where a single, large employer could dominate the physical and social environment.[6] Such domination was done by economics, but also by architecture, including company housing and stores as well as structures of the industry itself. While Buckley was primarily concerned with the landscape created by the lumber industry as presented in the mill towns, temporary lumber operations, and the cities that profited from them, his thesis resonates by demonstrating that railroads also embodied the link for lumbermen to the outside world just as they connected raw material to market.[7]

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[5] Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphics along America's Commercial Corridors* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 29.

[6] James Michael Buckley, "A Factory without a Roof: The Company Town in the Redwood Lumber Industry," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1997): 75. Buckley argues, too, that in the East the transition was more gradual than the West. However, at Rumford Falls, a largely unsettled part of Maine, the trend is actually analogous. Contemporary publications support this claim explicitly about Rumford Falls, including one that read "towns have sprung up in the West like mushrooms in a night…the East has not had many cities with a growth of this rapid nature, but up in Oxford County there has been formed a most substantial and progressive town which has experienced a phenomenal growth." "Rumford Falls," *The Maine Central: The Official Organ of the Maine Central Railroad Co.* 9, no. 1 (January 1901): 4.

[7] James Michael Buckley, "Building the Redwood Region: The Redwood Lumber Industry and the Landscape of Northern California, 1850-1929" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 256-258.

On yet another level, such replicated, distinctive design (even if only incremental) represents an early embodiment of corporate branding by way of buildings. In the twentieth century this practice would be developed exceedingly well with roadside architecture, but railroad companies of the late nineteenth century experimented with the basic principles and premises precociously.[8] In this sense branding was not achieved through trademarked symbols, but subtly distinctive architectural clues, even if only paint colors, that indicated to the customer just which railroad they were riding.

To achieve these deliberate signaling goals, railroad companies increasingly turned to professionals for design creation. The earliest railroad stations of the nineteenth century duplicated or reused existing building typologies before evolving into purpose-built structures based upon discovered uses and needs. Much of that evolution took place under the oversight of civil engineers, who often specialized in railroads and frequently remained in the permanent employ of railroad companies. Architects were certainly involved with railroad station design at its inception, but for many stations, particularly urban terminals, they focused on the exterior design incorporating prevailing styles, while engineers designed the mechanisms for the structures' intensive logistical and physical enterprises.

Much of this reliance on engineers also echoes the development of the architect's profession, which underwent significant transition in the nineteenth century. By the end of the century, professional organizations and well-known architects were firmly established, and railroad companies actively turned to trained and self-taught architects

[8] Charles W. Bohi and H. Roger Grant, "The Country Railroad Station as Corporate Logo," *Pioneer America* 11, no. 3 (August 1979): 117.

alike to design comprehensive landscapes in which their new structures would reside. Within this larger collection of buildings, the stations exhibited variation depending on the nature of the locales they served, such as in size, shape, or combination of functions. Nevertheless, when the design of these structures was cohesive, such cohesiveness translated into branding that sought to achieve the goals of attracting business and reflecting the prowess of the company that created it.

While this larger trend in cohesive design emerged among many railroad companies in the early twentieth century, its initial implementation came in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Architect H. H. Richardson's well-documented program for the Boston and Albany Railroad, beginning in the 1880s, represents an early, explicit campaign for such cohesion under the guidance of a respected architect, and certainly garnered attention that led it its adoption by others.[9] One of the earliest adopters was the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, initially a short, 41-mile spur that would link Portland, a port city with important international and domestic commercial connections, to Rumford Falls, a developing mill town.[10] Situated in Maine's western hinterlands, Rumford Falls was a previously underutilized spot on the Androscoggin River with a drop of 183 feet that offered the potential of as much water power generation as Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Manchester, New Hampshire, combined.[11]

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[9] For an examination of this program, see Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "Architecture for the Boston and Albany Railroad: 1881-1894," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 2 (June 1988): 109-131.
[10] All named communities in this paper not generally well-known (e.g. Boston) are within the state of Maine unless otherwise noted.
[11] "The Rumford Falls Water Power," *Manufacturer and Builder* 23, no. 11 (November 1891): 246. In the nineteenth century, the Merrimack River in New Hampshire and Massachusetts was one of the earliest and most-heavily utilized rivers for water power. Three of its largest mill cities that served as models for others throughout New England and the country were Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Manchester,

The director of this railroad, Hugh Chisholm, was also the owner of the power company and paper mills in Rumford Falls, and therefore had much at stake in the industrial development of that city as well as the financial well-being of the railroad. The two industries were inextricably tied, and while Chisholm was not primarily a railroad businessman, he realized the success of both ventures hinged on attracting passenger and freight traffic to largely neglected places. To do this, Chisholm hired an established civil engineer with proper railroad credentials to orchestrate construction. However, he also adopted the model of the Boston and Albany in Massachusetts by hiring a respected Maine architect, Edwin E. Lewis, to devise the fundamental template for the stations of his new line. That building campaign extended beyond the initial construction, and Chisholm continued it as he expanded his line in multiple directions. Chisholm then replicated the general design, slightly modified, for a secondary railroad he owned, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. This subsidiary line connected to his own Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and brought raw materials to his factories. These two lines therefore operated symbiotically, and it should not be surprising that complementary cohesive designs were implemented. This cohesive scheme was rooted in a vernacular picturesque eclecticism and has received little scholarly attention because it comprises quickly-assembled buildings that could be deemed ephemeral. However, they imparted an attractive image that in some ways promised wealth, and therefore belong to the larger forces of capitalism and modernism at the end of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. These stations have been forgotten with the rise of the automobile and

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New Hampshire. Each was significant in its own right, which serves to underscore the power available at Rumford Falls, being greater than the combination of three of the largest to date in 1890.

the demise of the railroad's primacy, but at the time they were integral to establishing a lasting pattern of development.

In later years, on both lines, these stations were replaced, and those replacements reflected an established railroad company, not one balancing costs and speed to begin operation as soon as possible. New stations echoed the national trend to build sturdier buildings and also represented shifting style preferences. Therefore this study focuses on the initial building campaigns and extensions of both the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad from 1890 to 1897. The initial, comprehensive building programs of these two railroads demonstrate an important example of the transition to interconnected, cohesive railroad landscapes undertaken by their proprietors, but inspired by vernacular forms and executed by architectural professionals.

CHAPTER 1:
RAILROAD STATIONS, LANDSCAPES, ENGINEERS, AND ARCHITECTS

Nineteenth Century Railroad Design

The railroad station represents a novel building typology of the nineteenth century that needed to be invented to accommodate a new technology. Early designs therefore appropriated other building types, including New England's first railroad station at Lowell, Massachusetts (1835), which resembled a small Doric temple in the Greek Revival style, into which the locomotive physically drove. Indeed, spaces for passengers remained subsidiary to spaces for locomotives and other railroad components for decades.[12] For the first half of the century many American stations resembled simple barn-like structures or houses as architects and builders struggled to find a standard or an appropriate design for this new building type (Fig. 1).[13] In larger cities, the form came to emulate public or institutional buildings, while in small towns continued to mimic domestic architecture.[14] This rise of a new typology in the early nineteenth century corresponded with a general trend in the United States toward commercial architecture associated with the industrial revolution. Such commercial structures created business districts that relied upon the railroad for logistics, and they often developed near railroad

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[12] Roger G. Reed, "Railroad Passenger Stations in Maine: An Overview of Their Architectural Development," in *Along the Rails: A Survey of Maine's Historic Railroad Buildings*, ed. Kirk F. Mohney (Portland, ME: Maine Preservation, 2000), 38.

[13] Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: A Social History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 41. In Thomaston, Maine, for example, one of the outbuildings of Revolutionary War General Henry Knox's "Montpelier" estate (1795-97) was used as the original station for the town. William D. Shipman, "The Federal Style: from about 1790-1825," in *Maine Forms of American Architecture*, ed. Deborah Thompson (Camden, ME: Downeast Magazine, 1976), 74. The illustrations can be found as a coherent group beginning on page 110.

[14] Richard Longstreth, *The Buildings of Main Street: A Guide to American Commercial Architecture* (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1987), 20.

stations. However, these stations rarely formed the cornerstone of commercial areas and instead existed near the fringes. By the century's end, commercial architecture would dominate small towns and cities alike, often anchored by railroad stations whose form and design signaled their purpose.[15]

Architectural historians have shown that early designers of railroad stations saw them as analogous to towered medieval gate-houses, representing the entry point of the community, or as cathedrals, struggling to attract attention by way of architectural devices. Indeed, the architectural legacy of the nineteenth century reveals antagonistic feelings toward monotony, and the architecture of railroad stations served as no exception. As with all buildings, railroad stations served a function, but unlike some other building types, function was as important to the structure as form. Dissimilar from earlier building types that witnessed the movement of large crowds in unison, such as a cathedral during Mass when patrons entered or exited the building at the same time, the railroad station by its very nature needed to accommodate constant flows of people and material in all directions through a structure at once monumental and commercial. Architectural historian Carroll Meeks coined this dichotomous challenge as "demomorphic."[16] The solution, then, lay in creating spaces for waiting that could easily

[15] Longstreth, 12-13.
[16] Carroll L.V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 90-92. Meeks focused mainly on the larger urban railroad stations, though his general argument about the function of stations pertains to all scales and locales. In response to Meeks' and others' studies of primarily urban stations, railroad historians H. Roger Grant and Charles W. Bohi wrote *The Country Railroad Station in America* with a cursory analysis of the country station as community hub and an architectural overview of the combination station. It was necessarily general in its overview across the entire nation and only elaborated on general trends.

be accessed by persons on the move, for the temporary storage of baggage and other large items, and for visible and readily-approachable agents to conduct business efficiently.

Station design for the duration of the nineteenth century represented an evolution, though broad patterns emerged. By the 1890s, when the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad were being planned, civil engineer-written guidebooks and architect-penned articles in professional journals illustrated much of the accumulated conventional wisdom and appropriate templates for station design. An important influence on these recommendations resulted from hiring efficiency experts to guide both engineers and architects in their decisions.[17] For any size station, wrote noted architect Alfred Hoyt Granger in 1900, "the essential point in plan is to facilitate the handling of large crowds of people and large quantities of baggage…and above all, to make the building express its purpose."[18] The most common arrangement for intermediate depots was the "side house plan," which featured tracks alongside one edge of the station, allowing people and materials to enter the building from one side before boarding the train on the other. By contrast, for many terminals the preferred design was commonly referred to as the "head house plan" in which the tracks terminated behind the structure, allowing for multiple trains to be accessible simultaneously. Almost universal among stations of all types were wide overhanging

[17] Stilgoe, 195.
[18] Alfred Hoyt Granger, "The Designing and Planning of Railway Stations. II," *Brickbuilder* 9, no. 10 (October 1900), 203. Architects and engineers also acknowledged that a range of optional spaces could be included for passenger stations depending on the needs of the community.

eaves that provided shelter from both the elements and from embers and smoke expelled by the trains themselves.[19]

Architects and engineers recognized that the needs for the town or country station differed significantly from the city terminal, but that all passenger station types required the same core set of rooms. Granger noted in one publication noted that the plan should be simple, with the main requirements being "waiting rooms, women's retiring rooms, lavatories, ticket office, telegraph office, baggage and express rooms."[20] By the 1890s, older plans where each waiting room had its own ticket office had been largely abandoned in favor of centrally-located ticket windows between waiting rooms and facing the entry vestibule. Regardless of the number, publications exhorted that the ticket office should always exist on the platform side of the station so that movement of trains could be easily observed from it.

Most notably, architects and engineers emphasized that the primary function of the station was as a shelter for passengers waiting for trains. Shelter began outdoors at passenger depots with covered platforms. These coverings were most often extensions of the station roof, but offered "one of the best opportunities to produce a picturesque and handsome appearance of an otherwise square and bleak-looking building" according to Walter Berg, a widely-read and highly-regarded railroad engineer.[21] The platform itself was low to the ground, and usually made of wood because of expense and ease of repair,

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[19] Reed, 39-41.
[20] Alfred Hoyt Granger, "The Designing and Planning of Small Railroad Stations," *Brickbuilder* 9, no. 7 (July 1900): 142. Granger also implied that it would be best to implement an established standard.
[21] Walter G. Berg, *Buildings and Structures of American Railroads: A Reference Book for Railroad Managers, Superintendents, Master Mechanics, Engineers, Architects, and Students* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1893), 238-239.

but also for the comfort of standing passengers due to its softer nature. Covered platforms also allowed for smaller indoor spaces, especially for locations where sporadic traffic meant large groups of travelers would gather only at a handful of fixed times per day.[22] Waiting rooms received special attention from those concerned with railroad station architecture because of their singular importance and intensive use. Unsurprisingly, many, including Berg, recommended that "separate waiting-rooms for gentlemen and for ladies are most desirable."[23] More importantly, the placement of doors and windows into the waiting rooms, it was believed, would create a comfortable atmosphere for a waiting passenger and avoid the resemblance to a passageway or drafty space. Seating should not be in line with these doorways or open windows. Furthermore, waiting rooms should be naturally lit as well as be solidly constructed so as to prevent jarring from approaching trains.[24] In addition, each station should have convenient lavatories and ample exits from the platform(s).[25]

From a functional perspective, to facilitate greater volume of passengers and baggage, larger passenger stations often had separate buildings for baggage and express rooms, preferably connected by a covered space called the "midway," which itself was adjacent to the street and tracks.[26] The midway acted as an extension of the covered

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[22] Berg, 235-238.
[23] Ibid., 281.
[24] Granger, I, 142-3.
[25] Ibid., 142.
[26] Granger II, 201. Express rooms stored small packages and parcels intended for rapid transportation via one of the established, nationwide express companies, such American Express or Wells Fargo, which would be analogous to today's United Parcel Service or Federal Express. In the case of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, the contract for such services was with American Express and telegraph services were provided by Western Union. Hugh Chisholm, "Director's Report," *Third Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1894* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1894), 5.

platform. In addition to the other standard rooms also found in small stations, an upper story of these larger stations could house offices for the railroad company and act as corporate headquarters.

Separate waiting rooms were almost always achieved in stations dedicated explicitly to passengers and where freight services were encapsulated in a different structure. The amount of traffic of either or both generally dictated when these discrete structures would be built. When railroads built distinct passenger and freight depots, they directed amenities toward the function of each respective building, and form therefore followed. In many cases, the same agent served both, and had no office in the freight building, but used the office in the passenger station. In freight depots, the need for the temporary storage and transfer of an array of finished goods and raw materials dictated this absence of an office to maximize storage space. Freight and baggage could be as disparate as steamer trunks, pets, small parcels, mail, newspapers, raw milk, produce, building materials, or even coffins with corpses.[27] Often, trains would unload material into the station while also taking in material that was coming from within the same space. Accessibility by railroad personnel was critical for logistics and often supplied by larger openings with sliding doors and higher ramps than on passenger stations. Engineers recommended windows on all exterior walls for lighting, even in the gables to offset highly-stacked freight. The near-universal design of these buildings was a single-story rectangular structure surrounded by a high platform with its long end parallel to the

[27] Stilgoe, 197.

tracks.[28] This was done to facilitate access to the building by adjacent trains in providing leeway as to the stopping point of the train with respect to the building.

Nowhere was the evolution of efficient use of space and strict adherence to convention more prominent than in the small, country combination station that served multiple purposes for the railroad. Providing shelter for both passengers and freight in the (usually small) structure, combination stations necessarily embodied efficiency for the railroad and their design reflected this. The standardization of a single configuration saved the railroad money in design and building costs, but also represented a pinnacle of efficacy for the station agent because spaces were strictly structured to reduce wasted motion. In particular, engineers strove to perfect a station capable of operation by one or two persons, and once achieved, they rarely deviated from that design.[29] At a minimum, these buildings had a waiting room, freight room, and office, and were usually surrounded by a multi-level platform for passenger and freight use.[30] They often did not have covered platforms, though.

Perhaps the most iconic feature of the later nineteenth century railroad station was the clock tower. In the nineteenth century tower design had many historical models to emulate. Some argue the steep pyramidal roof of Big Ben's tower at Westminster (1859) formed the fundamental template regardless of style for the largest stations.[31] Other influences may have been the Italian campanile or local churches or cathedrals, which themselves served as early models of railroad station design. Stations of the second half

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[28] Berg, 202-207.
[29] Stilgoe, 199, 202.
[30] Berg, 248.
[31] Meeks, *Railroad Station*, 95.

of the nineteenth century could occupy a particular architectural style or some amalgam representing the picturesque, but nevertheless, for serious stations the vertical emphasis of the tower remained prominent, perhaps to balance the horizontal nature of the railroad itself. Whatever panoptic quality the clock tower possessed was counterbalanced by a public expectation of absolute temporal accuracy for conducting business and carrying on daily life.[32] Some architectural historians point out that the creative eclecticism reached its apogee, including complex roof lines and richly ornamented detail, in the final decades of the nineteenth century right when the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway was designing its stations.[33]

The conundrum of balancing form, function, and ornamentation embodied the competing needs of the professions of the architect and the engineer, whose individual requirements must be met in unison to achieve successful design. Architects had to adopt engineering techniques and vice versa while both found themselves responsible for various portions of design. As a result, architects often become responsible for the station alone, while engineers designed the locomotive shed, with both being built simultaneously if possible. However, some architects felt the artistic element of the enterprise was so discordant with the functional element that fusion was impossible. In the twentieth century Meeks believed that architects were too quick to disguise the splendor of the engineer's work with eclecticism, relegating it to the backdrop too

[32] Stilgoe, 203. Alan Trachtenberg also argues that the incorporation of time by railroad companies in the form of time zones was embodied by the timekeeping they displayed in this fashion. Citizens set their watches to the clock tower, which itself received the "official" time from nationwide keepers via the telegraph on a weekly basis. In addition to a visual panopticon in the tower, the clock represented regulation, system, and obedience. Trachtenberg, 120.
[33] Richards and MacKenzie, 40-41.

readily.[34] This inherent dichotomy between use and appearance was recognized by leading designers of the late nineteenth century and allowed for the distinctive roles of engineer and architect, respectively. As a result, many professionals began to understand the intrinsic value of form and ornamentation as interwoven, yet coming from two worlds.[35]

There was good reason for the railroad company to invest in the design of its stations. The station represented the corporate image of the railroad company, providing a crucial first impression. This was particularly important in urban areas serviced by more than one railroad. Some railroads shared stations, frequently designated "union," but often competing lines built competing stations within the same vicinity. Surprisingly, some publications emphasized the value in a *lack* of ornamentation for smaller stations, arguing instead for investment in amenities for the traveling public over architectural treatment.[36] Yet, constraints were also the essence of the design process, and while engineers may have perfected the components and their configuration, there still remained room for other design elements, and it was here that the architect became involved.[37] Nevertheless, until the very end of the nineteenth century many railroad companies did not hire architects to design smaller stations, leaving that planning to engineers, who were already being paid to design other railroad structures, such as

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[34] Meeks, *Railroad Station*, 97. Meeks was writing in the age of high modernism, which helps explain his particularly subjective opinion on this.
[35] Jeffrey L. Miekle, *Design in the USA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 69-70.
[36] Bohi and Grant, 18-19. They note that *Engineering News* advocated the position that "companies had gone too far in making their stations architectural monuments." They acknowledge the opposite position as well, coming from such publications as the *Railway Edge,* which said that "it was not enough that a station be functional; it must also be attractive."
[37] Miekle, 15.

bridges, tunnels, or platforms. These engineers took on the task of designing small stations often using practical, repetitive plans. Not until H. H. Richardson pioneered the architectural splendor possible in small town stations in the 1880s did the role of the architect become more intertwined with smaller stations on a systematic basis.[38] However, uniform style for stations by the end of the nineteenth century had emerged as important for companies promoting their own corporate identities even beyond the most heavily-trafficked sites.[39] By the end of the nineteenth century, railroad companies increasingly charged architects as well as engineers with designing even their smallest stations.

At the same time that a dichotomy existed between the goals and functions of engineers and architects with respect to railroad structures, so too did it exist between railroads and the communities they served with respect to these buildings. On the one hand, railroad structures were built, owned, and operated by railroad companies, who had a clear investment in them and therefore created structures that suited their needs and financial goals. On the other hand, they presented a public image of the community itself, often the first visage of a town for a passenger. Such an understanding underscores the fact that railroad stations were not municipal structures, and that communities had little input into the design of the station, even though the station also represented the first

[38] By 1900, many credited the influence entirely to Richardson. Alfred Hoyt Granger (admittedly a former protégé of Richardson's and an employee of his successor at the time it was completing Richardson's stations for the Boston & Albany) in *The Brickbuilder* wrote "Heretofore, the engineering departments prepared plans and specifications for all but the large city terminals. Mr. Richardson, by demonstrating to the traveling public how beautiful and appropriate a small station can be, inaugurated the change." Granger, I, 142.
[39] Reed, 41.

impression of the community it served.[40] While towns had no official say or control of station design, commentators have argued that railroad companies ignored the demands of local boosters at their own peril. This was in part because local businessmen could boycott the stations or more likely put pressure on state legislatures or regulatory commissions that could directly impact the railroads.[41] Thus, a central concern existed for railroad companies in designing low-cost structures that would satisfy both needs while presenting civic pride and not negatively affecting the bottom line.

The fundamental problem for a railroad to solve, therefore, was *how* architecturally pleasing its stations should be to achieve that balance. Overemphasis on architectural detail by those unfamiliar with the needs of railroad structures could result in a dearth of important features or inefficiencies of operation. Pure pragmatism in design, in contrast, could create a sense of drabness that was uninspiring at best and damaging to the image of the railroad at worst. Thus, while the features of a passenger, freight, or combination station had reached a general consensus by the last decade of the nineteenth century, the way to implement the design of those structures was still being worked out by railroad executives and their engineers and architects. Nevertheless, by the turn of the twentieth century, railroad managers found that merely providing minimum facilities at minimum cost could no longer suffice because the novelty of simply having a station did not have the same effect as earlier in the nineteenth century.[42] However, railroad companies remained cost-conscious, and while adding various minor

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[40] Reed, 37. Stilgoe, 195.
[41] H. Roger Grant and Charles W. Bohi, *The Country Railroad Station in America* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1978), 17-18.
[42] Reed, 41.

architectural features created the image of more substantial structures, in reality these small town depots had only minimal comforts for passengers and agents. Therefore, while railroads selected standardized plans for their buildings, they still strove to have their lines viewed as "enlightened member[s] of the community."[43]

A motivation behind this was also the commercial development of the town, which in turn would yield increased railroad traffic. Railroad stations concentrated economic activity in towns, forming central business districts, which developed their own commercial architecture.[44] Railroad companies often tried to locate stations in or near the commercial core of all communities, though this often proved infeasible financially or logistically, particularly in towns that predated the coming of the railroad.[45] Although railroad stations were fundamentally commercial structures in towns, their architecture did not mirror Main Street buildings in the nineteenth century. Unlike store fronts, they peddled no wares, and unlike banks or other buildings, they offered a temporary service for sale versus a location of transaction. Depots often led to the establishment of nearby hotels, but though similarly offering shelter to people, still belonged to a more temporary nature and never needed such large-scale architecture. Therefore, railroad stations belonged generally to the commercial architecture of cities and towns, but never adopted the facades that one associates with downtowns.[46]

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[43] Grant and Bohi, 22.
[44] Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 20.
[45] Bohi and Grant, 3. The authors also provide a quotation from A. B. Stickney, builder of the Chicago Great Western Railway: "The depot should be built in as close to the business center of the city as possible…that way the public will remember you."
[46] Liebs, 8-9. Liebs does not discuss railroad architecture per se, but provides a description of the general types of downtowns that railroad stations made possible.

Railroad Landscapes

Railroad companies built these varieties of stations to suit the various needs of their locales one at time as demand necessitated or occasionally in more programmatic ways. Early on, station design focused on the individuality of stations even within the larger framework of the required spaces inside and out. Over the course of the nineteenth century as railroads shifted from merely servicing locations to solidifying massive, often monopolistic, operations, they began to turn their attention away from eclecticism toward perceived uniformity in order to instill a vision of planned comprehensiveness. In this way, railroads moved from the business of connecting nodes to creating their own landscapes, which could serve any number of industries or purposes.

Historian John Stilgoe argues that by the end of the nineteenth century railroad connectivity, embodied by stations, rights-of-way, trains, etc., no longer represented a nascent transportation network, but had evolved into a pseudo-environment he termed the "metropolitan corridor."[47] While the term metropolitan invokes a sense of urbanity, Stilgoe uses it instead to reflect the part-environment, part-experience that trains and their accompanying structures and pathways created. This confluence represented control of the landscape by railroad companies that brought the modern world to far-flung communities—urban and rural—unlike anything beforehand had been able to accomplish. Stilgoe's thesis convincingly frames the overall national shift to this pervasive metropolitan corridor, and while stations in particular played a key role, there is no requisite that they interact with each other by design rather than through their

[47] Stilgoe, ix.

physical connectivity of places, space, and the exchange of information, people, and materials.

The metropolitan corridor may have emerged in the later nineteenth century organically, as railroads increasingly connected places and aggressively shaped landscapes for their own purposes while communities benefitted from their services. However, in conjunction with other capitalistic enterprises, the metropolitan corridor assembled railroad-based physical landscapes that utilized vernacular architecture as one form of visual linkage. Environmental historian William Cronon argues that railroads in the mid to late nineteenth century connected city and country, raw materials and finished products, in a landscape he termed "Second Nature," which realized capital's economic necessity.[48] Architectural historian Paula Lupkin argues that the concept of Second Nature formed the basis of another landscape that connected buildings and therefore created entirely new regions along railroads. Now, a region based on a certain economic engine could include far-flung hotels, stations, manufacturing centers, and other structures that all intersected with each other despite great distances. These regions simultaneously competed with and augmented the traditional sense of regionality, all based on the capital influences of railroad companies as well as the industries that utilized these railroads.[49]

This could not have been clearer in the case of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, for the proprietor of the railroad that connected Rumford Falls with the world

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[48] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 56-57.

[49] Paula Lupkin, "Rethinking Region along the Railroads: Architecture and Cultural Economy in the Industrial Southwest, 1890–1930," *Buildings and Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 21.

was also the person who aimed to develop that industrial community itself. In fact, while profitability of the railroad itself mattered, its construction was but one of many phases for the creation of Rumford Falls. That railroad's landscape primarily existed to serve that industrial community, not the communities through which it passed. That is, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway was ostensibly in the railroad business, but in reality it was in the business of creating an industrial powerhouse and its accompanying landscape. The buildings it erected reinforced the image of Rumford Falls as a rapidly-developing set of mill complexes, other businesses, first-class hotels, and additional amenities. Unlike competitors who designed buildings to support their own railroad enterprise, the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway built stations to enhance another image. The railroad connected the geography of paper and pulp with markets, not western Maine with the coast, as reading a map may lead one to believe. In that way, Lupkin's thesis resonates even more powerfully with this example because the same owner of the new region in western Maine also controlled the Second Nature that supported it.

At the same time that railroad companies constructed landscapes designed to connect major locations together, they traversed smaller communities. At first, stopping in such communities was little more than a necessity and a way to supplement traffic.[50] In time, however, stations in small towns began to garner more attention from railroad companies, who increasingly saw them as integral to the landscapes they were creating.

[50] The necessity was often telegraph communication to prevent collisions, but could also be fueling or watering stations. If stations were too far apart, effective communication and logistics suffered with undesirable consequences. As a result, some communities that would not otherwise warrant a stop benefitted.

Railroad historians Roger Grant and Charles Bohi have demonstrated that these smaller stations became three-dimensional trademarks in the eyes of travelers, and therefore it behooved companies to pay some attention to their design as fundamental to the overall landscape. Combination stations in small towns easily lent themselves to replication, and consequently could smoothly be turned into corporate symbols. This concept was not new, but with railroads it grew exponentially in the American scene. Railroad companies pioneered the building as corporate logo by virtue of the fact that their very business required an extensive network, something other businesses in America had not yet adopted to such a degree. Unlike today's roadside architecture that relies heavily on logos, shapes, or the like for recognition, railroads employed minor architectural features, such as combinations of siding, brackets, or paint colors, to distinguish their stations from competitors.[51] In fact, architectural historian Martin Treu argues that the very standardization ushered in by railroads and their delivery of common materials and design features prompted the development and proliferation of commercial signs to provide distinction among increasing uniformity.[52] Therefore, railroad architecture saw the advent of the building design as corporate logo while the railroad itself saw the growth of the exterior, written advertisement.

Because of how important stations were to a given location for connecting to the outside world, the station often took on a powerful role in community life. As the gateway to the metropolitan corridor, these buildings assumed a centrality that supplanted

[51] Bohi and Grant, 117-29.
[52] Treu, 45.

the general store or post office that had preceded it in this regard.[53] Local inhabitants would frequently visit stations to meet with friends, using the waiting room as a de facto public gathering space (often heated) with seating and the place where news, weather forecasts, and mail first arrived. Some of these depots featured public restrooms, though station agents maintained a watchful eye for vagrants, who might overstay their welcome. The station telegraph was often where election results first poured in, and while railroad companies did not explicitly encourage their buildings to be used for such behavior, the attractive appearances they created for their stations fostered this sense of community and civic pride.[54] This was no accident and further cemented the intrinsic and almost paternalistic value of the railroad company in the minds of the local citizenry, garnering a sense of loyalty that would in turn translate into revenues. This was done, in part, through this investment in architecture, even in the smallest of stations. Replication of design allowed for a wider approach throughout a region or landscape.

While replication proved feasible and valuable in small towns and country stops, railroad terminals became the anchors of these landscapes with distinctive, but often corresponding, styles. They served as foundations for the railroad's business as well as for its design schema. The terminal at Rumford Falls will provide a case in point where its ambitious design for a burgeoning community would create distinctive exterior ornamental features that corresponded with even the smallest of stations on the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. In this way, regardless of size, form, function, or location, the railroad landscape remained visually connected through architectural signals.

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[53] Stilgoe, 193.
[54] Richards and MacKenzie, 183.

Professionalization of Engineers and Architects

At the same time that railroads were working out station conventions and establishing design schemas, the professions of the two most common creators of these structures and landscapes were similarly developing with requisite training and implied authority. The engineer played an essential role for railroads in designing their landscapes and buildings. When thinking of railroad engineers one often conjures an image of the man inside the locomotive controlling the train as it steams along the tracks. This most public and visual type of engineer was indispensible for the actual operations of the railroad but must not be confused with the college-trained intellectual whose responsibilities included the creation of rights-of-way, bridges, tunnels, platforms, and buildings, such a stations, but also freight sheds, coal houses, and the like.[55] The latter, akin to all varieties of civil engineer, held responsibilities essential to the creation and operation of the railroad. In order to accomplish this, railroad engineers needed a command of science and math, not necessarily style, which they acquired through professional training that expanded in the nineteenth century.

This emphasis on schooling and the need for more-intricate knowledge developed in tandem with the growth of railroads, which expressed the greatest demand for such services. In the first half of the nineteenth century when railroad buildings still resembled preexisting typologies, most engineers built simple wooden or masonry structures using time-honored practices. Some consulted builders' guides and manuals

[55] Stilgoe, 5.

for additional information, but most had no formal training.[56] However, when railroads become more complex as the century progressed, the profession needed individuals to create purpose-built structures with greater precision than their more-simplistic predecessors. Whereas earlier engineers often overbuilt using established designs rather than calculating loads and stress, later ones innovated for bridges to bear the weight of trains, for appropriate gradings to accomodate carloads, and for other demands. No longer could an apprenticeship satisfy the demands for technical knowledge as more complex structures were required. Thus, formal training programs emerged at colleges, universities, and other institutions, primarily as a result of these market pressures, not through the direct intervention by industry, though industry benefited from this development.[57] However, the growth of the professional civil engineering community still moved slowly. By 1870 only 75 men had an engineering degree of the 4,000 in the United States who called themselves "engineers."[58] Civil engineers often found themselves in the employ of specific corporations, such as railroads or mining companies, rather than in independent practices.[59] Until the last few years of the nineteenth century many railroad companies did not hire architects to design smaller stations, leaving the

[56] Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 159.
[57] Richard Michael Levy, "The Professionalization of American Architects and Civil Engineers, 1865-1917" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 160-162.
[58] Woods, 159. In 1875, there were 180 graduates from civil engineering programs; in 1880, 148; in 1885, 200; in 1890, 335; in 1892, 370; and in 1899, 209. Levy, 396. Levy also warns that measuring the number of graduates does not necessarily capture the true number of people with appropriate training, such as those who did not complete the requirements for the degree. Ibid, 168.
[59] Woods, 158.

tasks of plans and specifications to engineers, who proved reluctant to innovate once settled on a practical, repetitive plan.[60]

The professionalization of the other key person in the construction of railroad stations followed a similar progression. Before the Civil War, architects learned the trade through experience as carpenter-builders rather than through formal education.[61] In time, such builders developed best practices and offered design services based on working experience. In fact, architectural historian Dell Upton argues that design played a mere incidental role in distinguishing architects from others in the building professions.[62] Architects who argued for the centrality of art and scholarship in the profession began a campaign to criticize these practitioners (and their patrons) in favor of a professionalism drawn from the classroom. As a result, programs in architecture arose at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1868), Cornell University (1871), and the University of Illinois (1873).[63] Those of a similar bent professed the advantage of education and aimed to create a system of official acknowledgment to support new recruits. The goal, paralleling other professions in the second half of the nineteenth

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[60] Stilgoe, 199.
[61] Ted Cavanagh, "Oliver Smith, Housewright and Itinerant Architect," in Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, ed., *American Architects and Their Books, 1840-1915* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 31.
[62] Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 249.
[63] Bernard Michael Boyle, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865-1965—Ideal and Reality," in Spiro Kostof, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 309.

century, was to differentiate headwork from handiwork.[64] This desire to differentiate skills amidst competing titles led to the first licensing law in Illinois in 1897.[65]

As proper architectural programs emerged, those who continued to take the popular carpenter-builder route, often dubbed practical architects, were looked down-upon by the academy. This disdain was frequently expressed in publications.[66] Regardless of training, architects of all backgrounds sought to convince patrons that they could offer more than the ability to construct buildings. The role of the architect therefore took on a particular relationship between both that ability and the public.[67] Architects hoped to underscore their capability to design buildings utilizing a developed mental capacity and accretion of discrete skills.[68] The efforts of educated architects indelibly aided those self-proclaimed architects, who could draw upon the rhetoric of design expertise that emerged throughout the century. A growing public recognition further cemented this association between architect and design. Architects were transitioning into the experts on design, implying an authority of taste, and sought to increase that position.[69]

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[64] Upton, *Architecture*, 254.
[65] Joan Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," in Spiro Kostof, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 214-215.
[66] Woods, 149-150. In particular, Woods argues, professional journals chastised these so-called practical architects as colluding with developers to maximize profits without exercising the professional knowledge they purported to hold based upon a self-proclaimed title.
[67] Upton, *Architecture*, 249.
[68] Elspeth Cowell, "Samuel Sloan, Pattern Books, and the Question of Professional Identity," in Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, ed., *American Architects and Their Books, 1840-1915* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 94-95.
[69] Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (Summer - Autumn 1984): 110-111, 121.

In contrast, engineers, who had certainly been important to design considerations, increasingly found themselves working with complex technical structures and systems. Focused texts for railroad engineers elucidate this transition. In 1893, Walter Berg, an engineer of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, published a 500-page tome intricately detailing the various types of buildings and their multitude of design considerations required for railroads. Twenty years later, a 424-page railroad-specific manual for civil engineers devoted a mere three pages to station design.[70] This reflected the greater trend in which interrelations between architects and engineers consisted of specialization rather than collaboration as dictated by the nature of the end-product. Engineers started by working on bridges, tunnels, and stations, while architects became increasingly involved with stations alone due to their multifunctional aspects, including varieties of rooms and scales, for which patrons wanted more design and style consideration.[71] Architects took over the addressing of those needs from engineers, leaving engineers the task of design only when simple, functional, and pre-planned structures were required. Engineers had been supplanted by architects and now fully shifted into functional design.

One of the most famous architects of the nineteenth century, H. H. Richardson, played an important role in the shift of railroad companies to hiring professional architects for their station designs, both for individual stations, but also for a series of interrelated ones to create a comprehensive landscape. As stated earlier, in 1881, the Boston and Albany Railroad hired Richardson to complete a series of stations largely

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[70] William C. Willard, *Maintenance and Way of Structures* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1915), 278-282.
[71] Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 489.

serving suburban Boston locales. Architectural historians have pointed out that while the individual stations perhaps may not impress the casual observer, the comprehensive nature of the designs brought something novel to railroad station design. That is, the cohesiveness of the designs created appeal even though each station remained distinct.[72] The directors of the Boston and Albany went a step further and solicited Frederick Law Olmsted to design the corresponding station grounds.[73] Although Richardson died (1886) before the program was complete, his successors Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge finished it in 1894, at the same time that the stations for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway were being constructed. Even the records of that railroad hinted at the value of this type of landscaping to complement new stations, annually reporting on the grounds, regularly calling them "first-class." Therefore, the implementation of a similar plan by the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway was contemporary and represents a seminal moment in this pattern.

Publications following the completion of the Boston and Albany campaign celebrated these architectural achievements and the important role of architects in railroad station design. Writing two years after Richardson's death, his biographer, Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, denigrated the character of small town stations before

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[72] Ochsner, 110.

[73] This combination of sculpted grounds and architect-designed stations was dubbed "The Railroad Beautiful" by Charles Mulford Robinson in 1903 in the pages of *The American Architect and Building News*. The Railroad Beautiful movement built upon the growing investment in the architecture of smaller stations by publicizing and thereby encouraging landscape architects (or simply station agents) to devote time, money, and energy into sculpting the grounds around the station to further embellish the railroad's image. Had stations continued to be boring or strictly utilitarian, such further investment would not have been warranted, but with the transition ushered in by Richardson, the landscape had shifted in this regard. The new concept was heralded at the time, calling earlier planning an "ugliness…naturally the antitheses of aesthetic endeavor." Charles Mulford Robinson, "A Railroad Beautiful," *The American Architect and Building News* 83, no. 1467 (Feb 6, 1904): 1-4.

Richardson's work, calling them "hideous make-shifts or futile attempts at prettiness."[74] While Van Rensselaer's bias toward the abilities of the professional architect unfairly criticized the work of those who built the existing railroad landscape, Richardson's impact on the explicit practice of hiring design experts, architects or otherwise, should not be understated as an influential moment. In 1893, railroad engineer Walter Berg similarly credited Richardson with a pervasive influence in this regard when he wrote:

> The artistic depot designs prepared by the late Mr. H. H. Richardson, the well known architect,…and a gradually increasing demand for artistic structures at passenger stations have given an impetus to the designing of more artistic buildings, with the result that architects of established reputation have been called on by railroad managers for designs."[75]

Railroad companies were moving toward organized, deliberately complementary designs for many reasons, and they turned to established architects, who were increasingly seen as experts in design.

[74] Marina Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969 [Reprint of original 1888 edition]), 99.
[75] Berg, 284. He wrote this only seven years after Richardson's death and even before his campaign had been completed by successors Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge.

CHAPTER 2:
PLAYERS AND SETTING

Hugh J. Chisholm

The story of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway begins with the industrialist Hugh Joseph Chisholm. Born in 1847 in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, just upstream from Niagara Falls, Chisholm's working life began at age thirteen as a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway where he delivered various papers. Chisholm had precocious business acumen and by age sixteen controlled the delivery business of railway newspapers and other publications across four thousand miles, overseeing some two hundred and fifty employees.[76] After attending a business college in Toronto, Chisholm turned his interests toward paper manufacturing and eventually accrued substantial capital and financial interests in the paper and pulp industries.[77] Having grown up in the shadow of Niagara Falls, he also understood the raw power that water could provide. While paper may have been Chisholm's primary focus, his early experience with the power of railroads to transmit information, both overtly and subtly, would substantially impact his developments in western Maine. He was well-traveled and familiar with rail lines and their architecture outside of Maine and understood the importance of the railroad to industry in general. This experience meant that Chisholm knew how to utilize railroads for larger business purposes, not simply the business of railroading itself.

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[76] Mitchell C. Harrison, ed., *Prominent and Progressive Americans: An Encyclopedia of Contemporaneous Biography, Volume II* (New York: New York Tribune, 1904), 48.
[77] Obituary of Hugh J. Chisholm, *New York Times*, July 9, 1912.

By the 1880s, Chisholm operated an office in Portland. In 1883 he commissioned a survey of the Androscoggin River's falls at Rumford following a trip he made there by carriage the prior year. The survey determined a total drop of over 180 feet, which was the largest of the entire river, earning it the moniker "New England's Niagara." Chisholm immediately began purchasing adjacent land.[78] The falls had been utilized for the first hundred years of Rumford's settlement for grist mills and sawmills. However, Chisholm realized the location's proximity to thousands of acres of virgin forests made it an optimal place to develop lumber and paper factories. Rumford Falls held all three requisite components for large-scale paper mills: wood, power, and clean processing water.[79] By 1890, he had acquired enough land—eleven hundred acres—to construct his conceived industrial community.[80]

Chisholm's ambitions were multivalent. First, he wanted to establish Rumford Falls as a premier industrial community for his own paper manufacturing. Unlike other, more established riparian factory towns, the surrounding land of Rumford Falls was relatively unspoiled, and, therefore, the actual timber needed for paper was readily available nearby. Second, Chisholm hoped Rumford Falls would become a center of manufacturing generally, outside of his own mills. In addition to establishing the Rumford Falls Paper Company, in 1890 he incorporated the Rumford Falls Power Company, which could supply power to other businesses in the town. Thus, a thriving of

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[78] Doug Hutchinson, *The Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad* (Dixfield, ME: Partridge Lane Publications, 1989), 33.
[79] Blake Harrison and Richard W. Judd, ed., *A Landscape History of New England* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 59.
[80] William B. Lapham, *History of Rumford, Oxford County, Maine, From its First Settlement in 1779 to the Present Time* (Augusta, ME: Press of the Maine Farmer, 1890), 160.

Rumford Falls was Chisholm's ultimate goal for an array of businesses. Even when this came to fruition, Chisholm endeavored to grow his business. By 1898, Chisholm had established several other paper mills along the Androscoggin in Jay, Livermore, and the eponymous town of Chisholm, all of which were organized as the syndicate International Paper Company.[81] Chisholm also generally believed that architecture could shape behavior and in 1902 embarked upon a building campaign for worker housing in Rumford Falls known as Strathglass Park that was heralded for its progressivism (Fig. 2). Unlike other paternalistic housing projects in mill towns where conditions could be sterile, unwelcoming, and exorbitantly expensive, this project consisted of substantial brick duplexes with nicely-landscaped grounds where workers paid only nominal sums for residence and the company provided maintenance.[82]

Rumford Falls and Environs

At the end of the nineteenth century, water-powered industry thrived in Maine, representing a zenith of decades-long capitalist development. In 1840, the only noteworthy industries in Maine relied on water transportation—lumbering, fisheries, and shipbuilding.[83] By mid-century, investors looking at the success of water-powered industry in Massachusetts discovered that Maine's mostly wild rivers offered significant

[81] W. H. Bunting, *A Day's Work: A Sampler of Historic Maine Photographs, 1860-1920, Part II* (Portland, ME: Maine Preservation, 2000), 248.
[82] Chisholm commissioned a planned development in an enlightened industrial paternalism vein. Here, he hired New York architect Cass Gilbert to design fifty-one brick duplex houses with seven exterior variations around the same commodious interiors. He hired Boston landscape architect W. W. Gay to sculpt the grounds. Marius B. Peladeau, "Industrial and Commercial Architecture" in *Maine Forms of American Architecture*, ed. Deborah Thompson (Camden, ME: Downeast Magazine, 1976), 216-217.
[83] Edward E. Chase, *Maine Railroads: A History of the Development of the Maine Railroad System* (Portland, ME: For Sale by A. J. Huston, 1926), 9.

potential. As a result, the many small communities huddled around falls on Maine's rivers rapidly transformed into industrial towns following the patterns of Waltham or Lowell, Massachusetts, and other industrial towns, with massive mill architecture and sometimes company housing. Unsurprisingly, the earliest of these developments in Maine appeared in the locations more easily accessed from populated regions. Rumford Falls was situated more distantly than others, and so it was not among the first developed.

Chisholm's enterprises at Rumford Falls were based around his power company and paper mills, both of which led to rapid development of the community.[84] The industrial town would house more than his businesses alone, but he provided the impetus for development and stood to benefit from the investment of others. To attract this investment, Chisholm took out advertisements in popular industrial journals and other publications. One published in 1892 read that Rumford Falls was "destined to be one of [New England's] leading manufacturing centers…MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES WANTED…THIS IS SIMPLY A BEGINNING! INVESTORS urged to INVESTIGATE."[85] An ostensibly objective review of the development of the power at Rumford Falls additionally highlighted that the "property is comparatively free from competition since the leading water powers of New England are now utilized to their full capacities, leaving no large ones as convenient to the sources of supply and the markets as Rumford Falls."[86] As a requisite for soliciting business to Rumford Falls, Chisholm

[84] Harrison and Judd, 59.
[85] Advertisement, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), September 30, 1892. This appeared in many subsequent issues of this weekly periodical devoted to industrial and mining matters across the state.
[86] "The Rumford Falls Water Power," 246. The article continues to discuss intricacies of the canals and actual power generation as preferable in every way. It also advertises the abundance of nearby natural resources, such as granite and clay for bricks, to emphasize the relatively low cost of building there.

initiated the capital investment and logistical considerations that would support general business profitability. The transformation of this land into an industrial community involved four phases. First, he needed a dam over the Androscoggin River. Second, canals had to be dug to provide the power. Third, the three factories had to be erected. Fourth, Chisholm needed connectivity via railroad.[87]

The creation of industry at Rumford Falls exploited river power, but the relative remoteness of the site required a railroad both to deliver raw materials and ship finished products to market. In hindsight, Rumford Falls as a developing industrial community became a success. At the time, though, the enterprise required much risk, and the achievement of success hinged on a functioning railroad.[88] This was particularly important in a location as distant from markets as Rumford Falls. However, contemporary accounts dismissed the logistical problem because of the imminent arrival of the railroad. Comparing Rumford Falls with established mill centers at Lowell and Lawrence, one third-party account noted that "the location of Rumford Falls, with the railway facilities with which it will shortly be provided, is fully as advantageous, in respect of easy access to the markets, as any of the mill towns in New England."[89] While Chisholm invested in his railroad for its own sake, the profits of the railroad were

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[87] David L. Richards, *Poland Spring: A Tale of the Gilded Age, 1860-1900* (Durham, NH: University Press of New England, 2005), 41-2.
[88] Chase, 103.
[89] "The Rumford Falls Water Power," 247. An 1896 letter from the Union Mutual Life Insurance Company to Kidder, Peabody & Co. of Boston (an investment firm) explained that the minimum power output at Rumford Falls was 35,000 horsepower, though its average was 42,000. It compared this with the minimums of Lawrence, Lowell, and Holyoke, Massachusetts, and Lewiston, Maine, which were 10,000, 10,000, 17,000, and 12,000, respectively. Clearly, Rumford Falls had the potential to produce an exponential amount of manufacturing over any of these other sites. Fred E. Richards to Mr. Robert Winsor, 29 May 1896, Portland and Rumford Falls Railway Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

secondary to the profits of the paper mills and his power company. Indeed, accounting records of the railroad in the first few years of its existence indicate that business from Chisholm's Rumford Falls Paper Company alone would ensure the railroad's profitability.[90] Chisholm was not primarily a railroader, and other than the railroads related to Rumford Falls, he did not make other forays into that industry. However, the appearance of the railroad was important to the growth of his other business enterprises. Subtly noting this, advertisements taken out by Chisholm urged potential investors to learn more by going to Rumford Falls "over the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, a new and scenic route."[91] Therefore, the impressiveness of the railroad itself served as an advertisement for Chisholm's industrial empire.

Historians have demonstrated that in the post-Civil War United States, railroads literally "opened" places for settlement, particularly for the harvest of raw materials and their transportation to markets. Moreover, they created new spaces in the consciousness of Americans by providing invisible terrain with economic value, incorporating these unexploited tracts and making them fit for use and settlement. The technology that allowed for this transition drew upon an incorporation of time and space that overcame physical barriers by replacing distance with time, exactly what all railroad executives

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[90] J. H. Goodspeed to Messrs. Kidder, Peabody & Co., Boston, Mass, report of the books and accounts of the Portland & Rumford Falls R. R. Co., 12 November 1894, Portland and Rumford Falls Railway Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School. This report notes in its "Estimate of Earnings" section that "This mill has a capacity of 45 tons production of paper per day, and the shipment of this alone will average more permanent revenue to the road than was received during the building of the property." This was, in part, to assuage concerns that the first years of the railroad were profitable only in transporting building materials for the construction of Rumford Falls. The report proves that the railroad's primary focus was the support of Chisholm's ambitions for both the development of the town and his own paper manufacturing.

[91] Advertisement, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), September 30, 1892.

wanted.[92] Writing only a few decades after the expansion of these two particular lines, Maine railroad historian Edward Chase lauded Chisholm's gamble at a time when such shaping of the landscape was still considered daringly progressive. He wrote in 1926: "Few men have risked more for the accomplishment of a purpose, and few have lived to see their efforts so nobly rewarded, as did the group which followed Mr. Chisholm in these enterprises."[93] This historian was speaking of not the railroad lines per se, but the industrial community at Rumford Falls that had seemingly grown up overnight from nothing. In fact, contemporary publications advertised this rapid transition, showing "before" and "after" photographs of the downtown just a few years apart in which the former is presented as a barren wilderness and the latter as ultimate urbanity (Fig. 3).[94] Contemporary publications reflect a worldview that espoused "progress" to the detriment of the environment, and the successes at Rumford Falls were included among the accolades. One account described the fruits of Chisholm's efforts there as "an unsurpassed exhibition of the achievements of American ingenuity and enterprise, and a splendid monument to the genius of the man who called it into being."[95]

However, the city of Rumford Falls and those smaller towns en route along the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway were but one market opened by the line. North of Rumford Falls lay vast tracts of virgin forests for Chisholm and other industrialists to exploit. Successful and profitable harvesting of the logs depended primarily on their easy

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[92] Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 58-59.
[93] Chase, 103.
[94] *Rumford Falls Line: Running Direct to Rumford Falls and Thence into the Heart of the Rangeley Lake Region* (Rumford Falls, ME: Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, 1896), 62.
[95] Harrison, 49.

transport, and this often meant winter was the busiest cutting season because logs could be pulled along iced skidways from deep in the forest to the location from which they would be transported.[96] Historically, transporting logs to manufacturing facilities by river was easiest in spring when higher water levels facilitated movement and reduced the likelihood of log jams.[97] During the nineteenth century railroads were supplanting river drives of logs throughout the country for safety and practicality, as well as for the ability to haul logs outside of the spring thaw. This new technological development meant that logs felled in winter could be dragged to the rail line and hauled to manufacturers that same season, rather than stacked along river banks in anticipation of the spring. As a result, a rail line into this land would find ample traffic in the most inhospitable season.

The economic value of these northern forests and lake regions vacillated seasonally between lumbering and leisure. In the spring, summer, and fall, when lumbering was least optimal, the area thrived due to the pristine hunting and fishing opportunities.[98] Maine railroads advertised in the 1880s and 1890s to potential passengers as far away as New York to ride to the Rangeley Lakes region to take advantage of this "off-season" for their primary lumbering operations. Resort communities existed in these locations before the coming of the railroad but could only

[96] Cronon, plate after 168. Donald A. Wilson, *Logging and Lumbering in Maine* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), 10.
[97] Spruce and fir were primary types of wood for the paper industry. These trunks would be cut into shorter lengths known as "pulp logs" or "pulpwood" (as opposed to longer saw logs for lumber). Crews were brought in springtime exclusively for driving the logs, replacing the cutting crews from the prior season. Wilson, 7-9.
[98] The one exception was the early spring when log drives were in effect. It was also when some of the best fishing occurred. Replacing drives with trains freed up these rivers to some extent. Wilson, 103.

be accessed by lengthy and cumbersome journeys via stagecoach.[99] Railroads aimed to markedly increase this business, something that local landowners strongly encouraged. The Sandy River & Rangeley Lakes Rail Road was one such narrow gauge line that was, in fact, less than optimal for transporting large numbers of people due to its smaller cars.[100] However, passengers were not the markets being primarily tapped here, it was the forests.[101]

Predecessor and Successor Railroads

Railroads developed in Maine very early. The second railroad in New England operated in the Bangor region in 1836.[102] Yet the development of a comprehensive network necessary for the creation of industry happened slowly. The first major initiative for a serious, economically viable railroad was begun in the 1840s by John Alfred Poor, an indefatigable Portland-based lawyer and entrepreneur. Poor believed Maine should serve as the logical overland connection between the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic Ocean, providing Canada with a year-round, ice-free transportation network to rival the

[99] For example, one 1880 publication carries numerous advertisements for several vacation spots and the various ways of arriving at each location, including the mileage of stage coaches and railroads. Notably, its preface describes changes to one particular route wherein "the completion of the Sandy River Railroad… makes that route easier than ever before, and reduces the staging to twenty miles." Charles A. J. Farrar, *Farrar's Illustrated Guide Books to Rangeley, Richardson, Kennebago, Umbagog, and Parmachenee Lakes, the Headwaters of the Connecticut, Dixville Notch, and Andover, ME., and Vicinity* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1880), 9.

[100] Narrow gauges could effectively transport freight, including logs, with a relatively lowered expense of construction and fuel use than standard gauge lines. However, their narrow cars naturally restricted the amount of passengers as well.

[101] In its first year of operation, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad was hauling one thousand carloads of logs (five thousand board feet per car) monthly. Bunting, I, 252.

[102] Chase, 2. The first railroad in New England was the Boston and Lowell, which ran between those two cities in 1835. The following year the Bangor & Piscataquis Canal and Railroad opened to service Bangor and Old Town.

Erie Canal for transportation of goods from Europe to the Great Lakes. The Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad received its official charter in 1845 to provide service between Montreal and Portland, superseding Boston as the seaport. This represented the first major railroad line within Maine, which would service its western communities, including those in the vicinity of Rumford Falls (Fig. 4).[103]

The Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad was a large, heavily-trafficked line that served as the backbone for other small, independent lines, which needed only to connect with it to provide access to Portland, Montreal, or other cities. Many lines joined the Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad and other major carriers in the nineteenth century, which proved mutually beneficial. One served as the progenitor of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, though it did not intend to stretch as far north as Rumford. In 1847, the Buckfield Branch Railroad was formed to connect Buckfield to Mechanic Falls, a town in western Maine with a stop on the Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad. Construction of that line as a narrow gauge was completed in 1849, but just eight years later it faltered financially, causing stockholders to sell ownership to Portland financier, Francis Smith. Smith had himself loaned money earlier to the fledging railroad in the hopes that it would augment the growth of steamship operations he was pursuing on the Androscoggin River from Canton to Rumford. Smith had hoped the initial branch would extend beyond Buckfield to Canton, which would allow for the shipment of materials and people from Rumford via boat to Canton and then via train to Portland. When this proved untenable due to mismanagement, Smith incorporated the Portland & Oxford

[103] Ibid., 10-13. Due to Poor's campaigning and the fact that Portland lies 100 miles closer to Montreal and a half day's sail closer to Europe, it was chosen by the Montreal Board of Trade.

Central Railroad in 1857, assuming control of the earlier iteration. He succeeded in extending the line from Mechanic Falls to Canton by 1871, after which he himself faced legal and financial troubles. A third iteration of the line emerged in 1878 when the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad acquired Smith's interests and converted the line to standard gauge with the ostensible plan to extend all the way to the yet-undeveloped Rumford Falls region. That company replaced all its six stations that year, the Mechanic Falls station again in 1883, and extended the line in 1884 to Gilbertville.[104]

In the early 1880s, at the same time that the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad was extending its line closer to Rumford Falls, Hugh Chisholm began purchasing land along the falls in Rumford. He would certainly have known of the plans of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad to extend its line that far. Perhaps Chisholm planned to simply use the existing railroad should it extend all the way to Rumford Falls. By 1890, at which time Chisholm's land acquisitions had become sufficient to inaugurate his plans for mills and power generation at Rumford Falls, however, the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad still showed no tangible signs of making the final fourteen-mile extension necessary for that undertaking.

Therefore, Chisholm incorporated the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in 1890 to create new rails and stations to span the distance from Gilbertville, where the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad terminated, to Rumford Falls to access his mills. His charter also granted rights north of Rumford Falls into the timberlands and outdoor sporting

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[104] Robert F. Lord, *Downeast Depots: Maine Railroad Stations in the Steam Era* (Canton, CT: Promotion Productions, Inc., 1986), 77. Robert M. Lindsell, *The Rail Lines of Northern New England: A Handbook of Railroad History* (Pepperell, MA: Branch Line Press, 2000), 255-257. Lindsell describes in detail the economic troubles facing each iteration of this rail line.

locales of the Rangeley Lakes. Chisholm went a step further by leasing the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad so that he would not have to pay for the traffic on its line. In doing this, Chisholm now had controlling rights to the entire stretch from Mechanic Falls to Rumford Falls. Work on the extension (known to the company as "Extension A") began in 1891, and it was open for service on August 1, 1892.[105]

By the time Chisholm created the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, the railroading landscape of Maine had changed drastically from the precocious chartering of the Buckfield Branch Railroad. The original line it joined, the Atlantic & St. Lawrence, had merged with Canada's Grand Trunk Railroad. Also, the Maine Central System developed as an equally powerful network, though its primary purpose was not the transport of goods to Canada. Both lines operated in the vicinity of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, and Chisholm, ever the shrewd businessman, took the opportunity afforded in the expansion of his line to break the monopoly of the Grand Trunk. He did this by extending the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway south and east of its previous terminal junction at Mechanic Falls to connect with the Maine Central at Poland Junction (later called Rumford Junction). In doing this, his railway could now access either the Grand Trunk or the Maine Central, leading to Montreal or Portland, thereby expanding commercial and passenger connections to Rumford Falls.[106] In addition, Chisholm contracted with Maine Central for running rights on their rails from

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[105] Hugh J. Chisholm, "Director's Report," *First Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1892* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1892), 5.
[106] Lindsell, 257. Chisholm grew so dissatisfied with the Grand Trunk that in 1894 he cancelled the connection of Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's train at Mechanic Falls with the Grand Trunk's Portland-bound train to save thirty minutes. "Rumford Falls," *Rumford Falls Times*, April 27, 1894.

Lewiston to Rumford Junction, further increasing rail traffic on his line.[107] This would be known in the company records as "Extension B." A third expansion ("Extension C") was made between 1896 and 1899 to access the Maine Central again at Livermore and serve Chisholm's other manufacturing ventures. (Fig. 5a/b)

Despite an initial charter granting rights north of Rumford Falls, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway did not expand in that direction. Instead, Hugh Chisholm and Galen C. Moses of Bath chartered a separate railroad in September 1894 to build a standard-gauge line into the Rangeley Lakes region primarily for lumber traffic to supply their mills on the Androscoggin River at different locations. That line took the name Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad.[108] In fact, some other businessmen anticipated the idea of a railroad extending beyond Rumford Falls and built birch mills in 1892 on the Swift River to utilize the railroad when it arrived.[109] By 1896 the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad had reached the shores of Lake Mooselookmeguntic at the small settlement of Bemis where the like-named stream entered the lake. While owned and operated separately from the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad remained inextricably tied both by similar ownership and by necessity. The line served Rumford Falls primarily and could only be accessed by way of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. By 1899 the synergy was so important that the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway bought controlling interest in the Rumford

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[107] Hugh J. Chisholm, "Director's Report," *Second Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1893* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1893), 6.
[108] "Swift River Railroad," *Rumford Falls Times*, May 11, 1894. At the time, however, Moses and another associate, Edward Plummer of Lisbon Falls, had commissioned a preliminary survey. Perhaps after this indicated the feasibility of the line, the two contacted Chisholm for financial as well as logistical support.
[109] Hutchinson, 58.

Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. Eight years later the two lines combined into the Portland & Rumford Falls Railroad as it extended ever further north with ambitions of connecting Rumford Falls (and by extension, Portland) with Quebec City.[110] That combination as an independent railroad was short-lived. Later that same year, 1907, Maine Central assumed control of it and brought it into its own system, concerned about potential competition.[111] Thus, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway existed from 1890 to 1907 and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad from 1894 to 1907.

During those decades managers improved both lines, and both added new stations while also replacing existing stations. However, both lines underwent discrete, cogent, and rapid, but complementary, expansions until 1897 by which point changes became incremental and intermittent. Therefore, this study will examine those stations erected in these first few years to elucidate the desires and plans of the railroads at their outset, not their reactions to changing conditions and economics, which may be seen in later iterations of their architecture. Because there was such a stark difference between the designs of the first waves of stations and these new stations, those of a now-established line, they will not be considered part of the cohesive landscape instituted in the two lines' initial years of construction. Instead, these new stations will be used for comparison in the following analysis of the initial architectural campaign.

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[110] Chase, 104. Note that in the structural change embodied by the combination, the name of the new entity changed from the absorbing line's Portland & Rumford Falls "Railway" to the Portland & Rumford Falls "Railroad." It should be noted, too, that in 1897, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway received full title of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad, thereby also making that portion of the line fully under the Portland & Rumford Falls Railroad's control.

[111] Alvin F. Harlow, *Steelways of New England* (New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1946), 325. The lease by the Maine Central was analogous to Chisholm's own lease of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad, in which all operations and expenditures would be assumed by the Maine Central, even though the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway remained legally a separate entity.

Frederic C. Danforth, Engineer

As noted, the primary function of engineers within railroads was the massive undertaking of surveying and grading land, planning culverts, bridges, and crossings, as well as constructing buildings and other structures. While architects were optional, engineers were not. Hugh Chisholm and the other directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway selected Frederic C. Danforth for this important responsibility. Danforth was born in Gardiner in 1848, and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1870 with an engineering degree, making him one of the rare professionally-trained engineers of his day. He immediately thereafter opened an office in Gardiner and worked as a civil engineer, specializing in railroad engineering. In 1891, Danforth's credentials as a professional improved further when he was made a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. That same year in September he was named Chief Engineer of the entire Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, meaning he held responsibility for all its construction endeavors including stations, bridges, and tracks. He held that position until the entire railroad from Rumford Junction to Rumford Falls was in operation in 1894. Later that year, perhaps as a result of his work on the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, Danforth was appointed by Maine's governor to the Maine Board of Railroad Commissioners, a position he held, after being reappointed, until 1900. By the end of his career, many considered Danforth one of the state's leading civil engineers.[112]

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[112] *American Series of Popular Biographies, Maine Edition: This Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of Representative Citizens of the State of Maine* (Boston: New England Historical Publishing Company, 1903), 58-59; Henry D. Kingsbury and Simeon L. Deyo, ed., *Illustrated History of Kennebec County, Maine, 1625-1799-1892* (New York: H. W. Blake & Company, 1892), 646; Obituary of Frederic Danforth, *Reporter Journal* (Gardiner, ME), June 13, 1913. Danforth was later elected Gardiner's mayor twice.

Danforth certainly had the knowledge Chisholm would seek in creating his first railroad, and it is not surprising he would hire such a person. In searching for a skilled engineer, Chisholm likely solicited a recommendation from the Superintendent of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, Levi L. Lincoln.[113] Lincoln had served since 1883 as the Superintendent of the predecessor Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad and had participated in that line's extension to Gilbertville. Chisholm and the directors kept Lincoln on board by unanimous vote at their inaugural 1891 meeting, and it is very likely that Lincoln contributed to the decision to hire Danforth based on Danforth's prior railroading credentials and the necessity to start operations expeditiously under the guidance of a veteran.[114] Despite Danforth's abilities, Chisholm and the other directors also decided to hire an architect to collaborate with him to create the comprehensive design schema of the line, beginning with its first extension.

Edwin E. Lewis, Architect

Chisholm chose architect Edwin E. Lewis of Gardiner to develop his design campaign. While Chisholm made the decision to hire an architect and ultimately selected the exact one, it was likely through Danforth that Lewis joined the team. Lewis was the engineer's neighbor. Both operated complementary offices in the same community, and

[113] Lincoln, born in 1827 in Bath, began his railroad career at age 22 as a brakeman and baggage-master with the Kennebec & Portland Railroad Company, rising to the rank of conductor on passenger and freight trains two years later. From 1869 to 1875 he served as General Freight Agent and Superintendent of that same railroad until its consolidation with the Maine Central. Four years later he formed the Bucksport & Bangor Railroad, which he leased to the Maine Central in 1883, at which point he assumed the role of Superintendent of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad. *Biographical Review: The Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of Leading Citizens of Oxford and Franklin Counties, Maine* (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1897), 385.

[114] "Portland, Maine, June 30, 1891," *Director's Records: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, Vol. I: Dec. 17, 1890-March 5, 1925*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 4.

they must certainly have known each other's work.[115] Regardless of whether Danforth explicitly recommended Lewis to the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's selection committee, his proposal was chosen in 1891. Records of the board of directors indicate that bids were solicited for the actual construction project, but not that an explicit architectural competition for these stations was held, even though this was an increasingly common way to choose an architect by that time.[116]

Born in Cornish, New Hampshire, in 1846, Edwin E. Lewis began his Maine career in Gardiner in 1875 at age 29 after a decade of building in southern New Hampshire.[117] A veteran of the Civil War, Lewis does not appear to have had any formal architectural training, and the Keene, New Hampshire, city directory of 1874 recorded his occupation as "carpenter,"[118] which remained his listed profession in the 1880 census. Lewis' earliest projects as carpenter were private homes, but he soon came to design more public structures. By 1884, Lewis had developed a statewide architecture practice in Maine that garnered him a more prominent reputation as a designer. The Gardiner city directory listed him as an architect that year, and henceforth newspapers and other outlets referred to him by that title. The self-proclamation reflected both the growing trend of carpenters transforming themselves into architects, but also a considerable boundary crossing at a time when architects were increasingly coming from an academic

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[115] Given Danforth's nearly-exclusive focus on railroads, Lewis' nearby projects for railroad structures at Randolph and Togus, to be discussed below, surely came to his attention. Therefore Lewis' ability to implement a picturesque eclectic treatment on railroad structures may have encouraged Danforth to recommend Lewis.

[116] Hélène Lipstadt, ed., *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), 65. In fact, Chisholm did open competitions for other projects, including his mills at Rumford Falls.

[117] Obituary of Edwin E. Lewis, *Kennebec Journal* (Augusta, ME), December 7, 1928.

[118] *Keene Directory* (Keene, NH: R.S. Dillon & Co., 1874), 77.

background.[119] Through his entrepreneurship, Lewis formed a favorable reputation in the 1880s and was contracted to design mills, libraries, banks, and stores. By 1889 biographical publications called him "competent and original," someone who took "personal interest…in carrying out the commissions with which he is favored to the best advantage."[120]

Lewis emerged as an outspoken promoter of the profession, providing a neat definition of architecture as "our wants and necessities given form and expression."[121] He considered himself a "working and practical architect" and endeavored to validate this position in editorials. Perhaps reflective of his own training, he wrote that "the simplest way to study architecture is by practicing it…construction outside of a certain scientific and practical knowledge can only be studied by experience." Such a position came in direct response to that of contemporary architectural journals, which derided builders and so-called practical architects, and helps explain some of the motivations in Lewis' projects.[122] Moreover, Lewis chided those who "are taught to conceive and plan buildings that can be constructed, only on paper, under the pretext of preserving 'high art.'" He similarly chastised the rote replication of vernacular design and the simplistic nature of symmetry as having "had its day and is completely run out, except in some cases, where old fogyism holds its sway and still rules supreme." Through these words, Lewis was describing his preference for a picturesque eclecticism he often imposed onto his building designs.

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[119] Cavanagh, 31.
[120] *Leading Business Men*, 169.
[121] All quotations in this paragraph excerpted from E. E. Lewis, Editorial, *Kennebec Reporter* (Gardiner, ME), March 29, 1890.
[122] Woods, 149.

Lewis offered his opinions on taste and attempted to exonerate architects for bad designs caused by the patron, whom he could find meddling and overly confident in the ability to conceive of a building's practical properties. At the same time, Lewis blamed public indifference toward awful design that stemmed from "the 'practical builders' who do so much of the bad building."[123] He also felt that the public insulated proper architects, who "have not been held to any real accountability for these things," when they made bad designs. That is, Lewis believed a balance between the practical carpenter and the academically-trained architect could best succeed in designing buildings, which, unsurprisingly, constituted the category into which he best fit.

Lewis' derision of symmetry manifested itself easily in his buildings. He clearly espoused the picturesque over the classical, choosing less unified, accretive elements that generally categorized this overall pattern.[124] In particular, Lewis often seemed to follow the current trend, and commonly built in a picturesque eclecticism that the popular Queen Anne style allowed. By the 1880s and into the 1890s, the Queen Anne style had generally become popular among builders, architects, and patrons. The Queen Anne style was characterized by asymmetry, turrets, towers, and polychromatic combinations of varied textures including mixing patterned shingles with clapboards.[125] Another important characteristic was the use of irregular massing to create complex roof lines. The style had originated in Britain in the 1860s, but quickly gained fashion in the United States and inspired the Colonial Revival there. Yet, the Queen Anne style also

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[123] All quotations in this paragraph from Lewis, Editorial.
[124] Upton, *Architecture*, 257. Upton explains that the two patterns, classical and picturesque, have nothing to do with ornament, but represent rubrics of Style.
[125] James L. Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 35.

incorporated a tradition of earlier styles in using a combination of varied elements in a sort of picturesque eclecticism, which embodied roughness, movement, irregularity, variety, and intricacy.[126] The Queen Anne style strongly took root in New England's summer resort areas, including Maine.[127] In this way it became one of the vernacular styles of the state, and one that both the middle class and the wealthy, including Chisholm's cohort, would have understood as desirable.

Lewis' application of a picturesque eclectic style and imposition of asymmetry began with private homes, including larger wood-frame varieties with corner turrets and complex massing, which would today be classified as Queen Anne, for various well-to-do residents of Gardiner and neighboring communities. Lewis' first major project as an architect was the wood-frame Gardiner Coliseum (1884), which was considered the state's largest building of its type with seating capacity of 2500. The 1891 Togus Opera House presents another example of his incorporation of similar massing and decorative elements, though the functional aspects of that building required more symmetry.[128] In other structures, Lewis created an initial aura of symmetry with massing, but used

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[126] Carroll Meeks defined "picturesque eclecticism" as embodying these five qualities. There was no one particular amalgam that represented the quintessential picturesque eclectic definition, and in its truest sense, it can be achieved only individually. Lewis was looking to recreate this in complementary fashions. Carroll Meeks, "Picturesque Eclecticism," *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 3 (September 1950): 226-235.

[127] Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement, 1860-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 208. Girouard explicitly cites the growth of the style in Maine where people went to "lead a simple life rather than a frivolous one."

[128] "Building in Maine," *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), April 7, 1893. The plan for this was chosen by the governor of Maine himself, further demonstrating Lewis' upward reputational trajectory. This building was among a collection featured in a special "Building Edition" of the weekly periodical that included many notable Maine architects such as Francis Fassett and John Calvin Stevens and Maine's World's Fair Building in Chicago, reflecting the highly-regarded company to which many saw Lewis belonging. This special article also featured Lewis' Rumford Falls passenger station, calling it a "fine" building.

fenestration or the placement of doors to break it, such as with the Old Canteen Building at Togus (Fig. 6).

Lewis' service in the Union Army, combined with his local reputation, led to his foray into railroad structures in 1889 with the plans for a depot at Togus, the site of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. That year the Kennebec Central Railroad was formed exclusively to provide service via narrow gauge rails between Randolph and the soldiers' home.[129] Contemporary accounts record that structure as containing all the proper features:

> on the first floor will be found the (sic) ladies' waiting room, gentlemen's waiting room, ladies' saloon, ticket office, express and baggage room, restaurant and kitchen. The upper story will contain a large reading room, a bath room and another room to be used as headquarters for the National Home Band. A platform will be built nearly encircling the building.[130]

The following year, 1890, Lewis had under contract the railroad buildings at the Kennebec Central Railroad's other location, Randolph, including a passenger depot, freight depot, engine house, and coal shed (Fig. 7).[131] Lewis' office and assistants allowed him to draft plans expeditiously, and these structures could and were built quickly. This efficiency may have contributed to his commission on with these building types for which he had no experience. That summer, local builder J. W. Lash erected the passenger depot according to Lewis' plans, creating "a handsome little structure 27 feet square with two wings and…very conveniently arranged on the inside."[132] The building

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[129] Randolph was across the Kennebec River from Gardiner, which had rail connections. Passengers could walk across a pedestrian/road bridge to access the Randolph station. There was no direct rail connection. Remember that Lewis' office and residence was in Gardiner at this time.
[130] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), October, 25, 1889.
[131] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), July 11, 1890.
[132] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), August 1, 1890.

notably carried a corner turret with decorated bargeboards, making it congruous with Queen Anne styling and similar to residential homes he had designed nearby. With these two stations and their accompanying buildings, Lewis experimented with the translation of his preferred styling onto railroad structures. In conforming to the necessary constraints of the functions of the buildings the same way he had previously done for individual patrons and their houses, Lewis effectively imparted his design idiosyncrasies into a new form. The experience would prove invaluable and lead to his hiring by the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway just a year later.

The relationship of Chisholm and Lewis proved mutually beneficial. In January 1892, Lewis was contracted by lumbermen M. G. Shaw & Sons to design a commercial block in Rumford Falls in anticipation of the coming of the railroad (Fig. 8).[133] That block would house the opulent "Hotel Rumford" and contribute to the growing architectural prowess of the community. A good hotel was essential for the commercial development of a city or town, and for one just beginning this was even more the case.[134] That same month Lewis commenced work on the stations and other buildings for the extension of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway from Gilbertville to Rumford Falls, whose preliminary plans were sent to the officers of the railroad in Portland.[135] By midyear newspapers described him as a "first-class architect," a man who was "original,

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[133] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), January 15, 1892. (Lewis had designed a "double house" in Bath in 1890 for M. G. Shaw & Sons.

[134] Lupkin, 24. Contemporary accounts in turn described the hotel as among the "finest of the state" and that the increasing level of business would require an addition. Hotels and Summer Resorts, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), January 20, 1893. In 1901, the Maine Central's monthly magazine exulted its "many attractions to the ordinary visitor as well as to the business man." "Hotel Rumford," *The Maine Central: The Official Organ of the Maine Central Railroad Co.* 9, no. 1 (January 1901): 7.

[135] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), January 29, 1892.

careful and accurate," and whose work included some of the "finest structures in the Kennebec Valley." Indeed, the demand for his services by now required two assistants.[136] One of those assistants, a recent local high school graduate, entered Lewis' office explicitly "to perfect himself in that profession."[137]

Lewis continued to grow as an architect after the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway project. A major weekly publication serving the building, industrial, and mining community in Maine, *The Industrial Journal*, included Lewis in an April 1893 feature on notable Maine architects, highlighting some of their more-important buildings, which for Lewis included the Rumford Falls station, the Shaw Block, and the Togus Opera House. Soon thereafter he was commissioned to design other hotels, banks, churches, and private homes for several more years until taking up residence in 1898 as Chief Engineer and General Superintendent of the veterans' home at Togus for the remainder of his career. Eventually he would no longer describe himself as architect but as chief engineer in the city's official records, perhaps, because he no longer operated an architecture practice or office. However, he never received formal engineering training, either.

Frederic Danforth developed a relationship with Lewis outside of this project. In 1892, as their combined plans for the initial Portland & Rumford Falls Railway extension stations were being used, Lewis designed a summer retreat for Danforth on Squirrel Island, an exclusive community favored by residents of the Augusta area. In fact, that house was built by the same Gardiner contractor, J. W. Lash, who had executed Lewis' design for the Randolph passenger depot in 1890.

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[136] Building Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), June 3, 1892.
[137] "Lee Watson," *Kennebec Reporter* (Gardiner, ME), September 24, 1892.

CHAPTER 3:
FUNDAMENTAL PROGRAM AND SUBSIDIARY EMULATION

On November 1, 1890, the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway assumed operation of the Rumford Falls and Buckfield Railroad Company, and by July 1, 1891, began its operation.[138] The day before operation commenced, the board of directors met and made important decisions about the creation of their new line in addition to operation of the existing line. Director George D. Bisbee was appointed agent in charge of obtaining land by purchase or lease from Gilbertville to Rumford Falls. The same Mr. Bisbee made a motion that President Hugh Chisholm direct a survey that would include "stations and other appurtenances, with the incidental plans and profiles."[139] Therefore, while the task of station design would involve approval of the board, it was Chisholm who would most greatly influence its undertaking. Importantly, unlike other railroad directors who could call upon years of experience or prepared basic plans for station designs, the largely novice group of directors here would have needed some outside help in arriving at even the most basic designs. Additionally, dissimilar from more established railroads, such as the Maine Central, that had already begun implementing standardized designs developed by engineers, Chisholm had only his inherited stations from which to work and turned to an architect to create the design template. Therefore, the decision to hire an architect would have simplified the process for them, contrasting other lines that were simply expanding upon previous iterations.

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[138] Hugh J. Chisholm, "Director's Report," 1892, 5.
[139] "Portland, Maine, June 30, 1891," *Director's Records*, 6.

In September of that year, L. L. Lincoln's position of Superintendent was unanimously confirmed for the ensuing year, and a small subcommittee under Chisholm's oversight reported the award of the contract for construction of the extension from Gilbertville to Rumford Falls to contractors Mitchell and Spofford of Bucksport, who had submitted the most competitive bid.[140] In December another subcommittee consisting of directors Emery, Pettengill, and Bisbee was appointed to "have in charge the matter of making the plans and specifications for the five stations required on the line of the extension, with the power to award contracts for the construction of the same."[141] In March 1892, the contract for constructing six station buildings and platforms on the extension was awarded to Ethan Willis for $5940.00.[142]

While the Board of Directors oversaw the awarding of contracts and the submission of bids and plans for stations, Frederic Danforth, chief engineer of the railroad, undertook the actual work of securing plans and ensuring the construction of the

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[140] "Portland, Maine, September 21, 1891," *Director's Records: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, Vol. I: Dec. 17, 1890-March 5, 1925*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 11. "Portland, Maine, September 28, 1891," *Director's Records: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, Vol. I: Dec. 17, 1890-March 5, 1925*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 14.

[141] "Portland, Maine, December 28, 1891," *Director's Records: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, Vol. I: Dec. 17, 1890-March 5, 1925*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 27.

[142] "Portland, Maine, March 1, 1892," *Director's Records: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, Vol. I: Dec. 17, 1890-March 5, 1925*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 35. The discrepancy in the number of stations is due to a subsequent decision to construct two at Rumford Falls, which will be discussed in detail. As noted earlier, here "station" means all the buildings at a particular stop, so this approval pertains to more than the passenger depots, but all the structures that will be discussed. The actual labor was done by Italian immigrants, who had been recruited for many construction projects in Rumford (including the mills) by Marco Lavorga. Lavoraga himself had emigrated from Italy in 1882, took a job as a laborer for the West Shore Railroad in New York State, worked as a gang foreman for the Erie and Pennsylvania Railroads from 1884 to 1888, and married an American in 1888 in New York. He would be hired by one of the construction contractors in Rumford (to whom he had previously supplied labor) to provide a cheap labor crew. Lavorgna personally made several trips to Italy to recruit workers, and later settled permanently (ironically) near Naples, Maine. Hutchinson, 15-16. These workers were often poorly and infrequently paid. In the summer of 1893, the Italian laborers went on strike, creating a "squally" situation that was resolved only when an Italian financier from New York provided a portion of the back-due pay to temporarily quell it. Even still, other abuses of the laborers were enacted by local merchants, who subsequently armed themselves in preparation for any retaliation. Bunting, II, 246.

stations to specifications. Danforth ultimately took Lewis' plans to the directors for review.[143] This means that although the design concepts may have originated with Lewis, their implementation required approval by the board of directors, and Danforth may have suggested to Lewis their general desires. As noted above, Lewis held strong feelings about the meddling of patrons. Although direction came from Chisholm and the directors, the actual selection of elements and arrangement of plans largely came from Lewis for approval by the directors.

Inherited Stations

As noted, Chisholm's assumption of the lease of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad brought into his organization several inherited stations built in the 1870s and 1880s. This collection was composed of five combination stations, one passenger station, and one freight station.[144] Those stations were far from cohesive in design, except in their sheer plainness. They featured simple clapboards, double-hung six-over-six windows with plain surrounds, gable roofs, and narrow chimneys with a mild flare course near the mouth. In short, they were built economically and for function. Only the Buckfield passenger station, once the terminus of the line, even featured a covered platform and projecting bay window for the station agent (Fig. 9).

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[143] "E. E. Lewis," *Kennebec Journal* (Augusta, ME), January 27, 1892. Note that Danforth brought these from Gardiner to Portland, further supporting the case that he had been integral to Lewis' selection.
[144] "Lease from the Rumford Falls and Buckfield Railroad Company to Portland and Rumford Falls Railway," in *Annual Reports of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad Co. For the Year Ending September 30, 1890* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1890), 28. The 1890 lease listed the condition of the stations from southwest to northeast: West Minot combination (1878), "good"; East Hebron combination (1878), "good"; Buckfield passenger (1888), "very good"; Buckfield freight (1884), "very good"; East Sumner combination (1878), "fair"; Hartford combination (1878), "fair"; Canton combination (1878), "good."

Chisholm's lease of the line at first did not explicitly allow for replacement, but "upgrades," and so while costly replacements would not have made sense financially for a nascent rail line, Chisholm decided to break with the past and create his own, new image. Chisholm was ultimately a pragmatist, so he did not replace stations he inherited unless necessary because no matter how important the image of his line was to potential customers, the cost of replacing a perfectly-functioning and sufficient station would have been foolish from a financial perspective. Instead, they received a new coat of paint and some minor repairs.[145] The stations at West Minot, Canton, or others would serve their functions as stops along the route to Rumford Falls, but not as models for his own station designs (Fig. 10). Plain and unappointed, functional to the extreme, these stations themselves would in time be replaced once the railroad was firmly established. It is clear that the inherited stations mattered to the functioning of the railroad, but not to the overall landscape Chisholm wished to create. They elucidate, however, the careful balance of expenditure and uniformity that Chisholm desired.

Design Elements

Building a set of stations at once begged for uniformity and control of cost. In fact, Lewis' designs represent period building practice for a certain level of investment, and therefore achieved the balance of ostentation and austerity sought by the directors. That appeared in marked contrast to other lines of the time, where railroads relied upon homely practicality and the opportunities of local carpenters to display their skills in

[145] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *First Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1892* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1892), 15.

carved bargeboards or other details.[146] In those instances, incremental decoration was considered a bonus inserted by the builder. Though such ornamentation would likely have been approved by the railroad, its inclusion did not belong to a deliberate decision designed for comprehensiveness across structures. Here, however, while the local craftsmen carried out the work, the concept was derived from an architect and was supported by an engineer. As was common, Lewis created a unique assembly of conventional formal elements in a distinctive manner that represented his own personal style but came to embody the style of the railroad.[147]

Lewis' comprehensive designs incorporated many facets, such as massing, floor plans, ornamentation, and materials. Because the individual structures served different purposes in different locations for different volumes of traffic, Lewis' choices in materials and ornamentation represent the most obvious and common cohesive elements across all buildings. They established for the public, passengers and passers-by alike, the reputation of the railroad. Each station was constructed in wood, reflecting the readily-available material and its relative cost, the speed with which stations could be built, and perhaps even an aesthetic signaling of the wood and pulp industry whose supply chain it supported.[148] Lewis could have saved money with plain ornamentation similar to the

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[146] Richards and MacKenzie, 51.

[147] Upton, *Architecture*, 262. Upton argues that such a style cannot be replicated by clients, builders, or other architects, yet this paper will demonstrate that engineer Danforth did accomplish this for the railroad's benefit.

[148] James Buckley, "Chain of Tools: Supply Chains, Lumber, and Vernacular Communities in Northern California, 1850-1930" (paper, annual meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum-New England, Sturbridge, MA, March 31, 2011). No records have been located that note the type of wood, but extant plans for a freight station at Livermore Falls (1898) that was never built call for "Inside sheathed with narrow spruce boards. Outside finish pine, side sheathing spruce. Paper under all finish and clapboards… [Roof of] clear cedar shingles...Floor spruce plank planed. Doors made of pine sheathing." "Plan of Freight

inherited stations from the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad. His distinctive common elements likely only added incrementally to the cost of construction, but nevertheless imparted a synergy that was important to the railroad's operation and reputation. As was the case with railroads nationwide, certain architectural features were applied to stations of various sizes throughout the system creating a corporate image through "carbon-copy architecture."[149] At the same time, replicated details and ornamentation also reflected a growing ability to order such items in bulk from millwork factories via catalog. In this sense architectural standardization was near its zenith in this era for all types of structures.[150] For Lewis, this combination of aesthetic devices emulated a picturesque eclecticism of polychromatic combinations of varied textures, asymmetry, and towers that the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway called "of modern pattern" or "of modern style."[151]

The ornamental elements of Lewis' "modern style" consisted first of vertical corner boards constraining a varied-texture exterior in the form of a base course of darkly-painted vertical wainscoting below lighter-painted clapboards, beneath courses of intermixed patterned and plain shingles in the gables. The eaves carried decorated

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House, Livermore Falls," Maine Central Railroad Architectural Drawings Collection, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME.

[149] Bohi and Grant, 118. Even Walter Berg's 1893 manual suggested this paradigm, writing "where standard designs…are adopted, stress should be laid on having the designs modified in minor details, so as to avoid monotonous sameness of similar structures along the road. This can be easily accomplished by making modifications in the details of the exterior finish, gables, dormer-windows, ridge-cresting, finials, roof-brackets, chimneys, etc., without in reality changing the ground-plan or the frame or the walls of the building." Berg, 285.

[150] H. Roger Grant, *Living in the Depot: The Two-Story Railroad Station* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 18-20.

[151] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *First Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1892* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1892), 16. L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *Third Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1894* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1894), 16.

bargeboards (not unlike those employed by Lewis at the Randolph station), and brick chimneys flared out in a variety of patterns mimicking smoke stacks adorning passing trains. Freight and baggage doors were constructed of perpendicularly diagonal boards reminiscent of the boxcar doors they served. Cheaper glass in the late nineteenth century meant larger panes were more affordable, and these stations featured double-hung two-over-two sashes typical of the period. Waiting room doors for passenger stations had patterned glass windows that allowed for light, but an obscured view, above a pattern of inset horizontal panels. Other doors had three horizontal inset panels beneath two parallel vertical ones (Fig. 11a/b). Though generally rectangular buildings, convention dictated projecting station agent windows, which Lewis unsurprisingly placed off-center. For passenger stations, overhangs for waiting travelers were supported by diagonal brackets.

As will be discussed in detail, Lewis built stations that adhered to the common conventions and needs of the railroad industry in terms of general floor plan and massing guidelines. Yet, he succeeded in generating a distinctive patterning with regard to plan in which symmetry was abandoned, though it could just as easily have been imposed. Necessary projecting bays found themselves off-center. In terms of massing, each building met the needs of the surrounding community, yet a sensitive use of diminutive structures in small towns and more substantial ones in larger towns reflected a railroad that knew how to run an efficient and appropriate business that could suit the needs of each community. All dedicated passenger stations featured bracket-supported overhangs projecting from hip roofs, which were emulating residential forms. This combination

emphasized shelter for people and represented the primary function of the building, inviting people. Most also had towers or dormers (or both) to allow for extra light for passenger comfort and to further connect these waiting areas subconsciously with the home. Conversely, all the dedicated freight buildings were long and low with steeper gable roofs, not as overtly based upon domestic styles, and overly-emphasized doors as access points, reflecting their function as storage and emulating boxcars. The in-between amalgam buildings, combination stations, attempted to do both in being low, rectangular structures with a large freight door and the same steeper gable roof, but compensated with patterned shingles in the gables to evoke a semblance of domestic inspirations in its other function as shelter for passengers. In all instances, Lewis' designs remained synergistic through commonalities in aesthetic signaling.

Extension A

Edwin Lewis and his office drew up plans for Extension A for stations at Gilbertville, East Peru, Peru, Dixfield/West Peru, and Rumford Falls (both a temporary station and the terminal) in addition to the round house at Rumford Falls.[152] His designs were comprehensive, and each station deliberately balanced its own needs and conventions with the general ornamentation and patterns he used to signal belonging to a discrete group. Lewis' most elaborate station design was for the terminal at Rumford Falls, the most important station of the line and the one that represented Chisholm's most

[152] Plans for Dixfield/West Peru (freight), Dixfield/West Peru (passenger), Gilbertville, Rumford Falls (combination), Rumford Falls (passenger), and Rumford Falls (roundhouse) all bear the signatures of both men in their respective roles, and therefore the designs will be attributed to both in discussion, though this author believes the configuration drew from Danforth's expertise and the ornamentation/design elements came from Lewis. Both would have conferred on all aspects, of course.

ambitious display of his new industrial community (Fig. 12). Likely following Chisholm's instruction, Lewis designed a station much greater in magnitude than any others on the line, reflecting the contemporary recommendation to make the building large enough to correspond with "the actual requirements of the business to be expected in the near future, considering also the possible growth of the town."[153]

Lewis chose not to use the "head house plan" for Rumford Falls, perhaps in anticipation of the line's future expansion into the Maine wilderness. What he built instead was the terminal side-station, which contemporary guidebooks described as "large two-story structures with capacious waiting-rooms, toilet-rooms, smoking-room, dining-room and appurtenances, baggage-room, express-room, mail-room, telegraph-office, parcel-room, news-stand, supply-rooms, rooms for conductors and trainmen, and offices."[154] Indeed, the floor plan of the Rumford Falls station reveals an adherence to many of these conventions (Fig. 13). On the first floor, Lewis included separate waiting rooms for women and men. Both rooms featured doors to the platform, ample windows (five for men, seven for women), and accessed a central office (with a ticket window facing each room) that projected into the platform with windows to view train traffic. A balancing projected entryway with a double door fed both waiting rooms immediately opposite the office. The single toilet on the first floor could be accessed only from the ladies' waiting room and was intended for use by women only, reflecting popular beliefs

[153] Berg, 278.
[154] Ibid.

of propriety. Indeed, the men's toilet was planned as part of a separate structure and accessed from an exterior door just as proscribed by planners at the time.[155]

On the second floor of the station, Lewis included primarily office space in keeping with common practice and representing the centrality of the Rumford Falls station to the railroad's operation as its primary station (Fig. 14). From the stairs accessed by an exterior door on the first floor, one entered a hall and corridor that opened into the office of the chief engineer, a separate private office, and a large superintendent's office. The superintendent's office featured an alcove over the first floor main entrance (below the clock) that afforded 180-degree views of the town. Over the ticket office and accessed only through the superintendent's office was an additional private office that had an alcove providing views of the tracks. Each of the four offices had a closet, and one shared water closet/toilet appeared off the entry hall over the first floor lavatory. The fact that the structure housed the offices of the railroad meant that it was the corporate headquarters, and its ornate design fits the general pattern of clients seeking social prestige through their buildings.[156]

Connected to the main structure by a midway was the functional structure with rooms for baggage, express, conductor's office, and the men's water closet just as contemporary periodicals recommended for efficiency and for the benefit of passengers. Lewis' plan called for this structure on the north end of the complex, though photographs show its appearance on the opposite (south) side instead (see Figs. 13 and 16). The

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[155] Ibid., 281. Berg writes: "It is very bad practice, however, to allow the door to the ladies' toilet-room to lead directly from a general waiting-room…The toilet-room for gentlemen should never have a direct entrance from the waiting-room…In fact, the general rule should prevail, that the toilet-room for gentlemen should be accessible from the outside of the building."

[156] Upton, *Architecture*, 256.

desirable elements for a terminal station lacking in Lewis' plan were the smoking room and dining room. These would be in demand and receive ample foot traffic in stations truly situated within an urban context, where larger numbers of passengers might be waiting for travel to a multitude of destinations. It must be remembered that at the outset, Rumford Falls was a terminus station where passengers would only wait to travel to Portland or intermediate stations.

This station's most-imposing feature was its clock tower. In keeping with Lewis' preferences and the prevailing trend in the Queen Anne style, the building was asymmetrical, with the tower flanked by four bays to the north, but only two to the south. The clock's six-foot-wide black dials (on all four sides of the tower) featured golden numbers and hands, and would have caught the eye of any in the town.[157] As discussed, the clock tower existed in the nineteenth century as an iconic feature of the railroad station, particularly for terminals. Portland's own superb Union Station carried a large corner clock tower and was a building that Lewis and Danforth would surely have known, perhaps even serving as an inspiration for Rumford Falls.[158] Such a tower thus was associated with urbanity, and Lewis' decision to incorporate one at this nascent community reflects the desires of his patron to create an urban landscape to rival others in the state. After the establishment of regulated time and time zones in 1883, clocks took on even greater importance and power. A terminal with such a prominent clock represented regulation and obedience to schedules, which was certainly echoed in

[157] "Passenger Station P. & R. F. Ry., Rumford Falls," *Rumford Falls Times*, March 23, 1893. "Rumford Falls New Passenger Station," *Rumford Falls Times*, June 1, 1893.
[158] Built in 1888 in a French Chateau design by Bradlee, Winslow, and Witherell of Boston. Peladeau, 219.

contemporary literature.[159] The *Rumford Falls Times*' front-page article about the inauguration of the station called its clock "appreciated by all as the position will render it of service to both the business and residence sections of town."[160] Lewis' design for the terminal at Rumford Falls expresses the signal importance of the clock tower to the design of a magnificent station.[161]

The clock itself commanded attention, but its tower and the location of the station within Rumford Falls also lent itself to a position of power within the community, signaling the importance of the railroad to the town's development, but also implying the importance of its proprietor, Hugh Chisholm. Located across the Middle Canal from the downtown island, the station had behind it nothing but open lots and hillside, yet it enjoyed a view of the entire community (Fig. 15). Such a view was important for the railroad officers, who used the building for offices, but also created an indelible impression on those first stepping off the train. Indeed, promotional literature for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway suggested "no better or more desirable location could be found for such a building, as it not only commands a view of the town, but is itself a conspicuous object from all portions of the village; the clock on its tower being the time-keeper of the community."[162] Perhaps Hugh Chisholm, as President of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, would climb to the office in the tower and look out at the entire city for which he was responsible. In this way, the tower served as panopticon for the

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[159] Trachtenberg, 120.
[160] "Passenger Station P. & R. F. Ry., Rumford Falls."
[161] This station's tower came when the tower was most popular as primary focal point for railroad stations. The practice began to fade into a preference for the dome by the last decade of the century, though domed stations did not take root in Maine. Meeks, *Railroad Station*, 109. In fact, by 1900, architects publically described the clock tower as "a feature which we do not always recommend." Granger, II, 202.
[162] *Rumford Falls Line*, 18.

railroad over the town, but also for the town's champion over his citizens. In time, images of the station would include the log-choked canal in the foreground of the station, further associating the railroad with the lumber baron who presided over it and the town that owed its existence to his operations (Fig. 16).

Lewis' signature combination of exterior ornamentation could be seen in this building of grand scale and massing. The projected overhangs from the hip roof were decorated with the signature bargeboards (as well as the midway's roof) and supported by diagonal brackets. The exterior finish included corner boards, a base course of wainscoting, and horizontal clapboards. The chimneys flared out near the mouth. The resulting perception of the station was that it "is substantially built, complete in all its appointments, heated by steam and lighted by electricity, and contains convenient offices on the second floor for the officers of the operating departments."[163] Superintendent Lincoln described it as "convenient and commodious, and has ample platforms and awnings, with convenient offices in the second story for the Company. The entire building is supplied with water and electric lights."[164] The railroad commissioners of Maine called it "a model of neatness, convenience and beauty in design."[165] Local newspapers described it as being "of modern architecture" and proclaimed that "the P. & R. F. Railway will have one of the finest passenger depots in Maine."[166] Lewis and

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[163] Ibid.
[164] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *Second Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1893* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1893), 16.
[165] D. N. Mortland, A. W. Wildes, and B. F. Chadbourn, "Railroad Commissioners' Report for 1893," *Second Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1893* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1893), 17.
[166] "Passenger Station P. & R. F. Ry., Rumford Falls." "Rumford Falls New Passenger Station."

Danforth created a monumental structure consciously serving the image of the railroad and Rumford Falls simultaneously. It went into service in 1893.

Edwin Lewis designed just one dedicated passenger station outside of Rumford Falls at Dixfield/West Peru (Fig. 17). Despite being in a relatively isolated location, Lewis and Danforth created a separate passenger depot to serve two communities simultaneously.[167] Also instrumental in the decision to create a dedicated passenger station was the tourist traffic. Its floor plan accounts for all the conventional interior spaces recommended for a smaller passenger station (Fig. 18). Distinct men's and women's waiting rooms were separated by a central office with two ticket windows. The office projected onto the platform in a bay window that allowed the agent to look both ways down the track, signal trains, transmit telegrams, and dispense his paperwork without changing position.[168] There were separate lavatories for men and women. Notably, the station carried a hip roof supported by brackets to create a sheltered platform space to help provide some protection for waiting passengers.

Combination stations generally served communities where business was not sufficient to warrant separate passenger and freight stations. Lewis and Danforth designed three at Gilbertville, East Peru, and Peru that nearly approximated each other as part of this extension (Figs. 19, 20, and 21). In these locations, all smaller towns, a replicated, standard design of a single-structure combination depot (handling both

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[167] The Dixfield station was actually situated across the Androscoggin River from Dixfield in the town of West Peru with an iron bridge connecting the two towns. This station served as connection to stage coaches offering service to the Pine Point Camps on Lake Webb and Weld Pond (some twelve miles away), renowned scenic areas and fishing locales purportedly "unsurpassed." *Rumford Falls Line*, 16; C. Bancroft Gillespie, *Portland Past and Present* (Portland, ME: Evening Express Publishing Company, 1899), 97.
[168] Stilgoe, 197.

passengers and freight) would suffice for all needs. This basic floor plan for combination stations contained all the necessities and allowed for easy replication. In addition, it offered low construction cost to the railroad, could easily be expanded if necessary, and could happily serve as corporate symbol. Although its orientation "flipped" around a central axis, the design by Lewis and Danforth held the same configuration and proportion of spaces in each of these depots.[169]

As discussed, conventional wisdom in the 1890s dictated necessities and efficiencies of design for both passenger and combination stations in small towns. Lewis and Danforth's design for combination stations strictly adhered to these conventions, which they may have learned from Superintendent Lincoln.[170] The replicated design entailed a single-story rectangular structure of 20 x 48 feet with an off-centered 2.5 x 9 x 2.5-foot projecting window for the station agent on the track side of the building (Fig. 22). The plan consisted of four rectangular rooms: a freight room, waiting room, office, and toilet. The freight room, which occupied half of the square footage, could be accessed only from the exterior of the building by way of six-foot-wide unglazed doors on both the track side and opposite side. Its floor and door openings were raised above the passenger side of the station to allow for wagons to load freight. Because there was no separate baggage room given the low level of business, it is likely baggage was stored in a corner of the freight room as was common at the time. Entry to the other half of the station could be made only from the tracks side by way of the waiting room, from which

[169] Bohi and Grant, 118.
[170] Neither Lewis nor Danforth had built a combination station prior to this project and therefore did not have first-hand experience in this structure, though Danforth may have learned of its needs in his earlier training.

doors opened into the office and toilet. The office featured a ticket window facing into the waiting room, and was meant to serve as freight office, ticket office, and telegraph office as was recommended at the time.[171] The addition of a toilet room, standard to Lewis and Danforth's designs, was considered optional at the time, recommended "where the passenger business warrants it."[172] A single chimney rose from within the passenger side at the intersection of the three rooms where one coal stove heated all spaces. The interior walls featured attached bench-like settees.[173]

The fourth combination station was designed for Rumford Falls itself (Fig. 23). This sizeable, but relatively unornamented depot on the outskirts of the town, was built in early 1892 before any others on the extension. It served temporarily as a combination depot for passengers and freight, though its initial intention was to be converted exclusively to a freight depot once the grand terminal in town was complete in 1893. It would therefore facilitate construction of mills and other buildings in the town and ensure a rapid growth that would in turn reinforce the development of the railroad itself. The single-story, rectangular structure exhibited some of the ornamentation seen in all the other stations designed by Lewis and Danforth, such as a base course of vertical wainscoting beneath clapboards and decorated bargeboards. While its plan did allow for office, toilet, and passenger spaces, there was no projecting agent's window. It was therefore a balance between the other combination stations and a freight depot. Despite the building's temporary nature, Superintendent Lincoln's report still noted that "the

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[171] Berg, 246. Regarding the projection, Berg instructs that that "This office should always have a projection on the track side…so that the track is visible in both directions from inside the office."
[172] Ibid.
[173] Glenn Torrey, "Railroad arrives in Poland in late 1890s," *Lewiston Sun Journal*, April 1, 2000.

freight house at Rumford Falls, a portion of which is being temporarily occupied for passengers, is convenient for this section."[174] Even though it was temporary, and the railroad directors could have built a ramshackle utility structure, the railroad's image was still important enough to warrant a contribution to their overall cohesive design. It was, after all, the first impression for passengers (and potential investors) of the new industrial community.

Edwin Lewis designed other functional and less ornate structures for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway as part of this initial extension. At Dixfield/West Peru, where he had created the only other passenger station, he also designed a dedicated freight depot (Fig. 24). This freight station, unsurprisingly, mirrored the temporary combination station at Rumford Falls that was destined to become a freight station itself in short order. The Dixfield/West Peru freight depot lacked only the additional space provided for passengers at Rumford Falls. It was long and narrow with two large double-doors in the typical diagonal board pattern on either side of a window on the track side of the structure. The only other difference was the absence of decorated bargeboards, though this freight depot did carry the same base course of vertical wainscoting beneath horizontal clapboards. In this way, Lewis had contributed to the landscape by providing a matching, yet distinctive structure that also subtly indicated its function through its relative degree of ornamentation.

Rumford Falls as terminus housed more than the terminal station downtown and the initial combination station at the edge of town. It was the headquarters of the

[174] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," 1892, 16.

railroad's operations, and its supplementary buildings contributed to the overall landscape sponsored by Chisholm and designed by Lewis. The only other structure in Rumford Falls known to have been designed by Lewis was the roundhouse adjacent to the temporary combination station (Fig. 25). From a functional perspective (and in conjunction with the engineer-designed turntable) the building stored locomotives when they were not in use or being repaired, and as such this structure was not generally in the consciousness of passengers. Railroad workers, however, did see it daily, and it is not surprising that Chisholm would entrust its design to Lewis, though it was necessarily more utilitarian as was common of the time.[175] Gone are the decorated bargeboards and patterned shingles, but notably a varied pattern of texture remains. The same diagonal door patterning from freight and baggage doors remain underneath the same horizontal clapboards on the massive doors for locomotives. These double-doors, however, also each featured a six-light window.[176] Additionally, five double-hung, eight-over-eight windows punctuated the side elevations. These windows around the perimeter of the building served a very practical purpose, allowing the best natural light available to assist maintenance crews. Brick chimney stacks have been replaced by iron ventilators designed to let smoke from locomotives out and cool the building's interior.[177] Despite these necessary idiosyncrasies, the building was contributory to the overall landscape and pleasing to a passenger peering out the window for the final stretch toward the Rumford

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[175] Halberstadt, 65. Berg also recommends "If…an engine-house is to be located at an important terminal…the best policy to pursue is to build as first-class and substantial a structure as the financial condition of the road will permit." Berg, 166.
[176] Berg, 171. Berg writes that paired doors were required and "should be well-glazed."
[177] Halberstadt, 146-147. Berg advises that these ventilators be placed "at the point over the stalls where the smoke-stacks of engines are when in the house." He also notes they should be capped, as Lewis had designed. Berg, 169.

Falls terminal. Other utilitarian railroad structures not designed by Lewis, such as the blacksmith shop (1894), tool shed (1894), and coal shed (1896) would also reinforce the image of the railroad (Fig. 26 and 27).

Extension B

The opening of the extension from Gilbertville to Rumford Falls in 1892 and the completion of the terminal in 1893 represented an important moment for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and brought the line accolades for its neat structures and landscape. Lewis' designs had succeeded, and Chisholm had created the first portion of his enterprise. While Rumford Falls now had access to markets and could effectively attract investment, Chisholm was dependant upon transfer traffic at Mechanic Falls on the Grand Trunk, which served Portland and Montreal. To break this monopoly, he struck a deal with the Maine Central, a powerful and important rival of the Grand Trunk that also serviced Portland. To connect to the Maine Central, Chisholm needed to extend his line beyond Mechanic Falls to a mutually-agreeable location.[178] This proved to be Poland Spring Junction, a spot on the outskirts of Auburn that would later be renamed Rumford Falls Junction to highlight its main transfer role. While the arrangement with the Maine Central allowed for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway to operate its own trains from the junction both to Auburn and to Portland, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway would need to build its own rails and stations for the stretch between the junction and its then-terminus at Mechanic Falls. Maine Central agreed to build the

[178] Lindsell, 257. This extension therefore was built upon the existing line operated by the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad. It was not a further geographic growth of Extension A, but a discrete project.

junction station, and so Chisholm could not control its design. However, the directors retained engineer Danforth to build all the stations en route: two combination depots, two passenger depots, and three freight depots, including replacements at Mechanic Falls.

Edwin Lewis was not hired to design the stations for this second expansion, nor was any architect. Instead, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway entrusted the designs of the stations to Frederic Danforth, who had closely worked with Lewis in his designs for Extension A. Danforth therefore did not invent a new design schema, but instead co-opted and replicated what Lewis had begun.[179] This represented efficiency and continuity of the overall landscape begun just two years earlier. In this second extension, Danforth would carry on the legacy of Lewis and adapt as necessary. Such a transformation from engineer to architect was not uncommon, and in fact, another avenue by which men became architects in the late nineteenth century, in addition to the carpenter route, was through engineering.[180] In fact, contemporary publications highlighted the ability of architects to carry out engineering practices and vice versa and insisted that separation of the two invited trouble, exhorting, "if you separate the functions of architect and engineer you insure the erection of a hybrid structure full of contradictions and imperfections."[181] While architects were increasingly called upon to design structures of all varieties, many patrons believed that the engineer was just as

[179] Dell Upton argues that such a co-option was largely unattainable, but here the desires of the railroad proved formidable enough to allow for Danforth to continue Lewis' own style in the name of the railroad's branding. Upton, *Architecture*, 262.
[180] Woods, 160.
[181] Dankmar Adler, "Engineering Supervision of Building Operations," *The American Architect and Building News* 33, no. 810 (July 4, 1891), 12. It must be taken into account that Adler was himself an exceptional architect-engineer with the ability to balance this dual role. It also bears consideration that Adler's own career was more engineer than architect and that he did partner with other architects, most notably Louis Sullivan. Nonetheless, the point stands that prevailing opinions suggested that one qualified professional could successfully undertake such projects. Saint, 198.

capable, and Danforth's increasing responsibility in this regard demonstrates one instance of this practice. The contract for all stations on this extension was awarded in November 1893 to Rumford contractors Murch and Arnold according to the designs drawn by Frederic Danforth. The buildings were to be completed by May 1894.[182] There is no record of how Lewis felt about this arrangement, whether he objected or not.

Danforth designed two identical combination stations: Empire/Elmwood and Poland (Figs. 28 and 29). The two were based on the same set of blueprints and plans, submitted to the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in March 1894 (Fig. 30a/b). These two stations were nearly identical to the combination stations designed by Lewis except that they had been flipped around the central axis. That is, in Lewis' design the front (trackside) elevation featured the freight to the left of the projecting agent's window and the passenger waiting area to its right. In Danforth's design the exact reverse was true, perhaps reflecting an opposite relationship of the station to the inbound side of the track so that passengers waiting for travel to Rumford Falls always had a view of the oncoming train. The only other discernable difference was the adjacent placement of the two windows in the waiting room end elevation where Lewis had spaced these out. By replicating Lewis' combination station designs with near exactitude, Danforth deliberately contributed to the overall landscape design Lewis had begun.

The two additional passenger stations differed from one another and from both Dixfield/West Peru and Rumford Falls, yet exhibited striking similarities to both and thus

[182] "The Railroad Extension," *Rumford Falls Times*, November 23, 1893. Just a month later the same paper reported delays in the construction that projected completion after the Spring with the caveat that the contract could be nullified if the stations were not complete by September. "Railway Matters," *Rumford Falls Times*, December 21, 1893. Again, the actual labor was by Italian immigrants.

contributed to the general schema. The first of the two was at Poland Spring, which most-closely resembled the terminus at Rumford Falls (Fig. 31). Just as Rumford Falls, this station served only passengers and featured bracketed overhangs. However, Danforth distinguished it with a hip roof and notably with a tower over the entry reminiscent of the tower at Rumford Falls but without the clock. As with Rumford Falls, the tower was placed asymmetrically with four bays to its west and two to its east. Danforth had carried on Lewis' espousal of this signature element of his design.

The tower may appear generally incongruous with other stations given it was not located at a terminus where one would expect such opulence. It can be explained as part of the railroad's desire to bolster traffic at a location near a major tourist attraction. The station at Poland Spring resulted from Chisholm's extension of the line to its junction with the Maine Central, but it also served the fashionable Poland Spring House, which drew thousands of tourists in summer seeking the spring water still purveyed today. In fact, Extension B was deliberately routed through the Poland Spring area to create a stop in the vicinity. Conversations between the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the ownership of the Poland Spring House appeared to suggest a mutually-beneficial financial arrangement that justified this detour in preference to a more direct, shorter route to Rumford Junction.[183] Although the primary function of the Portland & Rumford Falls line was connecting the industrial community of Rumford Falls to markets, this particular stop brought an additional source of revenue to Chisholm, and its

[183] Richards, 42.

station architecture reinforced the reputation of the tourist destination it served.[184] Indeed, a promotional pamphlet for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in 1895 declared "the station house here is as attractive a one as will be found at any New England watering-place."[185]

The extant plans for the Poland Spring Station allow for a discussion of interior ornamentation (Fig. 32). Given that this particular station's exterior was more fashionable than others on the line due to its proximity to a well-established luxury vacation spot, one may not necessarily assume all stations had such interior decoration, but it is likely that at least the dedicated passenger stations did. Interior walls featured the same vertical wainscoting as a base course, and likely plaster above. The ceiling featured recessed panels created by a cornice made up of an ogee and cavetto combination. The rest of the ceiling had a border and dado with three beads. The wall paneling was double-beaded, and a chair rail was created by single half-round over two cavettos. It was simple, but effective in creating a decorative environment made from milled pieces.

The second passenger station design was at Mechanic Falls, the connection of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway to the Grand Trunk Railroad (Fig. 33). Chisholm's

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[184] Despite the promotion of the stop by the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in its inaugural year, a feud subsequently developed between the directors of the railroad and the owners of the Poland Spring House, who had changed their opinion and wished to open their own branch to service the tourist destination. Patrons arriving via the railroad in the summer of 1894 were denied access through the gates of the Poland Spring House and therefore spent their day waiting in Danforth's station for a train home. While Danforth's design may have entertained disgruntled passengers for a small time, the issue resulted in lawsuits between the railroad and Poland Spring House that eventually led to the acquiescence of the House's ownership to allow passage of Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's passengers. Despite this ultimate resolution, traffic at the stop was exceedingly low in its inaugural year to the dismay of the railroad. Richards 41-51.

[185] *Rumford Falls Line*, 8.

decision to replace this station was likely influenced by Superintendent Lincoln, who reported when he was superintendent of the comparatively less-busy Rumford Falls and Buckfield Railroad, "terminal facilities at Mechanic Falls are exceedingly limited, our trains obliged in consequence to do a large amount of extra work in the Grand Trunk yard."[186] Promotional material for the railroad described it as "another little gem of a station house, conveniently located and complete in all its appointments."[187] Here, like Poland Spring, Danforth created a separate passenger station. The floor plan nearly approximated Lewis' at Rumford Falls or Dixfield/West Peru with distinct men's and women's waiting rooms separated by a central office with two ticket windows (Fig. 34 and see Fig. 18). As at the other three passenger stations on the line, a lavatory for women was accessible from the ladies' waiting room, but the door for the toilet for men was on the exterior of the building. A baggage room with exterior door completed the building. Also as at Poland Spring and Rumford Falls overhangs supported by brackets provided protection from the elements, again likely reflecting the fact that passengers may have waited at the station for longer periods for connections. Other distinguishing features of this station include its double-windowed dormers over the office and the entryway, allowing extra light into the waiting areas and ticket office. In sum, Danforth had created a comfortable, attractive building in the same general vein as the others on the entire run from Poland Spring Junction to Rumford Falls.

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[186] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *Seventh Annual Report of the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad Co.: For the Year Ending September 30, 1885* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1885), 14.
[187] *Rumford Falls Line*, 8

To augment the passenger stations at Mechanic Falls and Poland Spring, Danforth also designed distinct freight stations. At Poland Spring, Danforth exactly emulated Lewis' Dixfield freight depot (see Fig. 24). At Mechanic Falls, Danforth built two freight depots. The first was a larger station in the same pattern as Poland spring (and Dixfield) that in some ways closely approximated the combination-turned-freight depot in Rumford Falls (Fig. 35 and see Fig. 23). Danforth also designed a tiny union depot to be shared with the intersecting Grand Trunk Railway. This building featured a hip roof and the same decorated bargeboards as the nearby passenger station, and represented a break in the generally simpler ornamentation of freight buildings on the line (Fig. 36). In this way no one would misunderstand who had built it despite its use by both lines.

Contemporary Reactions

In the summer of 1893, after Extension A was in full operation and the new Terminal at Rumford Falls was complete, the biased *Rumford Falls Times* published a special feature heralding the railroad, describing the "OPENING OF MAGNIFICENT OPPORTUNITIES" and proclaiming that the extension itself "open[ed] the gates that have let into the waiting wonderland a flood of yankee push and energy, enterprise, and capital."[188] The following year, after the completion of Extension B, the same paper published a multi-page article titled "THE DREAM REALIZED," which discussed how in only three years the line turned a village of "two or three houses" into a town of "over

[188] "Route to Rumford Falls," *Rumford Falls Times*, June 22, 1893. The newspaper was unabashedly subjective on this front. Its masthead read underneath its title that it was "Exponent of the Development of New England's Greatest Water Power."

a thousand inhabitants."[189] The article continued by praising the operation of the railroad in taking no loans and how well-constructed it was. It also reprinted wood engravings of the passenger stations at Rumford Falls and Mechanic Falls, highlighting their architecture.

The Portland and Rumford Falls Railway's own literature described the stations as "convenient and in good condition."[190] Local businessmen and industrialists, who themselves stood to benefit from the development of the line, produced accounts praising the new line, including J. W. Penney of Mechanic Falls, who noted:

> What a contrast between a ride over the now Portland and Rumford Falls R. R. and a ride under the old regime. Then it was like riding on an ox team, but not half so safe, rum being the motive power. Now clean, careful men of skill and experience run the trains and gentlemanly conductors punch the tickets.[191]

The Industrial Journal (Bangor) called it a "success" in the summer of 1894.[192] In Poland, an 1895 publication celebrating the centennial of the town remarked that the railroad "is a great benefit to our town, and is full appreciated by all."[193] The architecture of the three stations in the town of Poland (Poland, Poland Spring, and Empire) likely contributed to this opinion as much as the service itself.

Not all felt that such elaborate designs needed to be undertaken for small stations. In fact, one railroad executive in the early twentieth century wrote derisively:

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[189] "The Dream Realized," *Rumford Falls Times*, February 16, 1894.
[190] L. L. Lincoln, "Superintendent's Report," *Second Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1893* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston Co., Printers, 1893), 15.
[191] J. W. Penney, *Mechanic Falls Ledger*, in "Booming Rumford Falls," *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), September 2, 1892.
[192] Torsey, "A Trip to Rumford Falls," *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), August 3, 1894. The article also described the Mechanic Falls passenger station as "neat" and the Rumford Falls station as "magnificent."
[193] Alvan B. Ricker, Burt M. Fernald, and Hiram W. Ricker, *Poland Centennial: September 11, 1895* (New York: Andrew H. Kellogg, 1896), 113.

> As regards small station architecture, some middle ground should be chosen between those exceedingly plain affairs which look as though they were measured off by the yard to fit the size of the town and those painfully elaborate affairs which run more to striking architectural beauty than to utility…The ordinary wayside passenger station is not the proper field for the architect who wishes to rival the designer of the Paris Opera House.[194]

Chisholm in large part had struck the balance that many felt was appropriate. His stations interacted with each other architecturally and avoided the rote replication that some worried would diminish the communities they served. He added flair in his passenger stations and each held a unique design that fit into the larger schema. Only at Poland Spring and Rumford Falls, where ostentatious towers dominated the structures seemingly unnecessarily, did he and his architect/engineer tread on shaky ground with respect to balance. Nonetheless, his promotional material and that of an industry-friendly bent found it completely appropriate.

Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad

In September 1894, at which point the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway was in full operation, receiving accolades, and enjoying success, Hugh Chisholm and fellow industrialist, Galen C. Moses of Bath, chartered the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad.[195] Moses and Chisholm partnered in the enterprise because it was mutually

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[194] John A. Droege, *Passenger Terminals and Trains* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1916), 259. Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, in regard to this rant, Droege even provides a description of what might be Lewis' passenger station at Rumford Falls: "An instance is recalled of a station erected in a prosperous New England manufacturing town, where travel was spasmodically very heavy. The building was adorned with many alcoves, inside and out, which served no useful purpose but necessitated, on the other hand, considerable expense to light the dark corners, a large amount of effort to clean and much trouble as far as maintaining of decorum was concerned." His comments come from two decades later, but are in reaction to the perceived excesses already in place in the railroad built environment.

[195] Born in Bath in 1835, Moses graduated from Bowdoin College in 1856. He worked in the insurance and grocery businesses before becoming manager of the Worumbo woolen mills of Lisbon Falls. In 1882, he

beneficial while it reduced the financial risk for either investor. The completion of Extension B of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway now allowed for logs extracted in the timberlands north of Rumford Falls to be delivered to Moses' mills in the Lewiston area. This new line effectively completed the extension initially envisioned and granted to the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway north into the Swift River Valley to the headwaters of the Androscoggin River in the Rangeley Lakes (Fig. 37).[196] The railroad was conceived primarily to service valuable lumbering areas for the two proprietors and secondarily to facilitate tourist traffic to the increasingly popular lakes region.[197] Additionally, as early as 1893 after the line from Rumford to Portland opened new markets to farmers in the valley north of Rumford Falls, calls came for the state to improve roadways for shipments of potatoes, butter, eggs, and other produce as prices rose.[198] This tertiary market offered even more traffic to the proposed railroad in keeping with Stilgoe's thesis on the essentialness of connectivity in the nineteenth century.

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succeeded his father as President of the First National Bank of Bath (later renamed the People's Twenty-Five Cent Savings Bank). He continued to expand in various businesses by also becoming president of the New England Ship Building Company, which led to his being a director of Bath Iron Works. Moses was involved in other business operations throughout the state. In addition to owning lumber interests in the Rangeley Lakes region, he was co-owner of the Androscoggin Water Power Company in Lisbon, downstream of Rumford Falls. Parker McCobb Reed, *History of Bath and Environs, Sagadahoc County, Maine, 1607-1894* (Portland, ME: Lakeside Press, Printers, 1894), 375-76. *Leading Business Men of Lewiston, Augusta and Vicinity, Embracing, Also, Auburn, Gardiner, Waterville, Oakland, Dexter, Fairfield, Skowhegan, Hallowell, Richmond, Bath, Brunswick, Freeport, Canton, Buckfield, Mechanic Falls, South Paris, Norway, Farmington and Winthrop, with an Historical Sketch of Each Place, Illustrated* (Boston: Mercantile Publishing Company, 1889), 351. "Swift River Railroad."

[196] Unlike competitors in the area, the line would not be narrow gauge, but the same standard gauge as the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway.

[197] In addition, independent proprietors and owners of tracts of lumbering lands contracted with the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad to build small spurs. This was yet more traffic for the line, but the spurs were not under the control of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad and terminated in the woods, so therefore their architecture (if it existed) was temporary and not part of the larger plans of the main line.

[198] "Rumford Falls," *Rumford Falls Times*, February 2, 1893. The demand grew primarily in the more settled areas of the state, but increasingly the seasonal summer camps on the Rangeley Lakes as well as the

The Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad did not operate alone and could only be accessed by way of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. It therefore relied upon the service and reputation of that earlier line. While many small railroads (including the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway with regard to the Maine Central), operated in this fashion, it could prove precarious for business due to misaligned priorities. Here, however, the management was effectively intertwined, which would abate this potential problem. In the ensuing years between the chartering of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and 1894, Galen Moses had assumed a position on that railroad's board of directors. Therefore, Chisholm was the President of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway with Moses on his board, and Moses was President of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad with Chisholm on his board. In this way, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad can be seen as a subsidiary, though legally separate, line that depended upon the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. Chisholm and Moses would have seen it this way, and the architecture of their stations certainly signals this very relationship.

Because Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad was a separate line, it was run by separate personnel. Whereas engineer Frederic Danforth oversaw the extensive expansion of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, in the years leading to the chartering of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, Chisholm and Moses hired local engineer R. B. Stratton to oversee the creation of this entirely new line. Stratton

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lumberman working in nearby areas also desired local food supplies. One of the combination stations to be discussed below, Houghton, was situated amidst a large farm owned by the station's namesake family, who saw the coming of this railroad as an opportunity for increased business. Bunting, I, 252.

had been employed by the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway from 1891 to 1894 in a subsidiary engineering capacity, and would have been familiar with that railroad's initial extensions.[199] However, Frederic Danforth remained involved, and his imput alongside Chisholm's guidance had an important synergistic effect on the station architecture of the line. Frederic Danforth was retained by Chisholm explicitly as a consulting engineer for Stratton.[200] Because of Danforth's extensive experience, he could share his wisdom and simultaneously convey the wishes of Chisholm as he had understood them from his own years of service. A construction contract was awarded in October 1894 to the Ward brothers of Rumford Falls.[201]

As a result, Danforth encouraged a similar design scheme for the four combination stations and two passenger stations that Stratton would erect, with one notable exception—the terminus on the shores of Lake Mooselookmeguntic at Bemis. The stations appeared on the exterior as toned-down versions of the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. That is, the ornamentation mimics those of the sister line with similarly decorated bargeboards, a base course of vertical wainscoting, and

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[199] R. B Stratton was born in Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada in 1868. After graduating from the University of New Brunswick in 1887, he entered the railroad industry as a lowly chainman of the Canadian Northern and Western Railroad. He soon became an engineer of preliminary and location surveys for several Maine and Canadian railroads, including the Grand Trunk. By 1890, he was resident engineer of the nearby Phillips and Rangeley Railroad, and from 1891 to 1894, for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. He was elevated to Chief Engineer of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad from its inception until 1905. Notably, he succeeded Danforth as Chief Engineer of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in 1896, a position he also kept until 1905. T. Addison Busbey, ed., *The Biographical Dictionary of the Railway Officials of America: Edition of 1906* (Chicago: Railway Age Co., 1906), 579.

[200] Railway and Steamship Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), July 13, 1894. This announcement also noted that Parker Spofford of Bucksport, the contractor who had built the stations of Extension A, was also to consult. This surely also solidified the synergistic designs.

[201] Railway and Steamship Notes, *Industrial Journal* (Bangor, ME), October 5, 1894. The work was said to be scheduled for completion to Bemis "in time for the fall shooting season of 1895." Yet again the actual labor was to be completed by Italian immigrants.

clapboards for the majority of the exterior. Even the flared chimneys resembled those of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. However, the upper rows of patterned shingles in the eaves are notably absent—for Chisholm and Stratton the extra expenditure (even if only incremental) was not warranted on stations that served minute communities that essentially were pass-throughs or way stations for the timber operations or passengers seeking the lakes.

Yet, the image for those passengers on the train still embodied an important subconscious vision. Passengers who had gotten onto a Portland & Rumford Falls train passed station after station of similar design en route to Rumford Falls, where, after a short layover, they boarded another train on the way to Bemis or even stayed on one operated by the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. Travellers would have seen stations that closely resembled those they had just passed, ensuring a sense of continuity, yet commensurate with the changing, rural landscape that one expected in a secluded vacation spot.

However, as with the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, not all stations here were exact replicas of each other. Variety existed between the four combination stations in relation to their traffic and needs in these rural locales. Two of these combination stations were more diminutive than anything seen on the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. Frye, the first combination station north, lay six miles away from Rumford Falls and supported a small farming community (Fig. 38). As such, it did not even feature a projected station agent's office and had one very small waiting room

for passengers with one chimney shared for the only heating source.[202] Even the freight area was tiny, reflecting the low level of traffic driven by the location. The station at Byron (Fig. 39) was a close replica of Frye and reflected that location's importance in the heart of lumbering territory at the base of the mountains. The close similarity represents nothing more than cost savings in design and construction and the extension of the comprehensive scheme. Unfortunately, sufficient physical or visual records for the third combination station, Summit, do not exist, except to reveal the same common ornamentation (Fig. 40). Photographs of the area show what was a sparsely populated, wooded landscape, so the station design likely mirrored those at Frye and Byron.[203]

The fourth combination station, Houghton, was significantly more substantial than the other three (Fig. 41). Unique to combination stations on this line and the Portland & Rumford Falls, Houghton's second story featured a living space for the agent, replete with a dormer for light. The station's size nearly approximated a passenger station's with the odd floor plan of the freight space in the center of the building flanked by the waiting room and another windowed space, perhaps additional living quarters. [204] As with the other combination stations, there was no separate ticket office with projecting window, and its ornamentation mirrors the others of the line, including the same

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[202] Having one heat source for multiple rooms was common for combination stations at the time.

[203] The one available photograph shows only a corner of the building. However, it does reveal the same decorated bargeboards, corner boards, a base course of vertical wainscoting, and clapboards as other stations of the line. It was reported to be 15' x 15'. Hutchinson, 87.

[204] The substantial size of this structure fooled some passengers into thinking there was a greater population center here than the reality. On the first excursion of the line in October 1895, according to one newspaper account: "At Houghton's, some of the passengers were disappointed at not finding a full village and a hotel. The hungry ones who did not carry a lunch appeased their hunger with cheese and crackers at the store of C. H. McKinzie & Co. Then most of the passengers formed picnic parties and went off to the woods or sat under shade trees where they ate their lunch and chatted till the train returned." "From Lewiston to Byron," *Rumford Falls Times*, October 11, 1895.

decorated bargeboards on the dormer. Additionally, it featured a second chimney that likely heated the station agent's living space. Although no floor plans exist, and the building itself is not extant, based on plans for contemporary combination stations with agents' quarters, the first floor likely contained a kitchen beyond the freight area with living spaces and bedrooms upstairs.[205]

There was one true passenger station on the line, not at either terminus, but at the intermediate village of Roxbury (Fig. 42). As with Houghton, the second story featured an apartment for the station agent. A substantial structure, the passenger station had separate waiting areas and entrances for men and women, and a large covered platform (decorated with the same bargeboard as in other stations) that actually created a midway to the separate, but adjacent, freight building, not unlike Rumford Falls itself. Roxbury supported separate structures by virtue of a small village preceding the coming of the railroad.[206] As with those locations on the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway that necessitated separate passenger stations, the Roxbury station offered an adaptation of the overall design details of the standard stations of the line.

The appearance of agents' quarters in rural depots was not uncommon in the late nineteenth century, especially in locales where other housing options were sparse. While housing for agents in structures that supported the railroad were not uncommon, especially in places like rural Maine, there was less precedent for standardized design in

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[205] Grant, 13-27.

[206] The arrival of the railroad to this community did not please all inhabitants regardless of the efforts of the line to build an attractive depot. G. C. Eastman wrote a poetic diatribe titled "The Horrid Railroad: Ode to the Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad" that appeared in the July 12, 1895 issue of *The Rumford Falls Times*. Among its grating stanzas it reads "And see that great black monster/Go snorting through my farm./…And no man dared to trespass/'Til that horrid railroad came./…If you must go to the Lakes/Just take your legs and walk."

the buildings than for other railroad structures. There was not a direct correlation between the need for agents' quarters and the appearance of them. While these two stations of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad had such quarters, many of the stops along its line or along the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway could just as easily have justified such a feature.

Bemis

The notable exception to the comprehensive design of the entire run of both railroads was the terminus on the shores of Lake Mooselookmeguntic at Bemis (Fig. 43). Indeed, the station at Bemis defied conventions for all passenger stations in the United States up to that point by virtue of its log cabin motif. The explanation for this disparity is easily explained in primary sources. Obvious is the fact that the railroad wished to invoke an image of the quintessential outdoor experience associated with Maine and the draw of passengers to that location. This type of architectural allusion itself existed in other places, such as Bethlehem, New Hampshire, high in the White Mountains, where a half-timber, chalet-style station exuded an alpine feel, but an overt log cabin had no precedent.[207]

At the same time, the design was inspired by the vernacular of camp/log cabin architecture it supported. Said to be the only one like it in the world when it was completed in 1896,[208] the passenger station and adjacent freight station featured all the appointments one would expect. There was a large, central waiting area with a ticket

[207] Richards, 52.
[208] "Tickets for Bemis, Please." *Rumford Falls Times*, April 4, 1896.

office that had a projecting window toward the platform. Inside, however, instead of a singular stove for all to huddle around were two large brick fireplaces on either end of the structure. These provided comfort for passengers, but also further reinforced the ambiance of being at the camp, whether just arriving or holding onto a last breath of the vacation while waiting for a departing train (Fig. 44). Outside, the passenger building had an overhanging roof supported by log pillars at the platform edge and a midway to the freight building. Thus, it represented a railroad station in all facets except its style, which it drew from primarily residential inspiration. This concept arose from Fred Barker, the local camp proprietor.

Captain Fred C. Barker was a vacation entrepreneur who had purchased camps from the Buckfield and Canton Railroad, one of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's predecessors. That line had built the camps in anticipation of their line stretching that far north.[209] Thus, the camps were always inextricably tied to the railroad, and the station where the Bemis stream met the lake embodies a marrying of the two enterprises. In the end, Barker profited duly from the original and growing ambitions of the railroad, and his camps reinforced the value of the railroad just as the value of his camps was reinforced by the railroad. In fact, this connection was so important to both parties that when delays in construction from Houghton to Bemis ensued in the Fall of 1895, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad ran coaches for passengers early the next summer to prevent

[209] Captain F. C. Barker, *Lake and Forest as I Have Known Them* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1903), 138. Barker tore down the original structures in 1880 and erected the log structures known as "Camp Bemis" in the subsequent years.

interruption of camp traffic until the line could be completed.[210] Once the line was fully operational, however, one could leave Boston on the 9:05 am train to Portland, make one connection, and be at Bemis by 6:05 that same evening.[211]

By the 1890s Maine had become strongly associated with log cabin architecture. William Wicks' 1889 book *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them* drew upon examples in the Adirondacks as well as the quintessential "lodge built in the Maine Woods."[212] Log cabin architecture has long been the subject of myth as an early American vernacular style, but by the late nineteenth century it primarily was associated with rustic outdoor living and recreation.[213] The influences stem from rugged terrain, nearly inexhaustible supply of timber, and, in the case of camps, desire to evoke misconceived notions of earlier pioneer living.[214] By the later nineteenth century a plethora of popular publications framed the log cabin as a vanishing way of life, which further added to its allure.[215] As with the great camps of the Adirondacks, Maine's northern woods had ample timber as well as granite that could be used for foundations and chimneys. Interestingly, these were the same materials touted by Chisholm and others for the development of mills and factories at Rumford Falls. Therefore, log cabin

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[210] "Tickets for Bemis, Please." The article notes "the work of finishing the upper end of the line is being pushed vigorously…the railroad company has arranged to carry passengers by team over the last few miles should any come before the trains commence the through service."
[211] *Rumford Falls Line*, 19.
[212] William S. Wicks, *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Co., 1889), 78.
[213] Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 186-188. Shurtleff's entire volume is devoted to dispelling the pervasive myth that was especially popular in the nineteenth century.
[214] Harvey H. Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1986), 10. This was equally true for Maine as it was for the Adirondacks.
[215] Craig Gilborn, *Adirondack Camps: Homes Away from Home, 1850-1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 11.

architecture in western Maine represented one iteration of a tradition that embodied an aesthetic virtue drawing from subtle, but pragmatic details of protection and harmony with the environment, even at a time when that environment was seen as primarily harvestable.[216] In time, the architecture of a single log cabin that had grown from its shanty predecessors, evolved into ever greater structures, such as log houses and hotels.[217]

Capt. Barker built a series of log structures known as Camp Bemis in the 1880s (Fig. 45). The collection included a main dining room, lodges, and out buildings, all neatly clustered along the shores of Lake Mooselookmeguntic. By 1884, the camp had nine cabins and could accommodate thirty guests. Barker built other camps along the lake, all of log construction, in the 1880s, including "The Birches" in 1885. Only after the turn of the century and a shift in taste by guests did Barker move toward Shingle Style architecture, such as with his "Barker Hotel." In the 1890s, otherwise, log construction was the only game in town.[218]

A contemporary newspaper account tells the story of the summer of 1895 as the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad was inching toward Bemis and a tourist expressed dismay at the "invasion" of modern technology to an otherwise quaint locale. In response, Capt. Barker conceived of the idea of a log station to complement his own cabins, and he presented the idea to Chisholm and the other directors of the railroad. Several directors of both railroads had enjoyed summertime activities at Barker's camps

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[216] Kaiser, 13.
[217] Gilborn, 61-71.
[218] R. Donald Palmer, *Rangeley Lakes Region* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 74-76.

in 1895, and it would have been easy for him to propose the idea in situ.[219] The concept was received with enthusiasm, in part because Barker offered to design and build it, and in part because cooperation with the local business owner would increase traffic and therefore profitability of the line. Subsequent publications reflected this intention, one saying of Bemis station that "its beauty, utility, and neatness can be appreciated by those sportsmen who are familiar with the best class of camps constructed of the clean smooth spruce logs."[220] Even promotional material from the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, who encouraged traffic on its subsidiary line, acknowledged the architectural connection, noting the station was "patterned after the log cabins at Captain Barker's Camps, which have proved so popular a feature of this locality."[221] Ten years later the station was still an advertising vehicle, with one promotional pamphlet for the area noting the "rustic railway station becomes gateway to a region near to nature's heart."[222]

At the same time, the log cabin construction also closely mirrored the design of nearby lumber camps for loggers. These other types of "camps" consisted of several buildings, including housing, blacksmith shops, repairs shops, offices, and others. Largely built of the same logs used in the lumber harvest, they were often erected from logs cut on site and stuffed with moss for insulation, featuring stone or brick hearths for heating in the brutal winter months.[223] Bemis station did not have the moss insulation because it had significantly less traffic in the winter months, but its design closely

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[219] "Rumford Falls," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 23, 1895.
[220] "Tickets for Bemis, Please."
[221] *Rumford Falls Line*, 25.
[222] *Rangeley Lakes Resorts: For Tourist and Sportsman* (Portland, ME: Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, 1906), 10.
[223] Wilson, 9-11.

conformed to this other vernacular, and in that way, the station mimicked the two complementary purposes of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad simultaneously.

Bemis was no longer in timber country, and while it represented an obvious place geographically to end a railroad line, the proprietors of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad had little investment in the community or its ability to fill their coffers as the other locations en route would with lumber. The log cabin concept therefore was not born of the railroad's design, but of the vernacular, and must be seen as outside the overall comprehensive design schema, yet oddly supportive at the same time. Thus, while the design of Bemis did not neatly fit into the confines of the rest of the stations, it nevertheless supported the overall goals of the railroad and its proprietors in a complementary way.

Extension C and Early Replacements

On the heels of the extension into the Swift River Valley by the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway made its own third extension east to access yet another nascent mill town of Chisholm's and connect again with the Maine Central.[224] In 1896, the year Bemis was completed, a spur from Canton that headed east was under construction that would bring three new, small stations into the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's system. By 1896, Frederic Danforth was a

[224] *Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Railroad Commissioners of the State of Maine* (Augusta, ME: Kennebec Journal Print, 1902), 125. This branch extended as far as the eponymous mill town of Chisholm by September 1897, and later would extend to Livermore in 1899.

member of the State of Maine's Railroad Commissioners and no longer even advised Hugh Chisholm or the other directors of either railroad. However, his and Edwin Lewis' influence on the railroad landscape continued, perhaps through the actions of R. B Stratton, who replaced Danforth as the Chief Engineer, and had been his apprentice. In total, three combination stations serving the lumber industry along the Androscoggin River were built that strikingly resembled the new stations serving the same purposes for the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. This likely followed from the fact that Stratton had designed those stations and continued his earlier concept. Two of these, Rileys and Jay Bridge, built 1897, would seem to follow that pattern almost exactly in terms of massing and ornamentation, and therefore contributed to the larger connected landscape (Figs. 46 and 47). More notable was the depot at Meadowview, whose later (1902) sketch reveals something Edwin Lewis would have designed, replete with patterned shingles tucked under the same bargeboard-decorated gables on those stations of Extension A (Fig. 48). Even this tiniest of stations immediately signaled to the passenger that it was part of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway system.

In the years between the initial extension to Rumford Falls and the completion of the third extension, the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway made improvements to exiting stations to bring them in line with the larger design scheme. At East Sumner, the existing combination station built by the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad was retrofitted with the now-standard ornamentation (Fig. 49).[225] At Hartford and East Hebron a projecting agent's window was added and given the base course of

[225] This station was likely rebuilt in 1894 along with Extension B.

wainscoting despite the fact that none of the rest of the exterior was modified in this way (Fig. 50). Nevertheless, these two minor changes help demonstrate the overwhelming desire to create a cohesive landscape for this railroading enterprise.

CHAPTER 5:
COMPARISONS AND DEFINITIONS

End of Program

After 1897, changes became incremental and intermittent for both lines. The 1898 outbreak of the Spanish-American War brought an enormous demand for newsprint, which vaulted freight traffic of both finished paper and the necessary lumber to create it.[226] In fact, the Portland & Rumford Falls' own literature from 1899 declared that "our general business has been well sustained, showing that the income of our road is of a permanent nature."[227] The railroad had proven its financial viability, and the stations from that year forward reflected this. Because there was such a stark difference, these stations represent the end of the cohesive campaign as initially envisioned.

Two stations built in 1899 particularly demonstrate this transition. West Minot, for example, was replaced with a substantial brick station very similar to the one built in Livermore that same year at the end of Extension C (Figs. 51 and 52). These resembled each other as a development in the image of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, but not the buildings of the initial campaign, and therefore they represent the new brand of the railroad as established and growing entity. Notably, the line did not even complete Extension C with matching stations, but preferred the new style. Whereas the initial building campaign's focus was on expediency of operation, now the railroad sought to

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[226] Bunting, II, 248. By 1899, New York City's daily newspapers consumed 100 carloads per week.
[227] Waldo Pettengill, "Vice-President's Report," *Eighth Annual Report of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway: For the Year Ending June 30, 1899* (Portland, ME: The Thurston Print, Printers, 1899), 15. The report also announced acquisition of controlling interest of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad as a major event for the railroad's profitability. Incidentally, Pettengill himself was manager of the Rumford Falls Power Company, further demonstrating the interconnectedness of these enterprises.

garner a more-favorable public image through bolstering local booster spirit. This civic pride resulted in more substantial stations than simple frame structures. Writers in the early twentieth century heralded this type of transition. John A. Droege, a railroad executive of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, wrote:

> The railways as a general thing are gradually ceasing to use wooden frame structures for their small passenger stations, and some lines…have practically ceased entirely…Wooden frame buildings on most roads are being superseded by structures with walls of brick, stucco, concrete, terra cotta, natural stone or similar materials.[228]

Indeed, a few years after the replacement of the West Minot station with a brick one, the Portland and Rumford Railway replaced its own Mechanic Falls building (designed by Danforth) with a stone station in 1904 (Fig. 53). The era of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's cohesive design had ended and was, in fact, a relatively short-lived one that existed when small wood stations were still fashionable and acceptable.

Later extensions by the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad in the first decade of the twentieth century reinforce the argument that Chisholm cared about the initial impression his railroad provided and the focus on Rumford Falls in particular. In 1904 the line was extended beyond Bemis ostensibly to connect Rumford Falls with Quebec City. The stations at locations such as Oquossoc echoed those built the decade earlier, but changing fashions meant that the Queen Anne style and other eclectic combinations of ornamentation had become outdated (Fig. 54). Instead, the station lacks decorated bargeboards or variations in shingles, clapboards, and vertical siding, only featuring changes in paint color to impart an image of variety. A few years later, the end

[228] Droege, 263-264.

of the line at Kennebago would be nothing more than a converted railcar as a station because of lack of interest and investment on the railroad's part.[229] This later extension was therefore overtly functional and contributed to the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad inasmuch as adding to traffic and profitability, not image.

Comparative Station Architecture

Seen in a vacuum, the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad exhibit a striking degree of uniformity and synergy that support a thesis of intentionality. Perhaps, however, these stations simply mirrored the prevailing designs of those throughout the state or even of just those nearby geographically. This potential correlation therefore demands a cursory review of comparative, contemporary station architecture built by other lines and designers to test the hypothesis.

Given its location in the largest population concentration along the two lines, the terminal at Rumford Falls represents the most distinctive station design along the line and allows for only a few possible comparisons. In fact, in 1892, the year it was built, there was only one other station in all of Maine that commanded such a presence, Union Station, Portland (Fig. 55). In later years Portland would see a second station with an imposing clock tower built by the Grand Trunk, and Bangor would see one by the Maine Central, both substantial stone structures. However, Rumford Falls had only Union Station as a predecessor. While the presence of a clock tower demonstrates one parity,

[229] Hutchinson, 117.

there are no other similarities. Clock towers, as discussed, were iconic and widely used up until the last decade of the nineteenth century, at which point they began to fall out of fashion. Lewis was certainly paying homage to Union Station—implying that Rumford Falls could some day rival Portland in importance, but Rumford Falls was still a smallish, wooden station that did not compare to Union Station's commanding granite walls or slate roof. While Rumford Falls did emulate Union Station, it did not attempt to copy it. Thus Rumford Falls was unique and more closely related to the other stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway as its premier station that fundamentally established the overall design schema of the others on that line.

Additional useful comparisons are the stations belonging to other railroads that intersected those of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. One was the Rumford Junction station built by Maine Central in 1893 to connect traffic with its line and the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway (Fig. 56). By virtue of the agreement between the two parties, the Maine Central would have complete control over this station's design even though it served both lines. It therefore primarily represented the Maine Central, but had the odd responsibility as pseudo-representation of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. Fortunately for the two parties, the general station designs in the 1890s for the Maine Central complemented the cohesive design of the Portland & Rumford Falls. Unsurprisingly, the station had all the appointments necessary for a passenger station at a junction, but the floor plan differed significantly from those employed by Lewis and Danforth. There was one large waiting room for both sexes, which featured several large bench seats (Fig. 57). There was a dedicated woman's lavatory accessed from within the

waiting room by way of a side corner of the main room to provide a minimal degree of privacy for those entering/exiting as recommended by planners of the day.[230] A larger ticket and telegraph office with window into the waiting room occupied a corner on the platform side, projecting from the main structure in two planes to provide visibility of oncoming traffic. Additionally, a long, projecting covered space provided shelter for both passengers and baggage being transferred. The wooden station did not have the patterned shingles under the shelter's eave, but board and batten sheathing, and although it carried a decorated bargeboard, the pattern was significantly less ornate.

Compare this with the Grand Trunk's station at Mechanic Falls—a prime example of two competing rail lines servicing the same community. The Grand Trunk's uninspiring station was purely functional (Fig. 58). It was a two-story rectangular building in the town center that could easily have been confused with a house. It did not present an image of a sophisticated railroad. The Portland & Rumford Falls Railway elected to replace the station it acquired from the Rumford Falls & Buckfield Railroad despite its being of "good" condition. Part of this consideration was in response to Superintendent Lincoln's calls for a larger building to handle traffic, but one cannot help see that the other was to upstage the Grand Trunk (Fig. 59).

Beyond Rumford Falls, this paper argues that the stations of the separate Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad emulated those of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway to its south. While this comparison has been made, it is valuable to see how

[230] Berg, 281. Berg writes, "Where the ladies' waiting-room is not completely closed off from the gentlemen's waiting-room or from the general waiting-room or corridor, it is desirable, where feasible, to place the door from the ladies' waiting-room to the toilet's room on a side of the room hidden from view from the corridor of the other waiting-room."

those stations compare with others servicing the timberlands and sporting locales of the Rangeley Lakes region and western Maine to ensure that they did not simply mirror these other contemporaries. The most logical comparison would be with its closest neighbor to the east, the Sandy River & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. Begun in 1879 as the Sandy River Railroad and featuring many different branches that serviced an extensive geographic area, two particular spurs offer a direct comparison to the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad both in chronology and in geography. The Phillips branch was chartered in 1889, the year before the Portland & Rumford Falls and five years before the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes at the time that Lewis was designing the stations at Randolph and Togus. Its proprietor, another with extensive lumber interests, cared mostly about hauling logs and erected a narrow gauge line that was less expensive to build and operate and was particularly suited for servicing timber lands. However, the line accessed areas very near the same Rangeley Lakes that the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes would reach and hoped to capture some of that same tourist travel. Phillips station, in timber country, most closely approximated the type of architecture found on the Portland & Rumford Falls line with its overhanging, bracketed roof and ventilator tower, but it lacked ornamentation (Fig. 60). More striking a comparison was Rangeley station, which served a lakeside community. It was exceedingly functional, lacking any ornamentation, except perhaps the varied texture of the bay window (Fig. 61). Chisholm's decision to erect a log-cabin station at Bemis, the direct comparison to Rangeley, represents a departure from the prevailing style. Only years later did the Sandy River & Rangeley

Lakes Railroad attempt to upstage the Bemis station by building the granite station at Marbles, the site of a new, popular hotel for seasonal guests (Fig. 62).[231]

Finally, a comparison with other stations from the around the state offers some insight into the cohesiveness of the initial building campaigns of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. In the 1890s almost all stations in Maine were wooden, and therefore the building materials used here were not remarkable or distinct. Other stations were built in the Queen Anne style or had other comparable ornamentation. Each railroad would tend to reuse certain design elements, but most remained humble and utilitarian, and a very small number appeared overtly ornate to signify a particularly special location. Some had decorated bargeboards, some had bracketed overhangs, some had wainscoting and clapboards, some had patterned shingles, and most had commonly-preferred interior spaces. However, other lines did not have the same degree of uniformity across stations as those discussed here. In sum, station design throughout the state varied from railroad to railroad, and although there were general patterns, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad had succeeded in providing a subtle combination of visual clues to set their lines apart from adjacent entities, not necessarily as pure competition.

Conclusion

Over the course of eight years, from 1890 to 1897, the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad financed,

[231] Lindsell, 263-271.

commissioned, and built twenty-five wood-frame passenger, freight, and combination depots.[232] While having diverse floor plans and sizes depending on the amount of traffic, these fit into a general pattern of design that made each easily recognizable as being part of a distinct railroad landscape. These stations all adhered to standard conventions of the railroad industry in their layouts, sizes, and features, and seen only from that perspective, represent nothing more than contributions to the pervasive network of buildings around the country serving passengers and freight. Their wood construction reflects an inexpensive and locally-available building material and the ability to be built very quickly to get railroad operations running as soon as possible. Only later were new or replacement stations built in brick or stone.

Despite this level of uniformity that lent itself to cost savings and speed, the building program of these two railroads embodied a deliberate enterprise designed to attract traffic to the line and to its central location, the developing industrial community of Rumford Falls. Stations on the lines carried similar combinations of exterior and interior ornamentation, including common features of the popular Queen Anne style, such as patterned wall treatments, carved bargeboards, and, in some cases, towers. In doing so, the directors of these railroads easily indicated to passengers and shippers that their line was distinguished from competitors, while also demonstrating something of the value of Rumford Falls itself as a nascent industrial town on the cusp of modernity.

[232] Of these, only two survive: Roxbury and East Sumner. Both have been moved from their original locations and have been converted to private homes, which is not a surprising adaptive use given their original emulation of domestic structures.

The reason behind that demonstration through architecture revolved around the proprietor of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, paper industrialist Hugh J. Chisholm. Chisholm's investment in railroads largely represented his desires to stimulate business for his greatest enterprise, the development of Rumford Falls. Chisholm owned the power company there and the largest paper mills, and the profitability of both businesses relied on the success of the railroad. In this way, the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, and its sister line, the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, were means to an end, not ends in themselves. Chisholm had grown up working with railroads, but he was not a railroader himself. His ambitions lay in the paper business—he was not trying to build an extensive railroad network like the Maine Central or other major carriers, but also did not turn away potential business traffic in the communities his line to Rumford Falls traversed. For this reason, he invested in station design in these communities, though when an existing station's condition sufficed, he proved reluctant to replace it simply to bring that station's architecture in line with his design schema. This represented a level of business pragmatism on his part that trumped any desires for consistent architecture. It also reflected the fact that this undertaking occurred in the midst of a major economic depression that stagnated railroad construction nationwide.[233]

Chisholm and his associates sought to create a corporate brand for their railroads. To achieve this through architecture they initially hired a noted Maine architect, Edwin E. Lewis of Gardiner, to pair with a respected civil engineer, Frederic C. Danforth. Lewis created the brand and the styling on the initial extension of the Portland & Rumford Falls

[233] Richards, 37.

Railway, but Danforth carried it on in the second extension. Danforth's associate, R.B. Stratton, continued a simplified version for the initial outlay of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad and Extension C. One notable exception was the vernacular log form that in fact broke from the norm of railroad structures in the East generally. Thus, the development of these lines reflects the growing trend of the dichotomous hiring of both engineers and architects to design railroad stations where engineer-spawned conventions combined with architect-inspired ornamentation. This trend rapidly accelerated after architect H. H. Richardson pioneered the practice in the 1880s, and many railroads, including the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, quickly followed suit.

Railroad architecture such as this represented an important component of the larger railroad landscapes that had been shaping the built environment of the nineteenth century as an interconnected metropolitan corridor. That corridor took on an increasingly beautified existence as railroads competed and sought to garner favor with the communities and passengers they served. In time, the conventions initiated by railroads would translate into the roadside architecture of the twentieth century, while other nineteenth and early twentieth century business ventures would experiment with it.[234]

In the twenty-first century these structures and their impact as wooden vernacular buildings may appear ephemeral. Yet, at their moment of construction they belonged to a vast capitalistic empire whose impact on the landscape of the nation cannot be overstated. The stations contributed to a nineteenth century embodiment of modern technology--an

[234] One might consider these early patterns "trackside architecture."

intrusion of physical space into daily life for better or worse.[235] They also brought powerful metropolitan ideas and influences. At the same time, these stations belonged to the capitalistic development of an important economic, industrial powerhouse, and their impact remains felt from that perspective in facilitating the creation of industry outside of their own. Thus, these stations, though largely gone, were far from ephemeral, but rather contributed to the modernization of their communities.

In the end, the examples of the interlocking Portland & Rumford Falls Railway and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad represent a case study in both the normative and the exceptional. The directors of these two lines followed the patterns developed by their compatriots in the railroad industry in adopting standard designs for their stations. However, they created an exceptional collection intentionally to bring notice to their business operations and sought to stand out as premier lines servicing extraordinary locations. To do this, they turned to architecture. This direction itself reflected the development of those people entrusted with building design, as architects become more prominent. Therefore, the examples yield valuable lessons in railroad structures, engineers, architects, and integrated landscapes, even in this small, rural corner of Maine.

[235] Trachtenberg, 157.

APPENDIX:
STATIONS AND DESIGNERS

Station name (and alternate)	**Distance (mi.) from Rumford Jct.**	**Type**	**Builder**	**Designer**	**Year Built**
P&RFRy Extension B					
Elmwood (Empire)	4	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1893
Riccars (Poland Spring)	6	Passenger	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1893
Riccars (Poland Spring)	6	Freight	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1893
Poland	8	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1893
Mechanic Falls	11.5	Passenger	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1894
Mechanic Falls	11.5	Freight	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1894
Mechanic Falls	11.5	Union Freight	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth	1894
Inherited Line (RF&BRR)					
West Minot (Minot)	16	Combination	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1878
East Hebron (Hebron)	20	Combination	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1878
Buckfield	25	Passenger	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1888
Buckfield	25	Freight	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1884
East Sumner (Sumner)	29.5	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Danforth?	1894-1897
Hartford (Hartford Center)	31.5	Combination	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1878
Canton	36.5	Combination	Rumford Falls & Buckfield	Unknown	1878
P&RFRy Extension A					
Gilbertville	38.5	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892
Worthley (East Peru)	43	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892
Peru	45	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892

Dixfield (West Peru)	48	Passenger	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892
Dixfield (West Peru)	48	Freight	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892
Rumford Falls	52.5	Combination/ Freight	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1892
Rumford Falls	52.5	Passenger (terminal)	Portland & Rumford Falls	Lewis/ Danforth	1893
P&RFRy Extension C					
Meadowview	39	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Stratton	1896-1897
Rileys	42	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Stratton	1896-1897
Jay Bridge	44	Combination	Portland & Rumford Falls	Stratton	1896-1897
RF&RLRR					
Frye	58.5	Combination	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Stratton	1895
Roxbury	62	Combination	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Stratton	1895
Byron	67.5	Combination	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Stratton	1895
Houghton	71.5	Passenger	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Stratton	1895
Summit	77	Combination	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Stratton	1895
Bemis	80	Passenger	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Barker	1896
Bemis	80	Freight	Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes	Barker	1896

FIGURES

Fig. 1: Thomaston, Maine, station (right) was a repurposed outbuilding on the estate of Revolutionary War General Henry Knox and represents an early stage in the evolution of railroad station design. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 2: Strathglass Park housing development, Rumford Falls (built 1902-1904), was Chisholm's pioneering experiment with quality worker housing and demonstrates his belief in the power of architecture to shape behavior and public opinion. [Thompson, *Maine Forms of Architecture*]

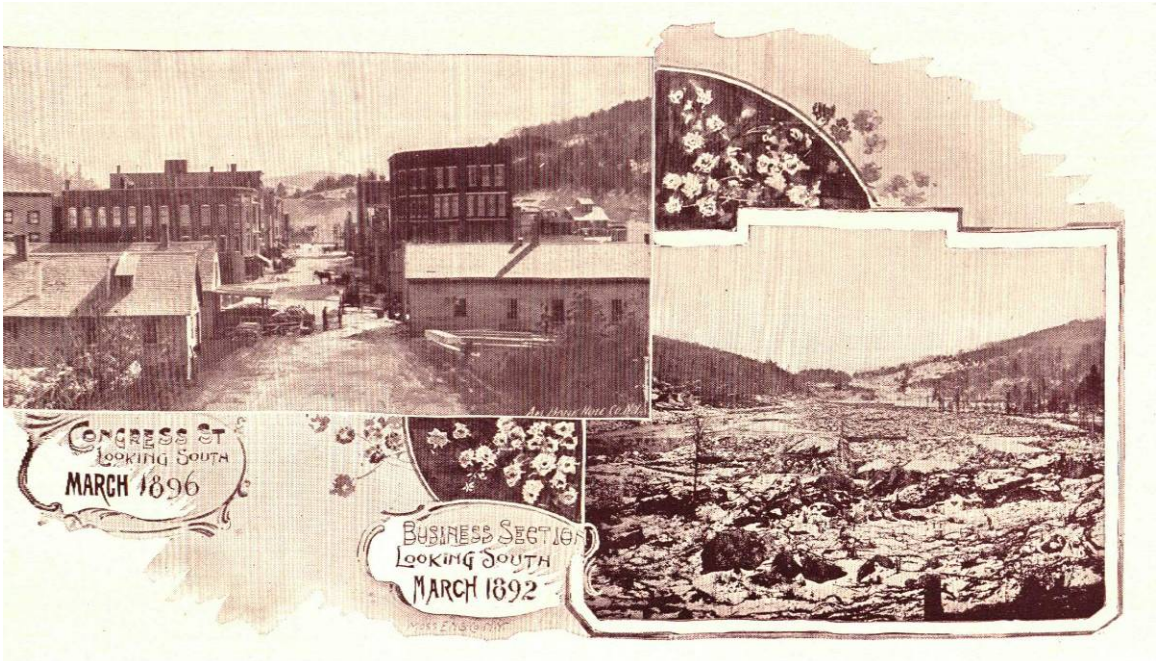

Fig. 3: Promotional materials for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway highlighted its effect on the rapid growth of Rumford Falls. Chisholm hoped the railroad architecture would contribute to his overall industrial landscape. [*Rumford Falls Line*, 1896]

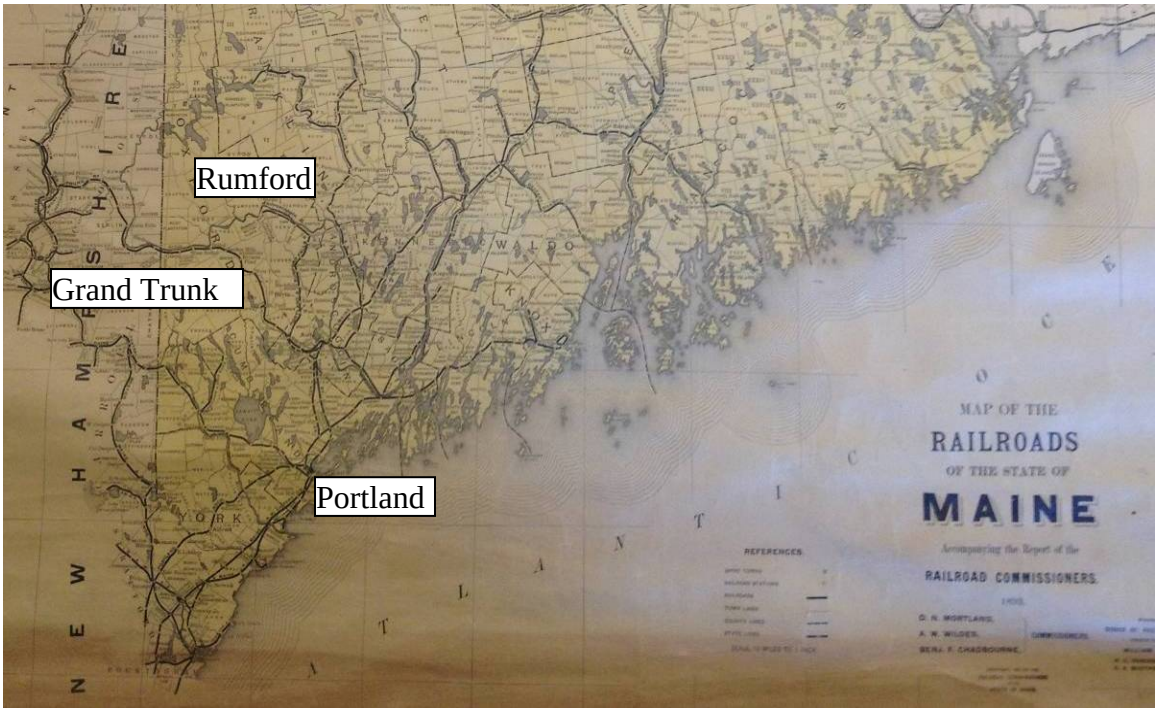

Fig. 4: Map of the Railroads of Maine, 1893. The Grand Trunk (assumed the Atlantic & St. Lawrence) connected Portland with Montreal and served as the link to markets for the predecessors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [Courtesy RHS]

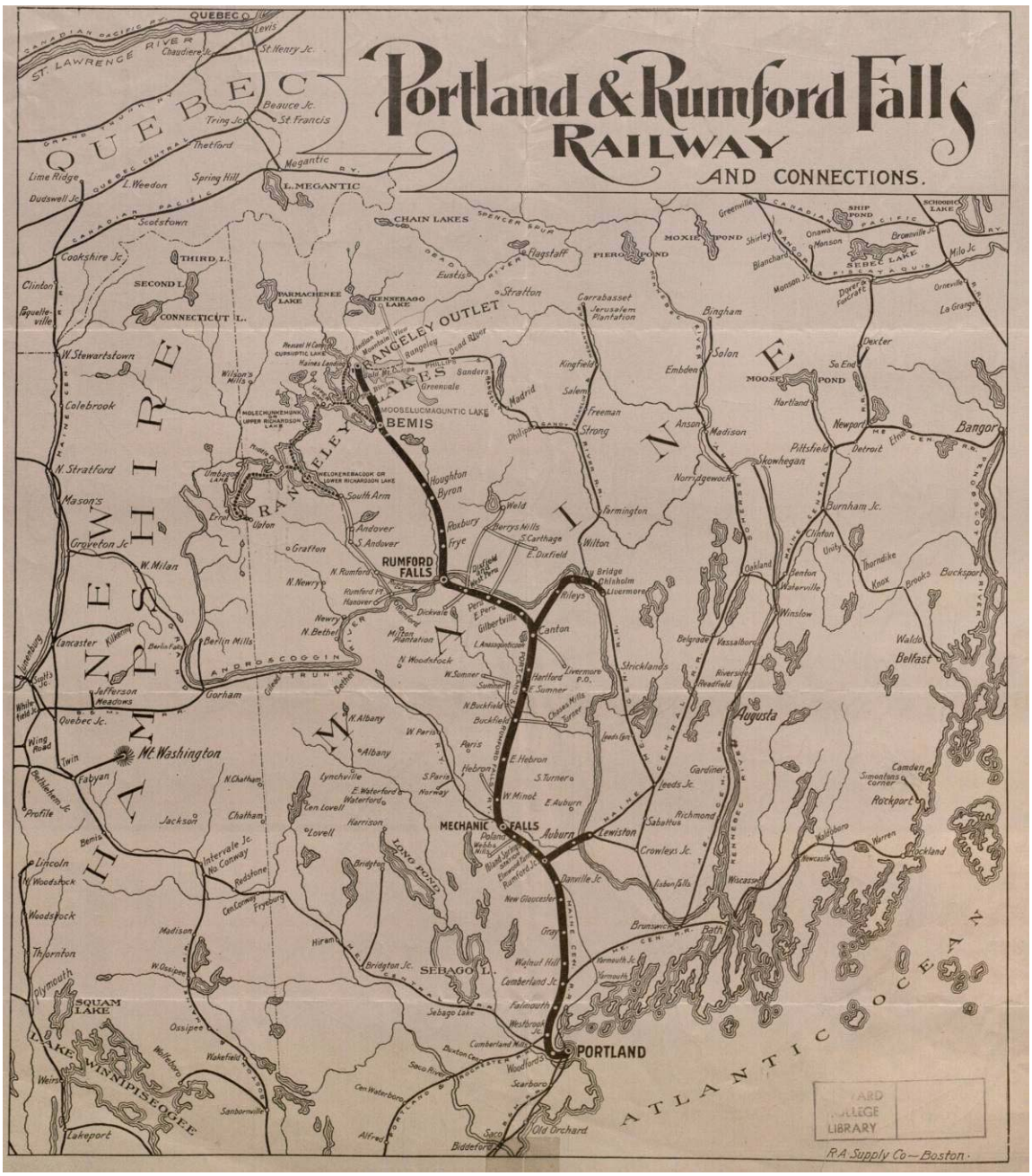

Fig. 5a: This 1902 map shows the route of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway as well as the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad and the portions of the Maine Central on which their trains were permitted to travel to connect traffic to Portland and Lewiston. [Courtesy Harvard Map Collection]

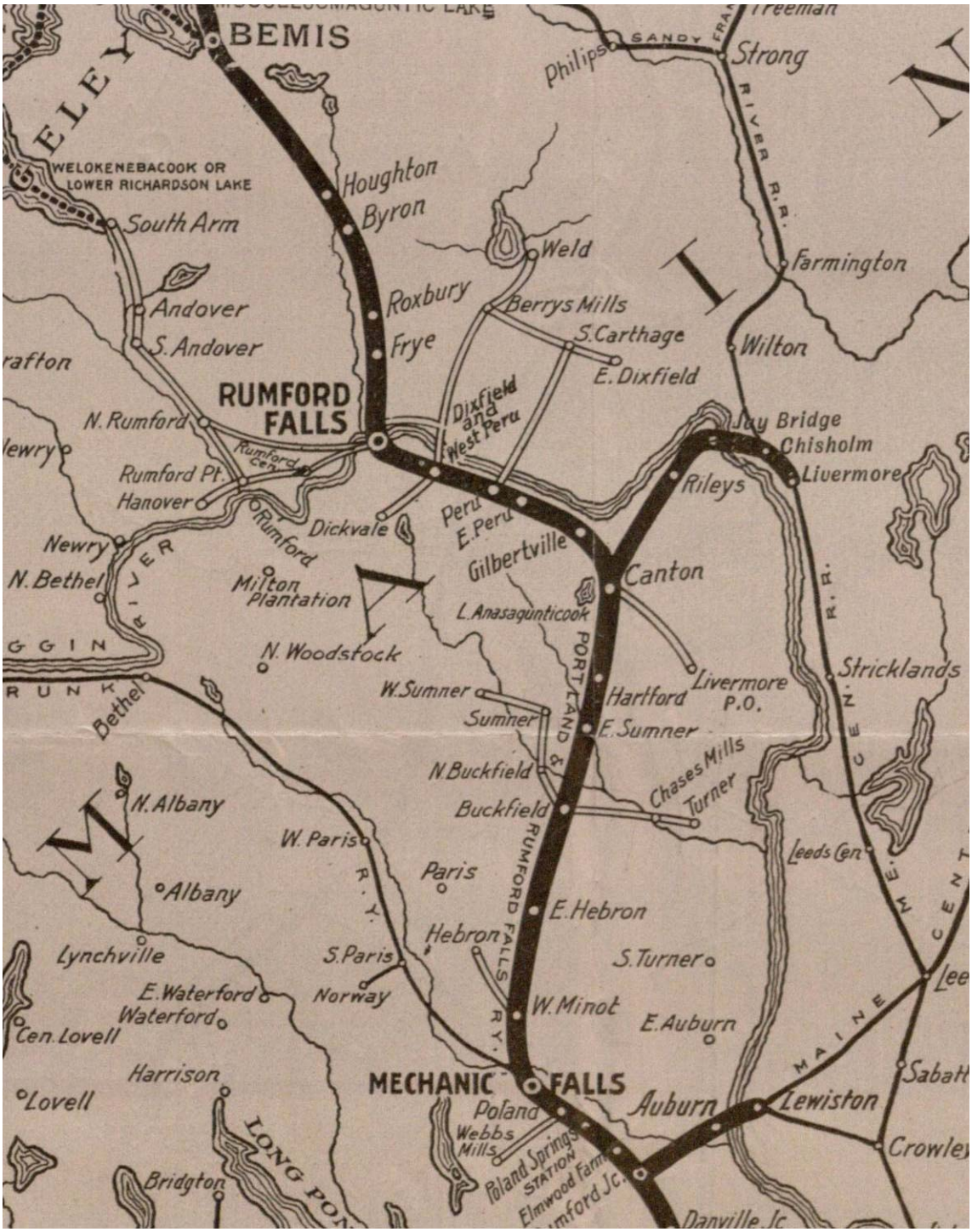

Fig. 5b: A detail of Fig. 5b showing Extension A from Gilbertville to Rumford Falls, Extension B from Mechanic Falls to Rumford Junction, Extension C from Canton to Livermore, and the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad from Rumford Falls to Bemis. [Courtesy Harvard Map Collection]

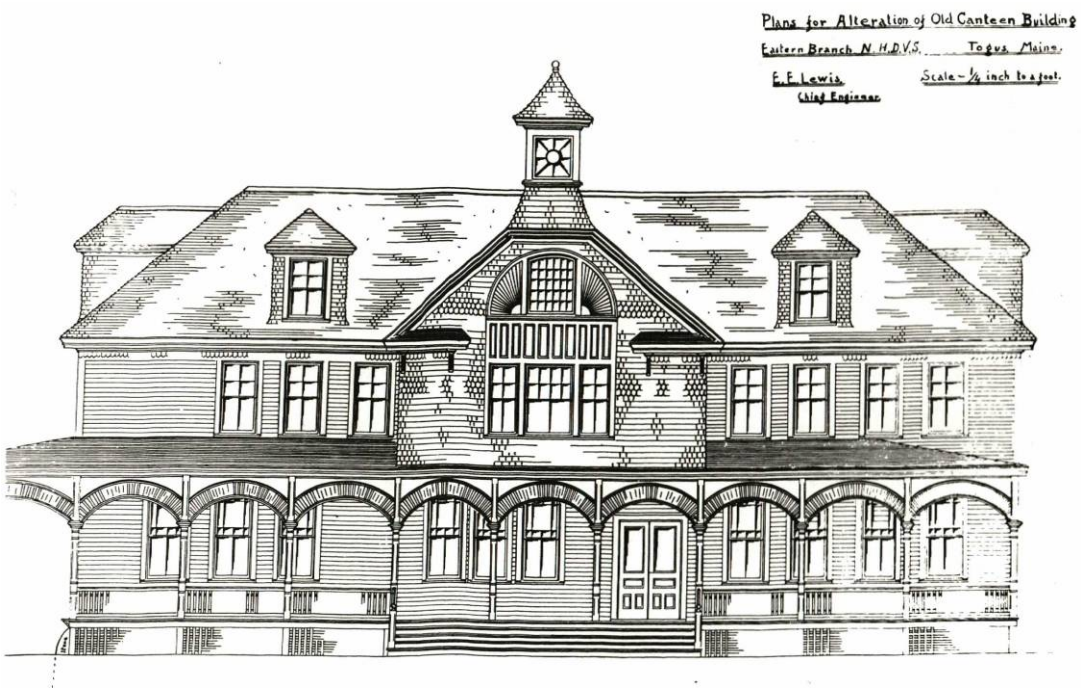

Fig. 6: In the 1890s, architect Edwin Lewis designed wooden buildings with asymmetry and varied exterior ornamentation even when using balanced massing. Note the fenestration of “Old Canteen Building” at the Togus veteran’s home. [Courtesy MHPC]

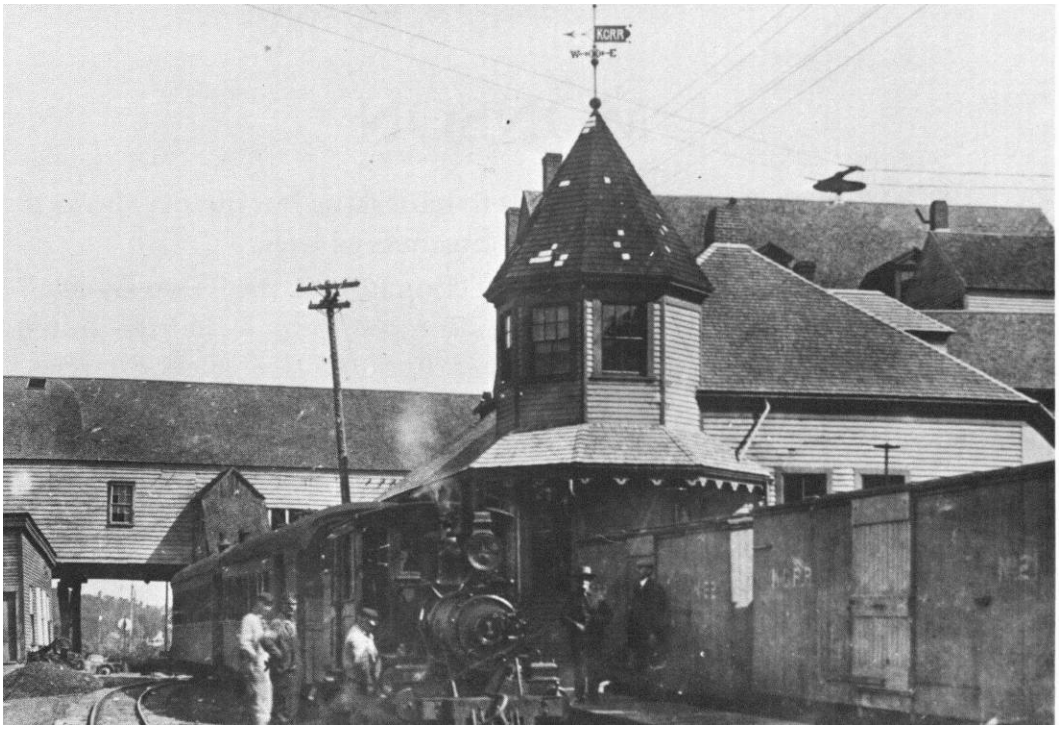

Fig. 7: Randolph Station (1890) where Lewis used Queen Anne styling, including a corner turret and decorated bargeboards. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 8: Another Edwin Lewis project in Rumford Falls was the Shaw Block that contained the fashionable (and economically important) "Hotel Rumford." [*Rumford Falls Line*, 1896]

Fig. 9: Buckfield passenger station, built 1872, rebuilt 1888, represents one of the few existing stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls line not replaced by Lewis and Danforth. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 10: West Minot combination station, built 1878, represents one of the few existing stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls line not replaced by Lewis and Danforth. [Courtesy MHPC]

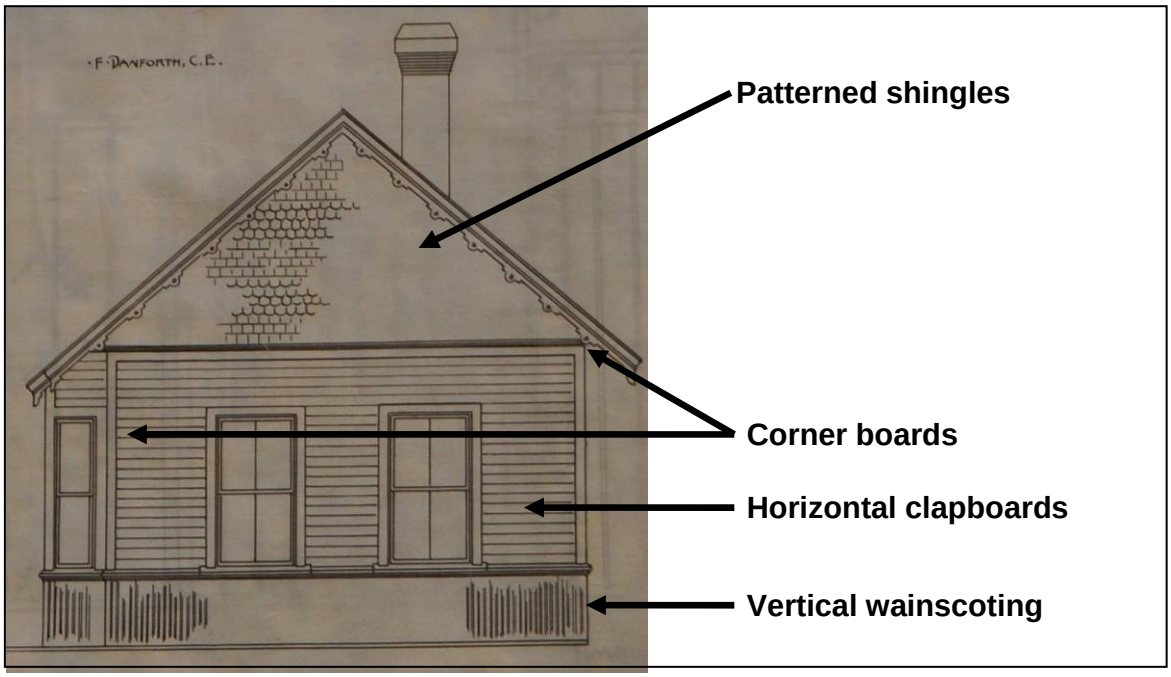

Fig. 11a: Lewis unified the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway with a dynamic combination of elements in a picturesque eclecticism "of modern style" (see also Fig. 11b). [Drawing courtesy MHPC with author's markup]

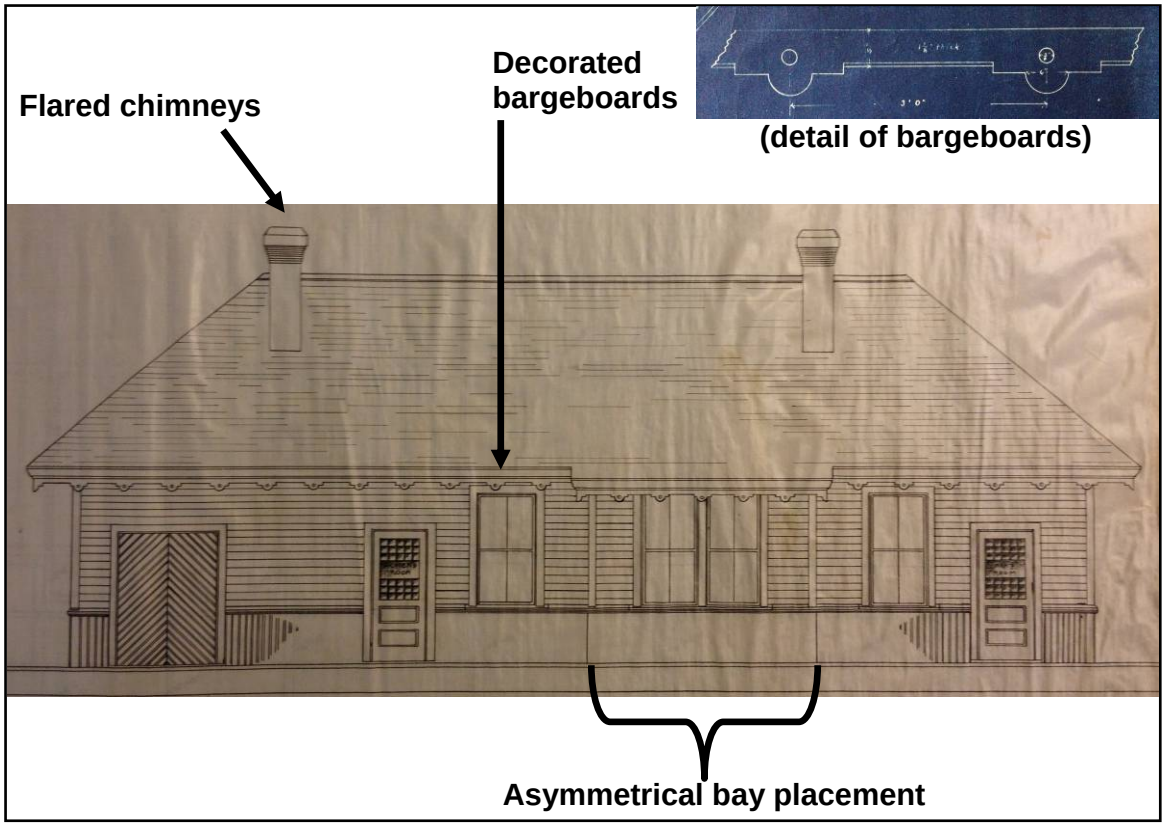

Fig. 11b: Lewis unified Portland & Rumford Falls Railway stations with a dynamic combination of elements in a picturesque eclecticism "of modern style" (see Fig. 11a). [Drawing courtesy MHS with author's markup]

Fig. 12: Rumford Falls Station under construction, 1893. [Courtesy MHPC]

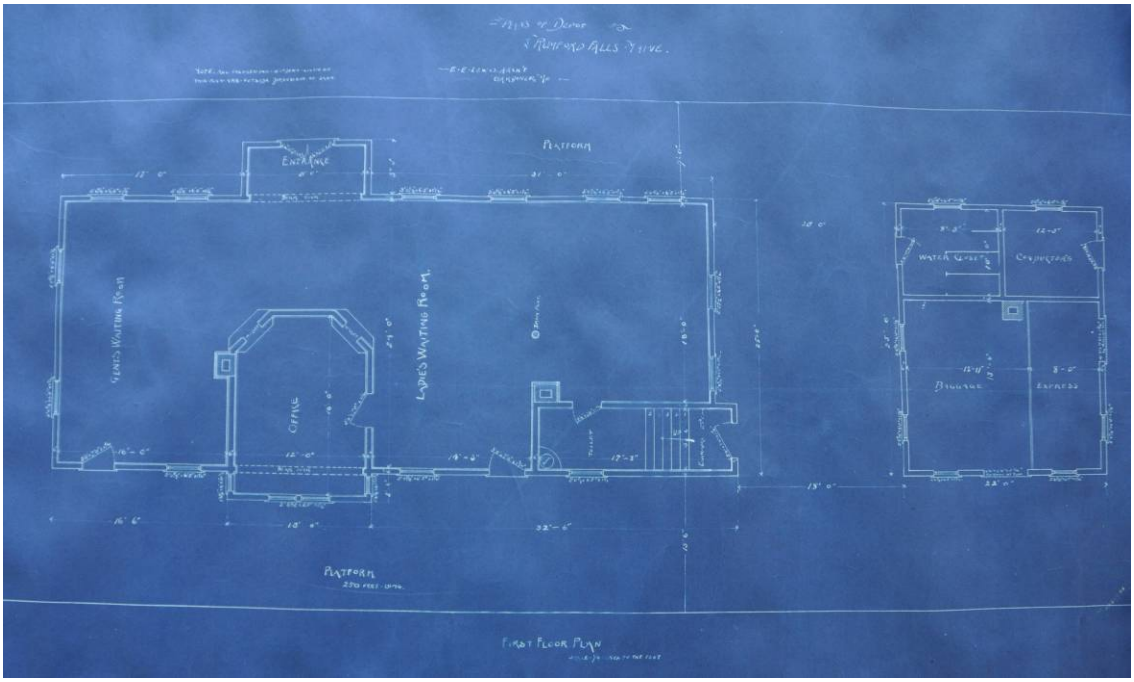

Fig. 13: Rumford Falls Station first floor plan, April 1893. [Courtesy MHPC]

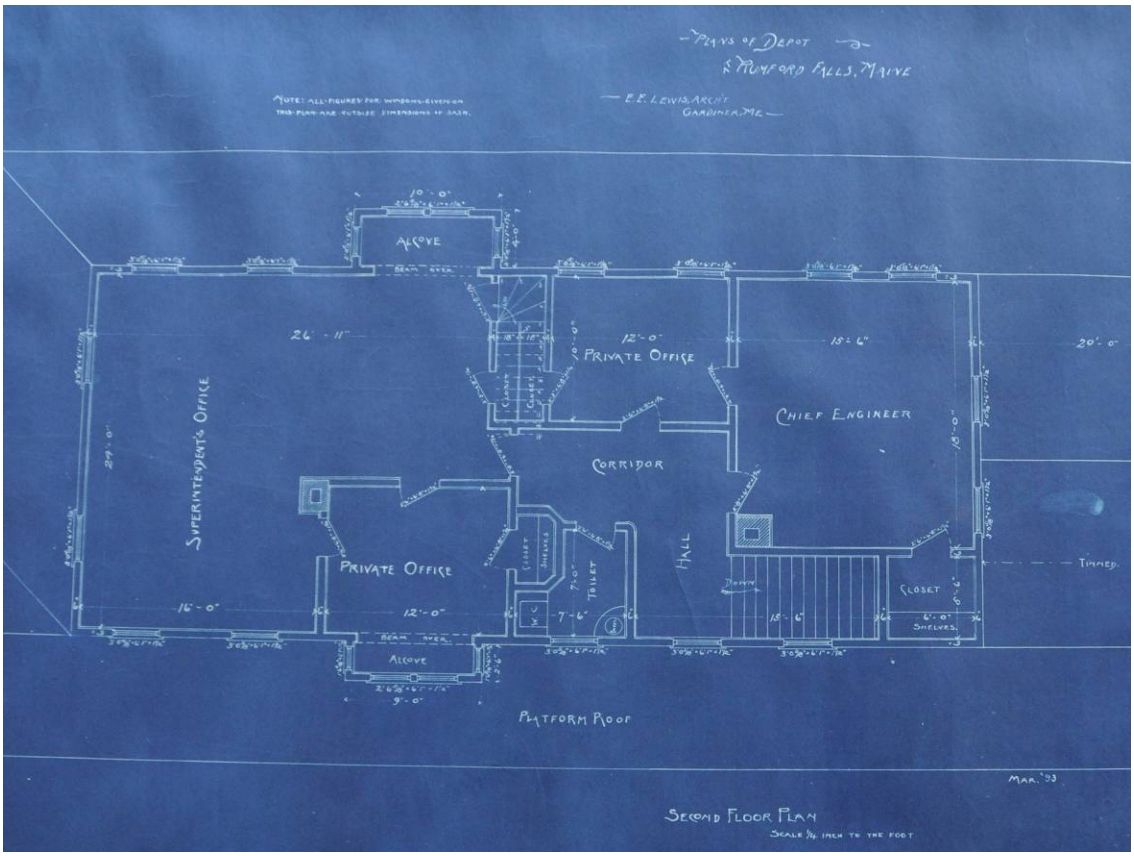

Fig. 14: Rumford Falls Station second floor plan, April 1893. [Courtesy MHPC]

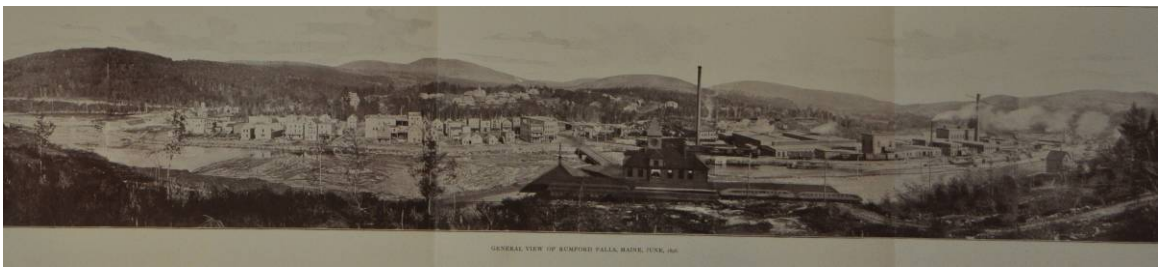

Fig. 15: An 1896 view of Rumford Falls from the perspective of the terminal station reveals the panoptic view on could achieve from its clock tower with the commercial center to the left and the manufacturing center to the right. Behind the station was an undeveloped hill. [*Rumford Falls Line*, 1896]

Fig. 16: Rumford Falls visually interacted with Chisholm's other enterprises. Note the logs floating in the canal (dug for the power company) in the foreground and the smokestacks of the paper mills at far left. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 17: Dixfield/West Peru Station, built 1892. Note that the building as constructed was "flipped" from the floor plan (Fig. 18). [Lewis, *New England Country Depots*]

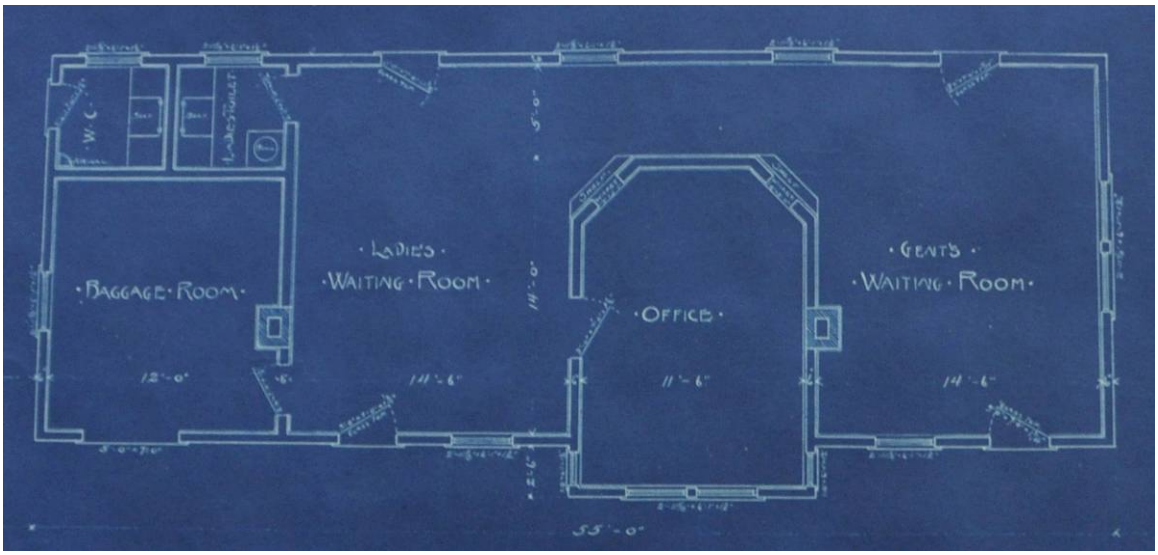

Fig. 18: Floor plan of Dixfield/West Peru passenger station, designed by Edwin Lewis. It adhered to standard conventions and contained separate waiting rooms for men and women as well as separate lavatories. It also had two stoves. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 19: Gilbertville, replacing an existing station, was one of Lewis and Danforth's standard combination depot designs on Extension A. [Lord, *Downeast Depots*]

Fig. 20: East Peru, a new station, was one of Lewis and Danforth's standard combination depot designs on Extension A. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 21: Peru, a new station, was one of Lewis and Danforth's standard combination depot designs on Extension A. [Courtesy MHPC]

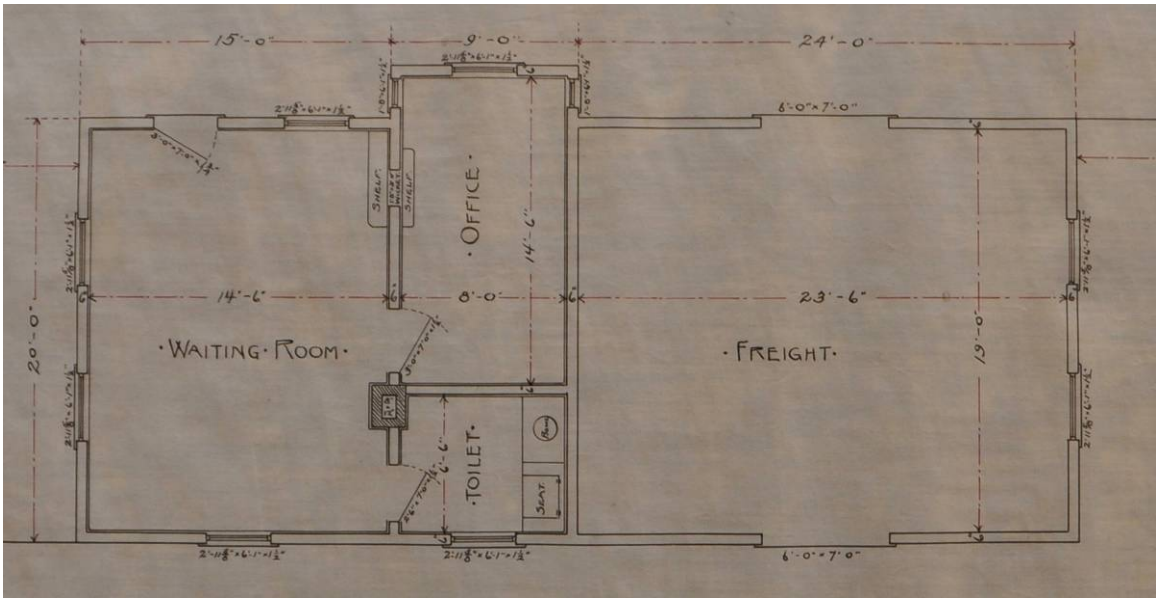

Fig. 22: Edwin Lewis/Frederic Danforth, Gilbertville combination station floor plan, January 1892. This example shows the replicated design. [Courtesy MHPC]

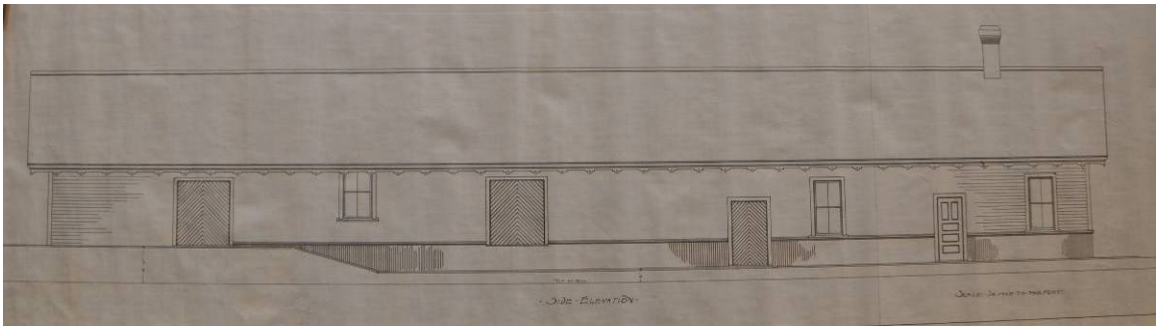

Fig. 23: E.E. Lewis/F. Danforth, side elevation, first Rumford Falls combination station (1892). [Courtesy MHPC]

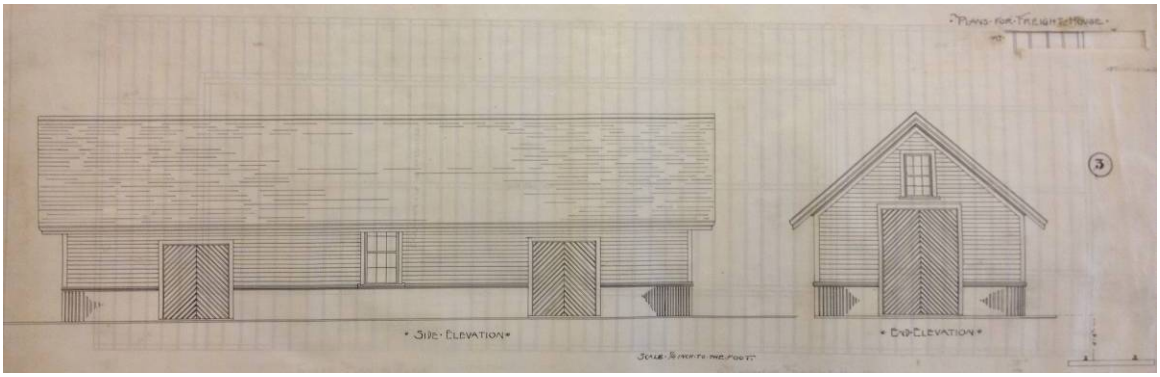

Fig. 24: Functional when practical, Lewis designed a basic freight depot at Dixfield/West Peru. Lacking decorated bargeboards and patterned shingles, it still complemented the passenger station there and contributed to the overall design schema. [Courtesy MHPC]

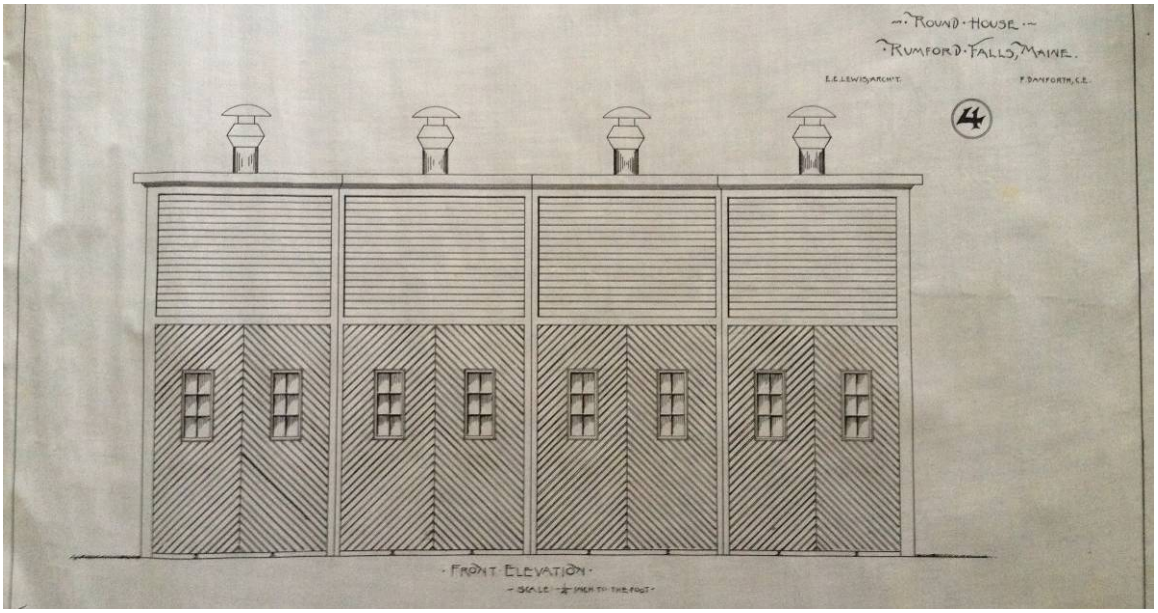

Fig. 25: Edwin Lewis also designed for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway in 1892 the functional roundhouse, which contributed to the overall landscape. [Courtesy MHPC]

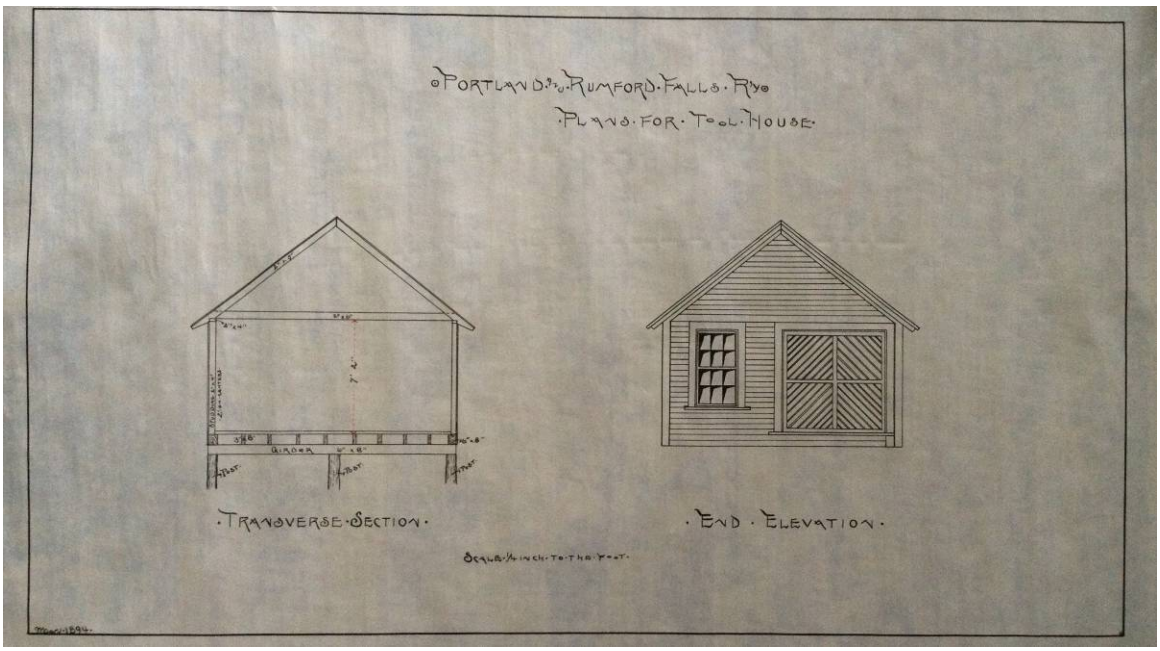

Fig. 26: Although overtly functional, the tool house at Rumford Falls contributed to Lewis and Danforth's overall railroading landscape for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [Courtesy MHPC]

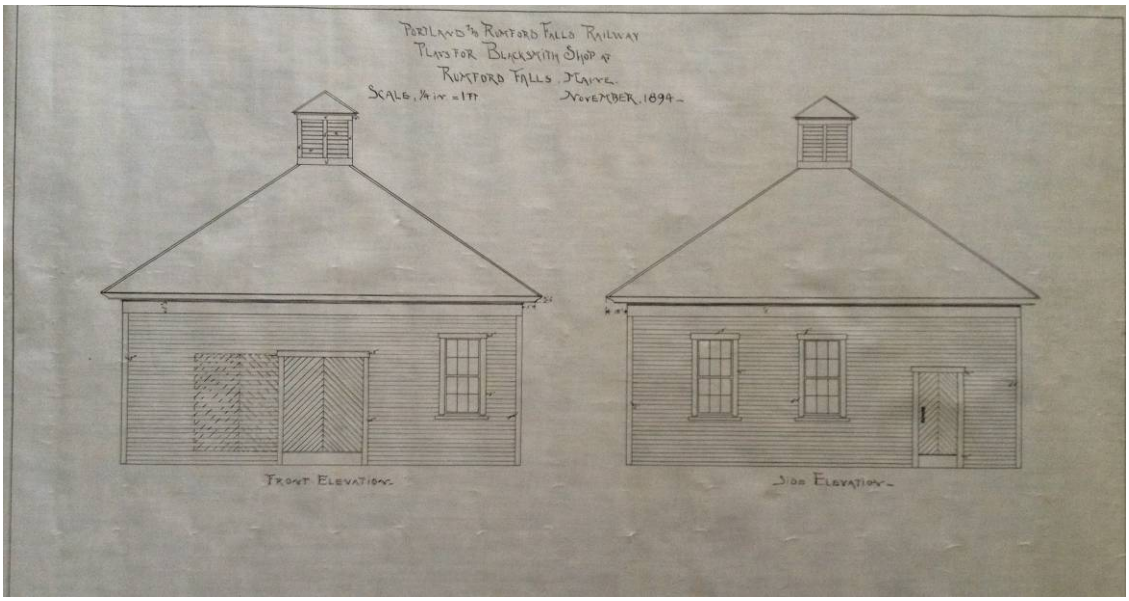

Fig. 27: Although overtly functional, the blacksmith shop at Rumford Falls contributed to Lewis and Danforth's overall railroading landscape for the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 28: Empire (Elmwood) was one of Danforth's standard combination depot designs based on the designs of Edwin Lewis two years earlier and thus contributed to the overall landscape. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 29: Poland was one of Danforth's standard combination depots based on Lewis' designs of two years earlier, contributing to the overall landscape. [Courtesy MHPC]

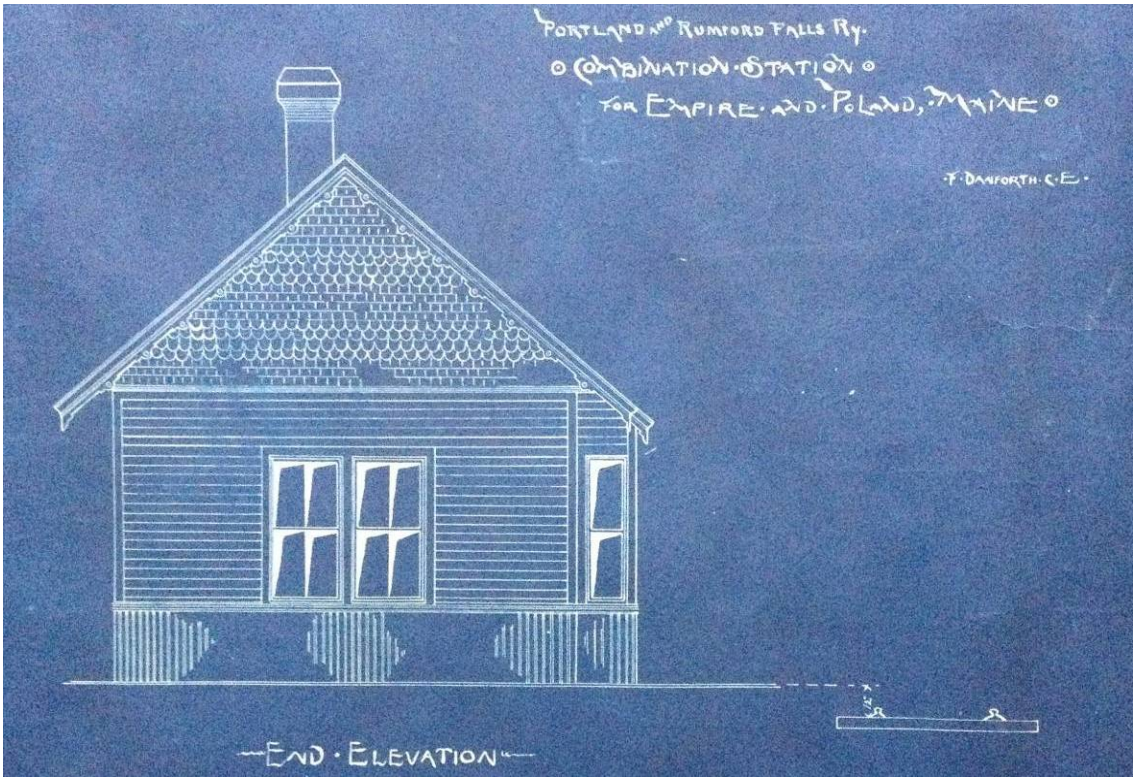

Fig. 30a: Carrying on Lewis' Queen Anne exterior details, Danforth's blueprints for two combination stations on Extension B elucidate his continuity of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's comprehensive design schema. [Courtesy MHPC]

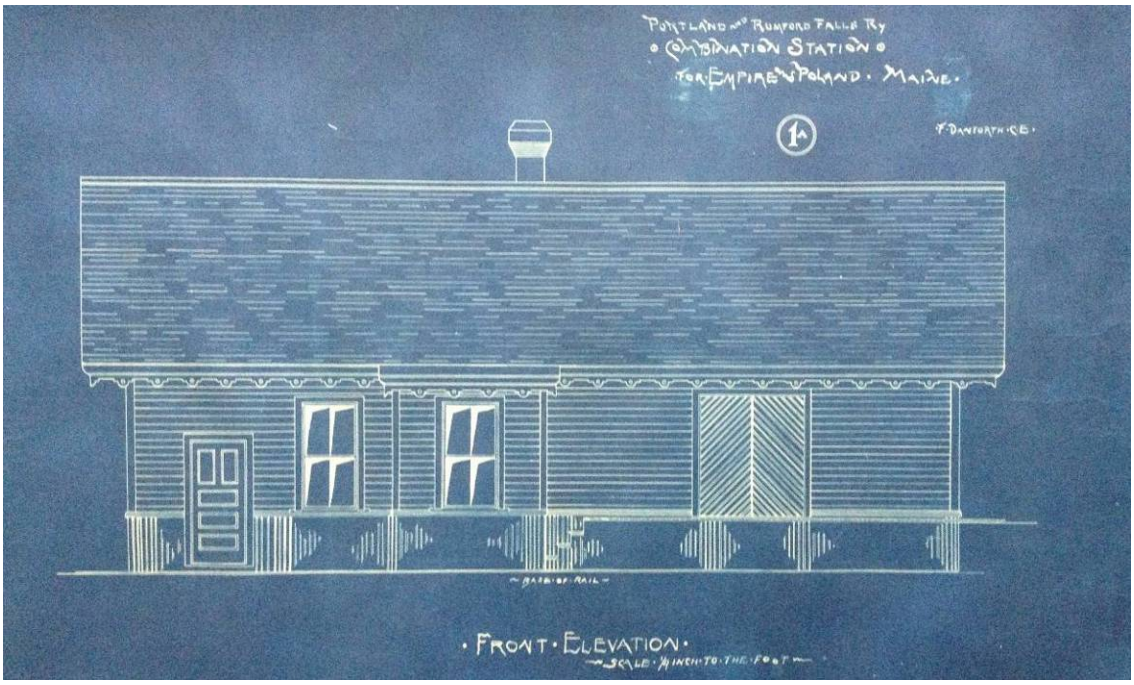

Fig. 30b: A front elevation that complements Fig. 30a. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 31: Poland Spring passenger station, designed by Frederic Danforth (1894), was a smaller version of Rumford Falls station designed by Lewis. [Lord, *Downeast Depots*]

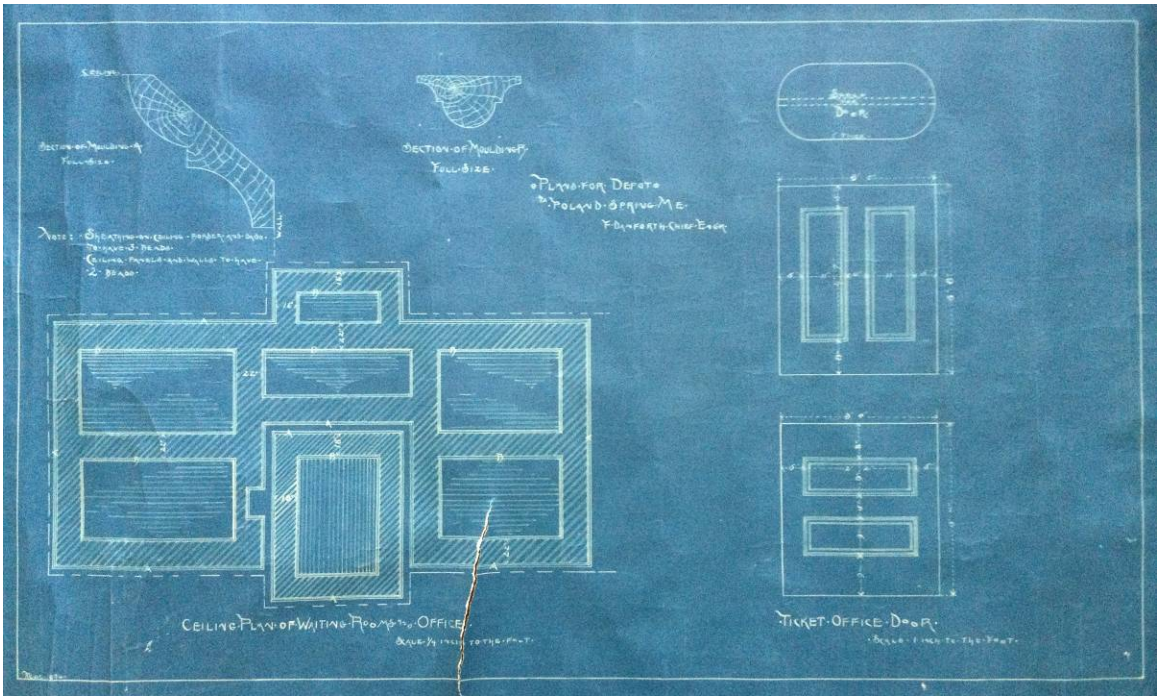

Fig. 32: Interior ornamentation at Poland Spring station reveals a continuation of the patterning seen on this stations exterior. It is likely other stations on the line designed by Lewis and Danforth had similar interior details. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 33: Mechanic Falls passenger station, designed by Frederic Danforth (1893/4). [Courtesy MHPC]

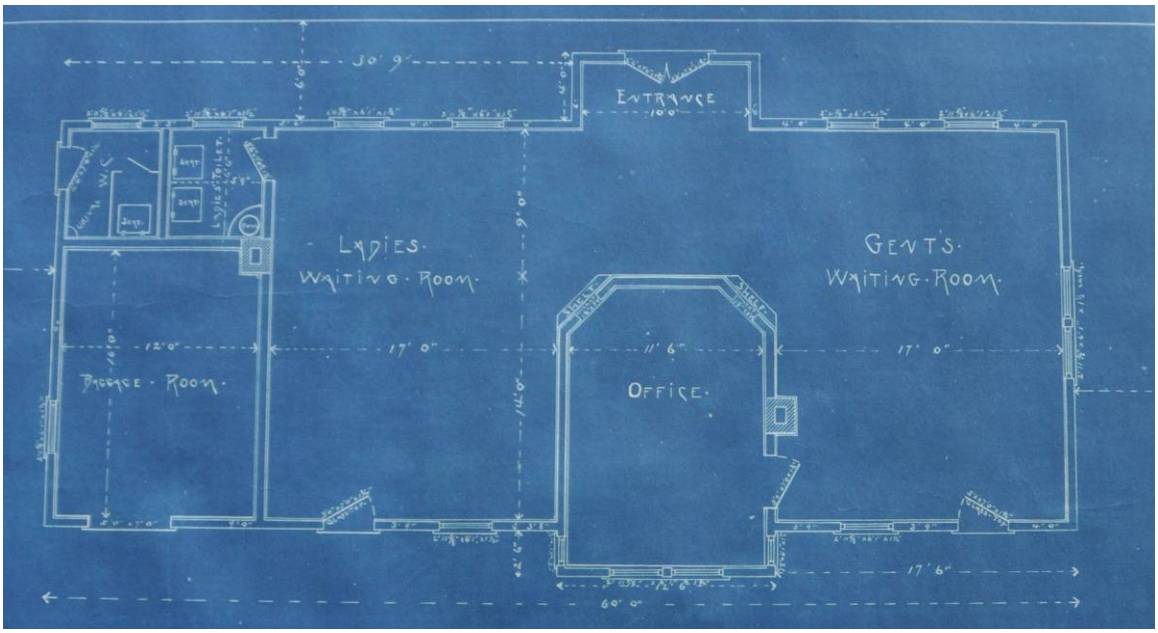

Fig. 34: Frederic Danforth, Mechanic Falls passenger station floor plan, December 1893. Note the striking similarity to Lewis' plan for Dixfield/West Peru (Fig. 17). [Courtesy MHPC]

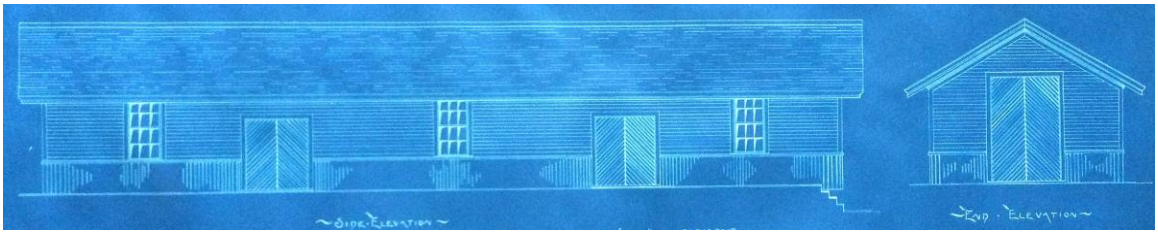

Fig. 35: Danforth's freight station at Mechanic Falls mirrored the design he implemented at Poland Spring, but was longer to satisfy the increased traffic at this junction with the Grand Trunk. [Courtesy MHS]

Fig. 36: Danforth, plans for Mechanic Falls union freight station (1894), represents a departure from earlier freight designs. Matching the new passenger depot here, this divergence reflects architectural competition with the Grand Trunk. [Courtesy MHPC]

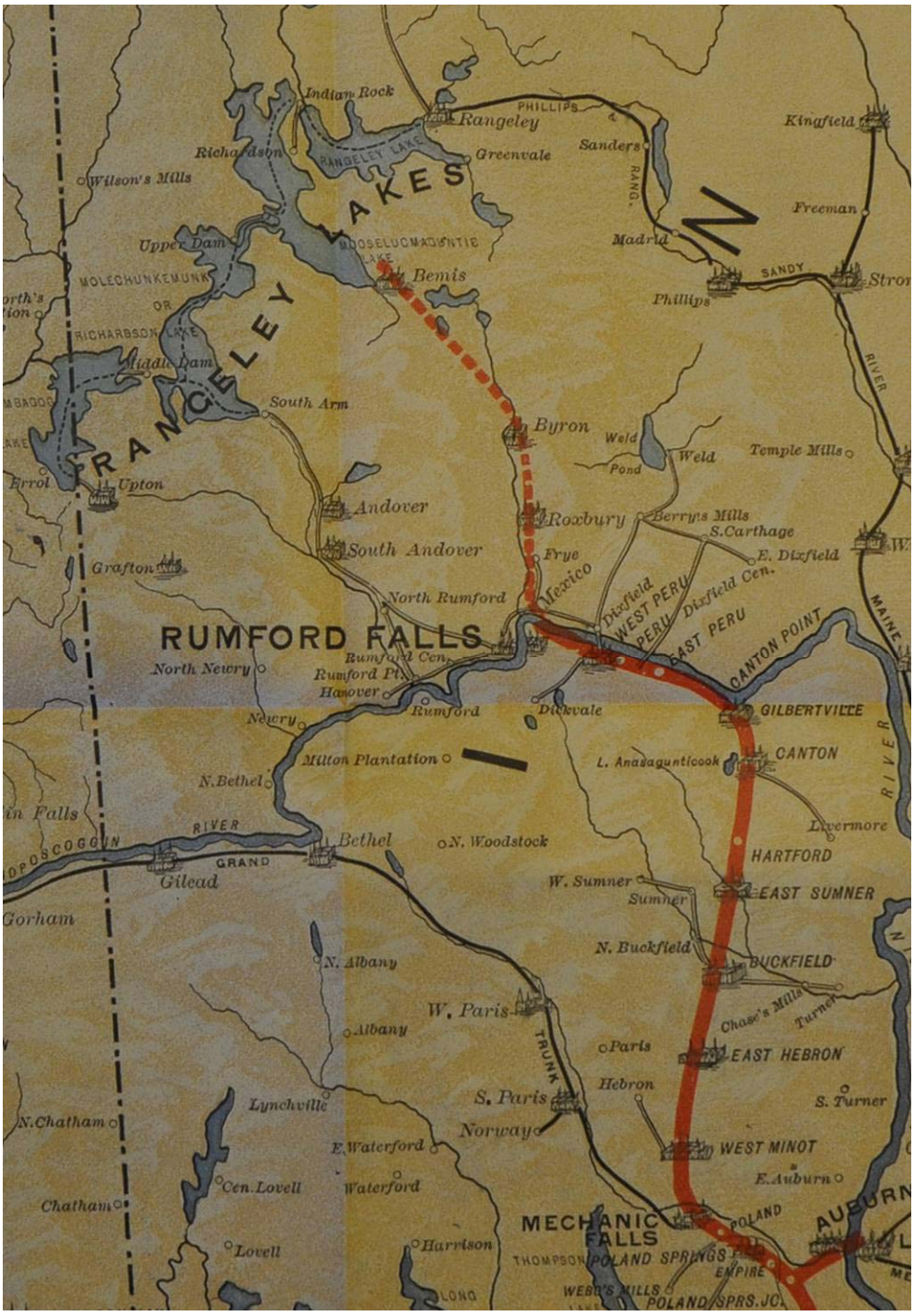

Fig. 37: In 1894, Chisholm and others chartered the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad to extend north of Rumford Falls into the Swift River Valley. The dotted line represents this new line, and the solid line the existing Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [*Rumford Falls, Maine*, 1895]

Fig. 38: Frye station (1895), on the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, built by engineer R. B. Stratton with Danforth advising, resembles, but does not exactly replicate, the designs of the neighboring Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 39: A near replica of Frye station, the combination depot at Byron contributed to the overall landscape of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 40: A rare photograph of Summit station (left) reveals the same ornamentation as others of the line. [Hutchinson, *The Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad*]

Fig. 41: An unusual configuration of combination depot at Houghton contained living space for the station agent, but continued the design schema of the other stations on the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 42: Roxbury passenger station (1895) on the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad featured living quarters for the station agent upstairs and a separate freight depot connected by a midway. [Hutchinson, *The Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad*]

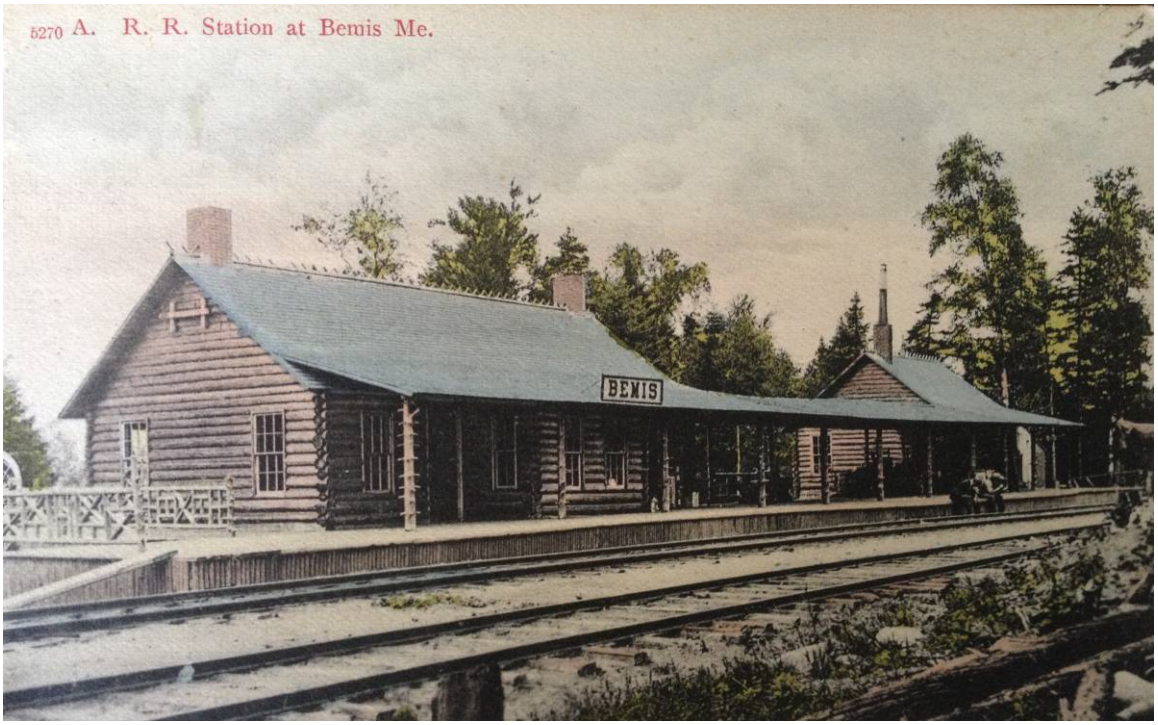

Fig. 43: Bemis station (1896) represented a manifestation of vernacular designs as well as a willingness of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad to jettison its cohesive design seen along the rest of its line. [Courtesy MHPC]

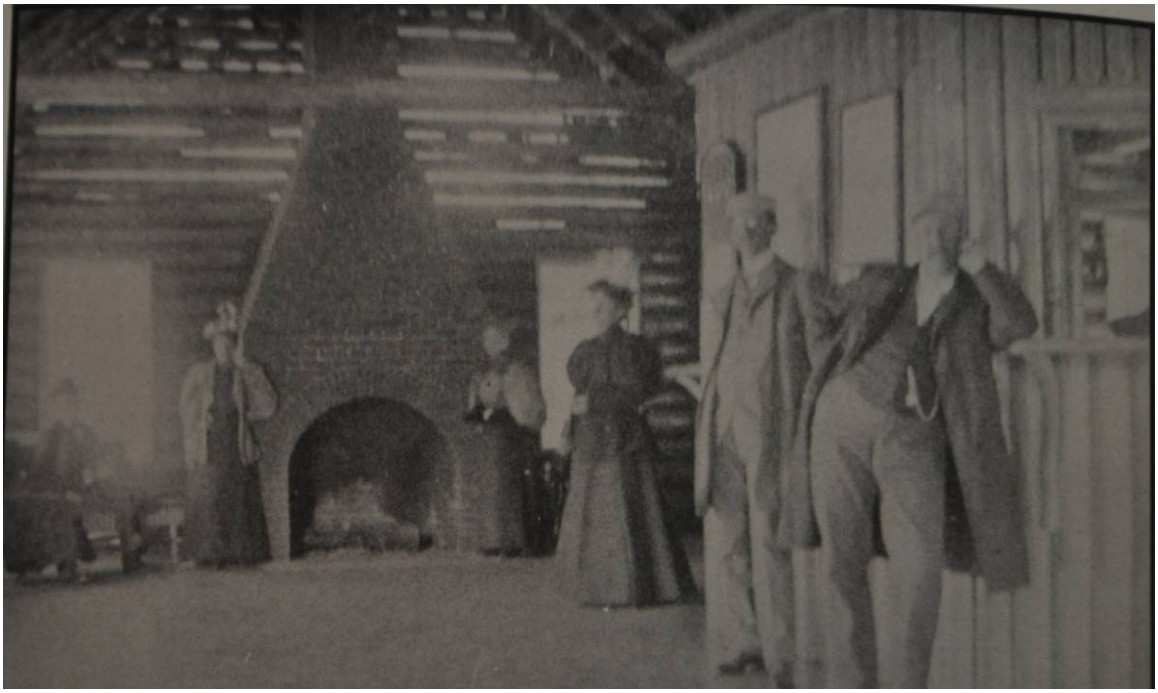

Fig. 44: The interior of Bemis station reveals a continuation of the camp atmosphere, including a large hearth. [Hutchinson, *The Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad*]

Fig. 45: In the 1880s, local camp proprietor Fred Barker built “Camp Bemis” in log construction along the shores of Mooselookmeguntic for seasonal tourists. He would use this vernacular form as the inspiration for Bemis station in 1896. [Palmer, *Rangeley Lakes Region*]

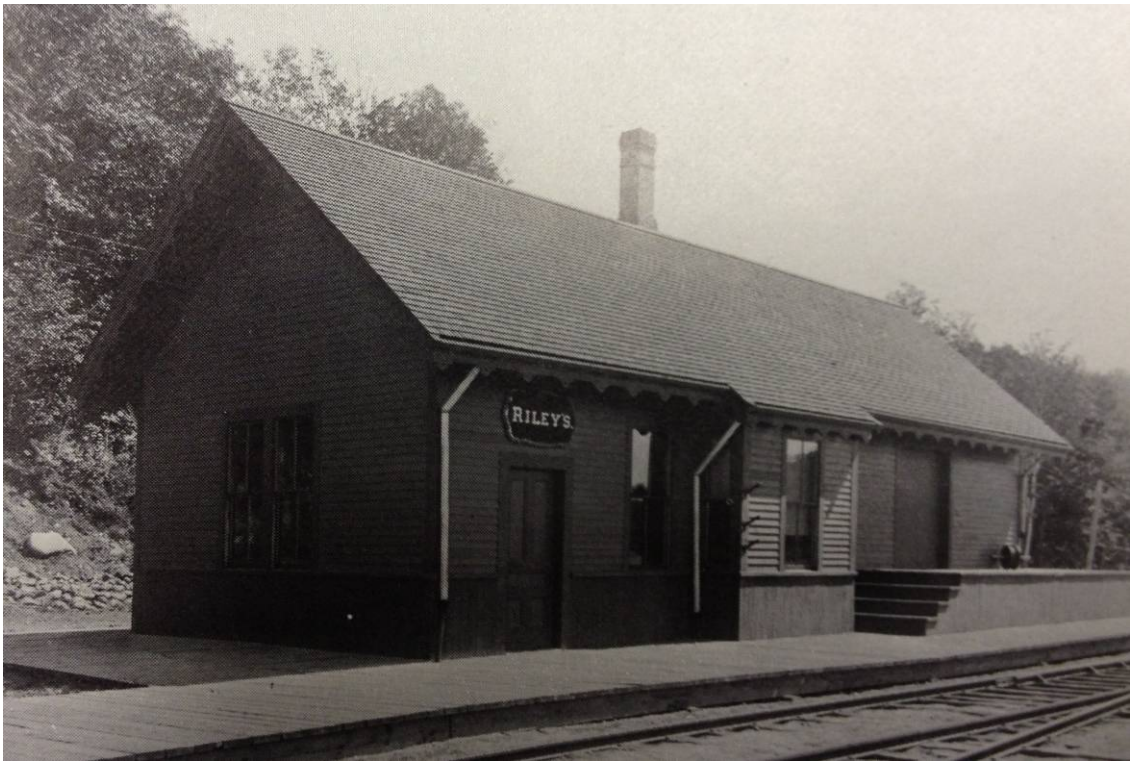

Fig. 46: Riley's station (1897) on Extension C closely mirrored the stations of the Rumford Falls & Rangeley Lakes Railroad, and less-so the stations of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 47: Jay Bridge station (1897) on Extension C closely mirrored Riley's, contributing to the overall schema. [Courtesy MHPC]

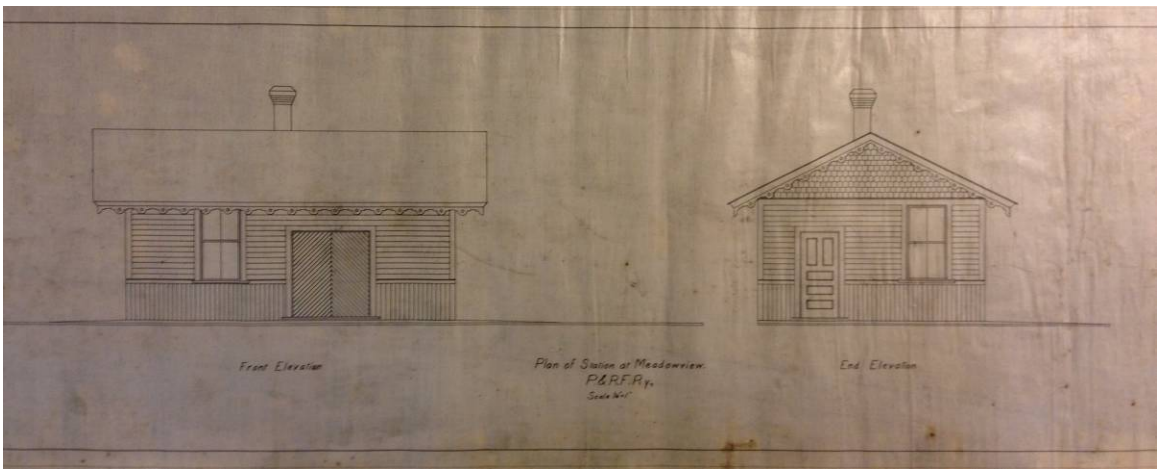

Fig. 48: Even tiny Meadowview combination depot on the Chisholm spur carried the distinct details of the rest of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's stations established by Edwin Lewis years earlier. [Courtesy MHS]

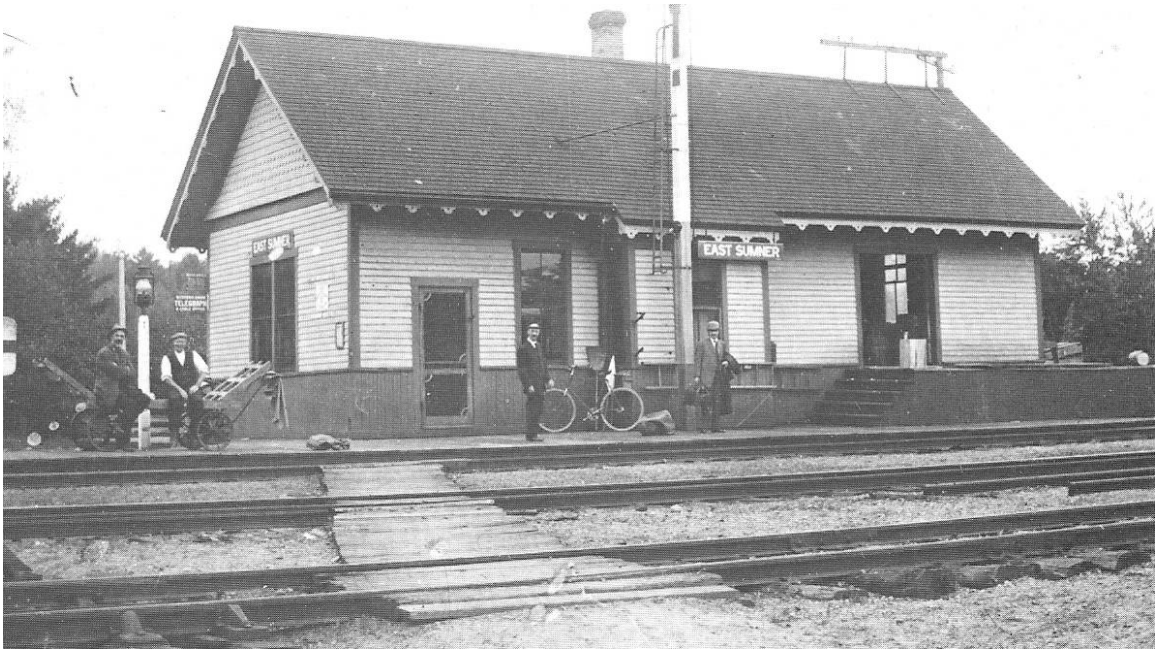

Fig. 49: East Sumner, replacing an existing station, matched the standard combination station designs of both Lewis and Danforth. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 50: At East Hebron, an inherited combination station, the directors of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway eventually added a projecting window for the station agent. Notably, it carried the varied exterior patterning like other stations designed by Lewis and Danforth, but not the rest of its own exterior. [Lewis, *New England Country Depots*]

Fig. 51: When West Minot outgrew its combination station, built in the 1870s (left), it added a dedicated brick passenger station (1899) as was common of railroads who had moved beyond initial development and could command greater funds for station construction. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 52: In a design closely matching the other of 1899 (Fig. 51), the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway erected a new brick passenger station at Livermore. The wooden designs of the nascent railroad had given way to more substantial structures. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 53: Shortly before the Maine Central assumed the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway, it replaced the Mechanic Falls passenger station with a stone structure (1906). [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 54: In later years both lines built functional stations in far-flung locations, such as Oquossoc, where service mattered more than impression. This station more-closely resembles that of rival Rangeley, only a few miles away (Fig. 61). [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 55: Portland's Union Station (1888) was the most magnificent passenger depot in the state when Lewis designed Rumford Falls depot. He likely used it as a model just as Rumford Falls sought to emulate Portland as commercial center. [Courtesy MHPC]

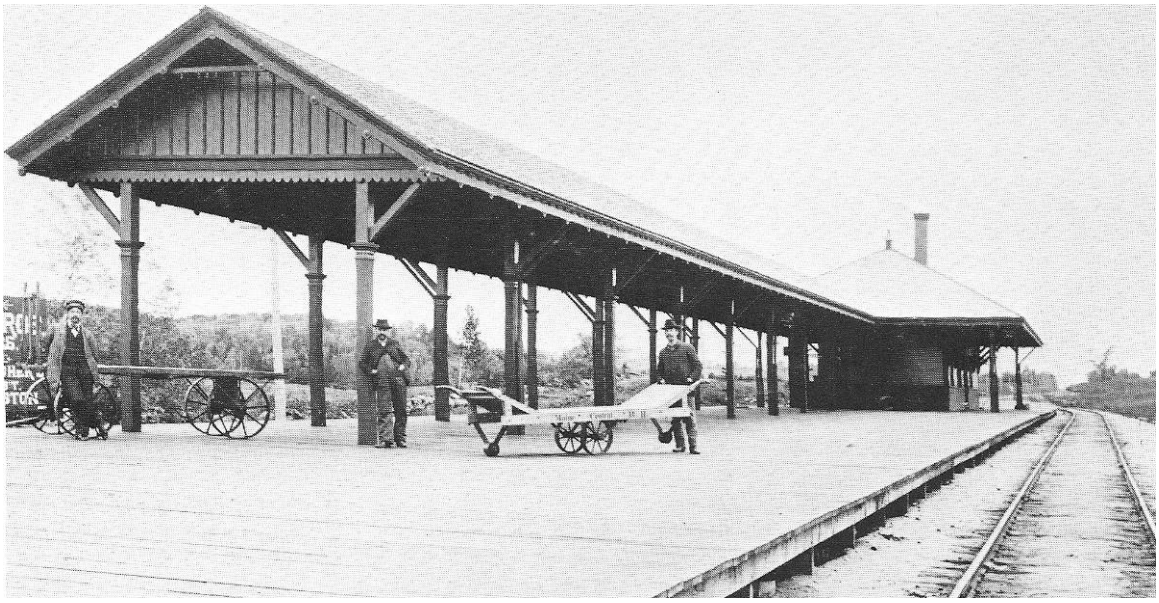

Fig. 56: The Rumford Junction (Poland Junction) passenger depot was built in 1893 by the Maine Central to manage transfer traffic between it and the Portland and Rumford Falls Railway. While its ornamentation differed from the Portland and Rumford Falls, it was not so discordant that it overtly competed or tried to upstage. [Courtesy MHPC]

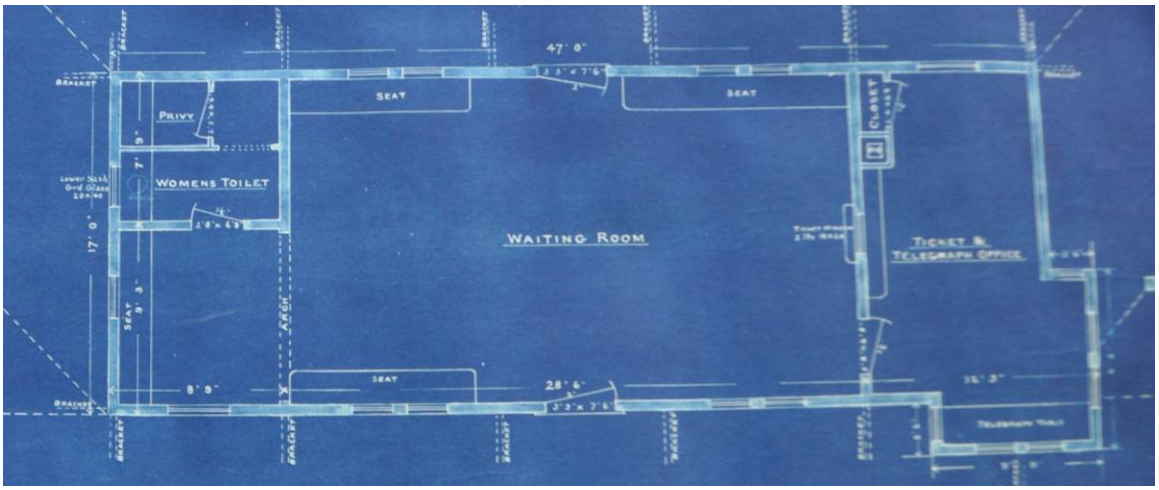

Fig. 57: The interior plan of the Maine Central's passenger depot at Rumford Junction reveals a divergent arrangement of comparative spaces than the Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, who shared the use of this depot for transfer traffic. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 58: In replacing an inherited station at Mechanic Falls (Fig. 31), the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway sought to upstage the existing station of its competitor, the Grand Trunk Railway, at Mechanic Falls. The Grand Trunk's two-story passenger depot is in the background and its freight depot in the foreground. Across the tracks (not pictured) were the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's buildings (see Fig. 59). [Courtesy MHPC]

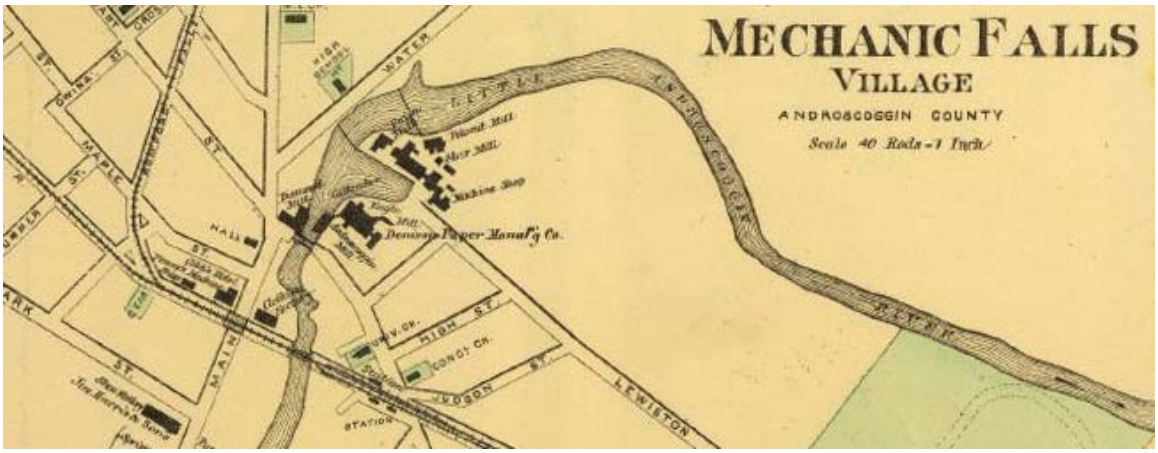

Fig. 59: Detail of 1894 map of Mechanic Falls, showing the intersection of the Portland & Rumford Falls Railway with the Grand Trunk. The former's depots appear as the two buildings at the bottom marked "station" across the tracks from the latter's, also marked "*station*." Each was accessed by its own siding (shown in Fig. 58), with a through track in the center. The Portland & Rumford Falls Railway's tracks take the right fork and the Grand Trunk's the left at the edge of the map. [*Stuart's Atlas of the State of Maine*, 1894]

Fig. 60: One of the chief competitors for the Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad, both for logging and vacationers, was the Sandy River and Rangeley Lakes Railroad, whose Phillips station (c. 1890) exhibited a fair amount of ornamentation, though the line's stations did not generally resemble each other. [Courtesy MHPC]

Fig. 61: Early stations serving the Rangeley Lakes, such as Rangeley station (c. 1890s), were exceedingly functional, where service alone attracted traffic. [Courtesy MHPC]

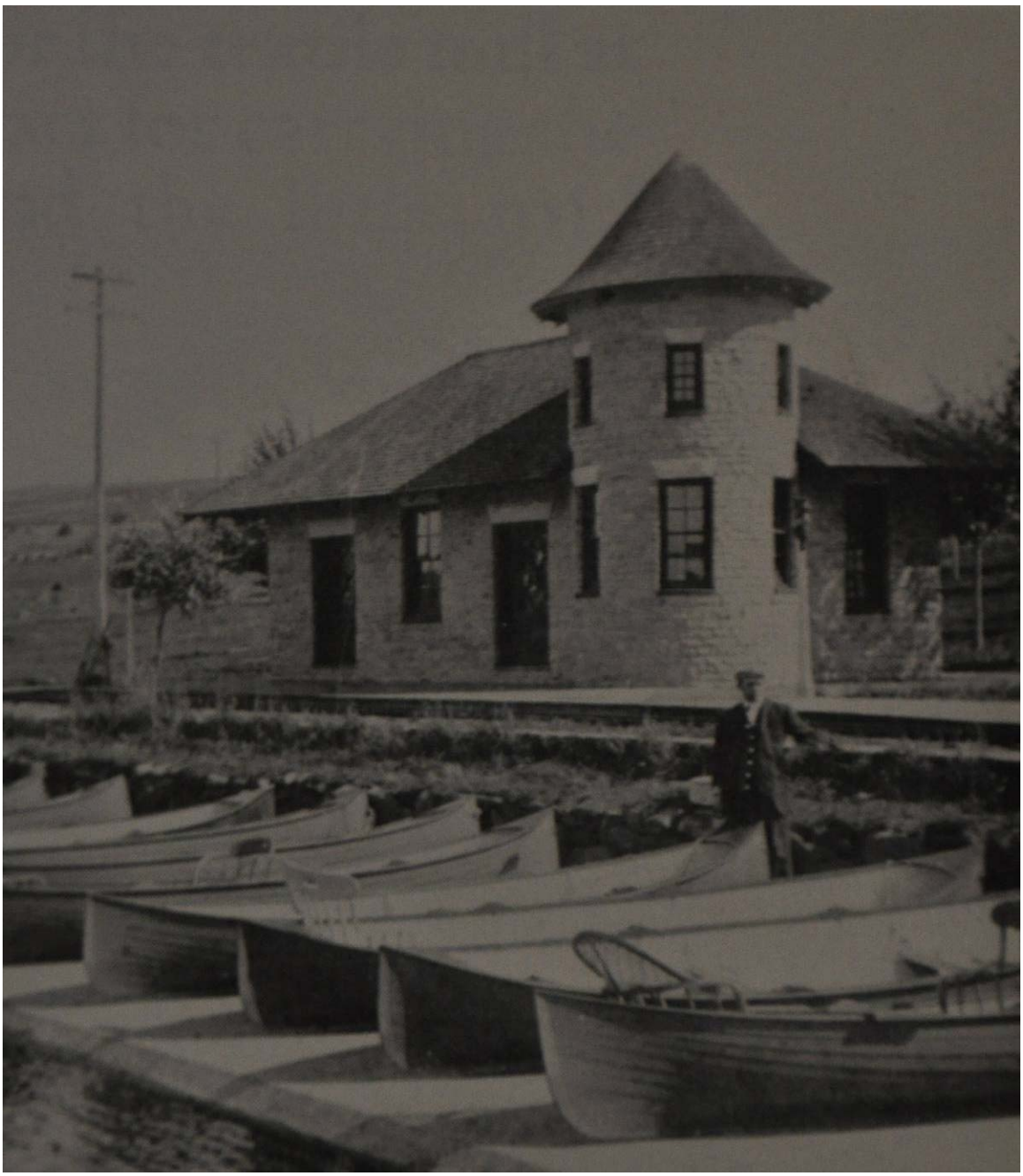

Fig. 62: In a bout of competition for the burgeoning tourist industry to the Rangeley Lakes, the Sandy River and Rangeley Lakes Railroad built this granite station at Marbles to upstage the log cabin station at Bemis (Fig. 43). [Courtesy MHPC]

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