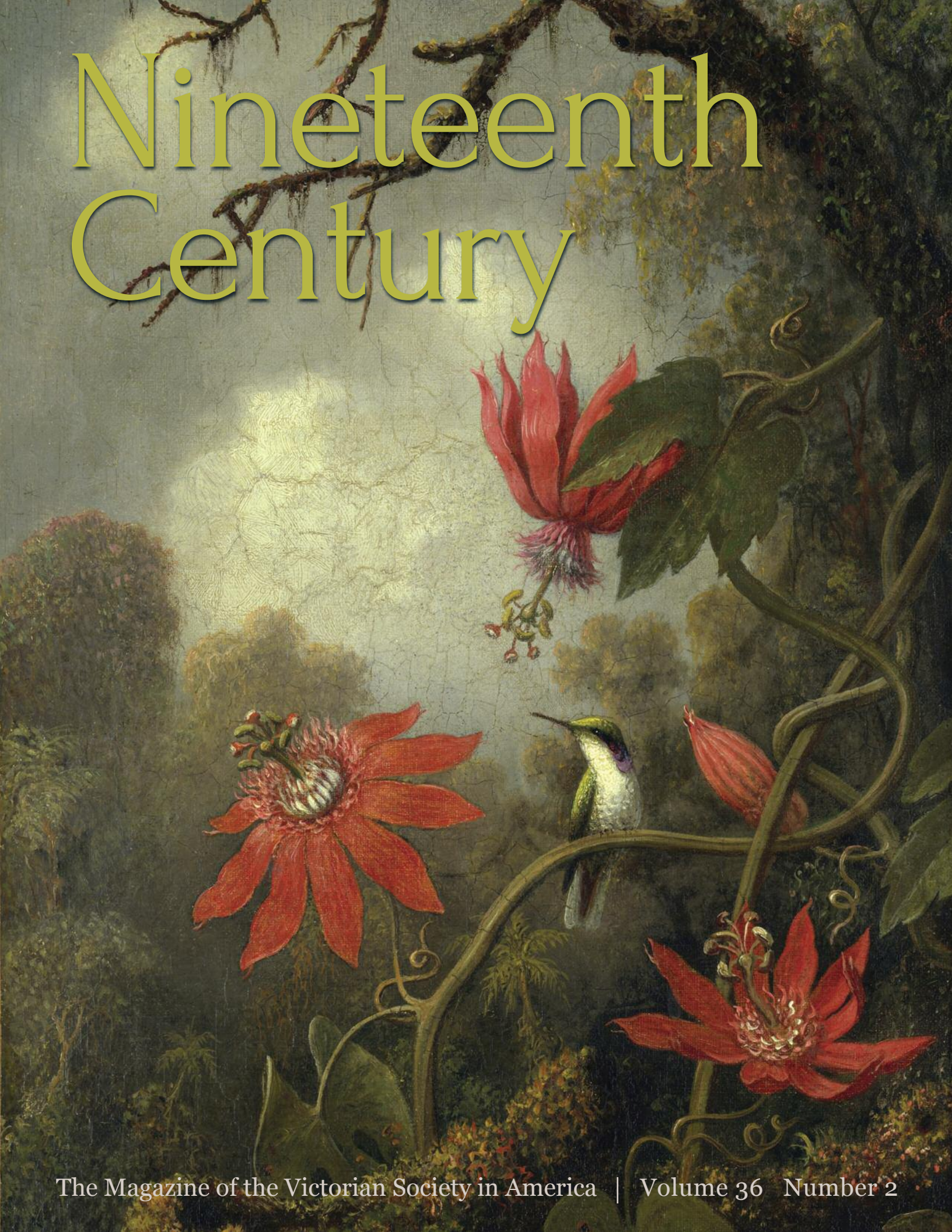


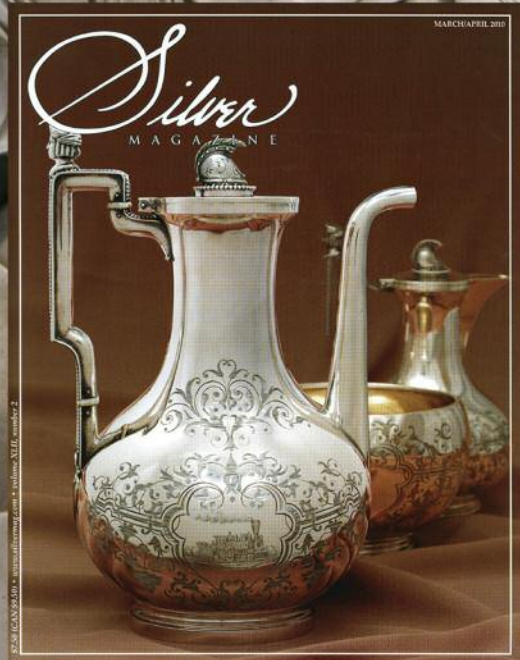
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Nineteenth Century

THE MAGAZINE OF THE
VICTORIAN SOCIETY IN AMERICA

VOLUME 36 • NUMBER 2
FALL 2016

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Amityville, New York

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Cover: Martin Johnson Heade,
Hummingbird and Passionflowers,
c.1875. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Contents



Maymont

2

A VIRGINIA STUDY IN GILDED AGE ECLECTICISM

Dale Cyrus Wheary

Politics and Paintings

10

EMANUEL LEUTZE, WILLIAM HENRY POWELL, AND THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Barbara J. Mitnick

Hummingbirds, Emperors, and Railway Barons

16

HEADE'S *GEMS* AND THEIR JOURNEYS

Cynthia Haveson Veloric

The Struggle for Professionalism

24

ARCHITECT'S DRAWINGS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Robin H. Prater

Departments

34 Preservation Diary

GREENE AND GREENE'S ROBERT PITCAIRN, JR. HOUSE, PASADENA

Anne E. Mallek

37 Journeys

YOUNG BUSLER GOES TO THE FAIR

Jeanne Solensky

42 The Bibliophile

Valerie A. Balint
Anne-Taylor Cahill
Tara Leigh Tappert

47 Milestones

THE 40 ELEPHANTS
RAMPAGE LONDON

Anne-Taylor Cahill

49 Contributors



Fireplace in the Den at Maymont. Photo by Dale Quarterman.

Maymont

A VIRGINIA STUDY IN GILDED AGE ECLECTICISM

Dale Cyrus Wheary

We spent such a delightful evening at Major Dooley's beautiful home 'Maymont.' It is really a show place. There is much natural beauty about it, situated on the banks of the James, commanding a lovely view of the river. There are wonderful Japanese gardens and wooded lands, and a driveway of five and a half miles extending over the grounds. It was just like a fairyland and, after walking all round and getting the different beautiful views in the distance, we found the victoria waiting to take us for a drive. The sunset was glorious from the top of the hill and at dusk we went into the house and enjoyed seeing the various works of art, which the Major and his wife have collected in their extensive travels abroad. It is indeed a museum, comprising statuary and paintings by the old masters. I greatly enjoyed it all and their cordial hospitality.

Etta Mann, November 6, 1912

So read the entry for November 16, 1912, in the diary of Etta Mann, wife of Virginia's Governor William Hodges Mann.¹ More than one hundred years later, visitors continue to marvel at Maymont's extraordinary panorama of towers, glittering interiors, colorful parterres, and magnificent trees. While many estates of the era have been destroyed or altered, Maymont's ensemble of architecture, landscape, and decorative arts survives remarkably intact, an important southern example of the country places that flourished in America from the 1880s through the early twentieth century. It stands as the unique expression of the taste and interests of a cultivated Richmond couple in the mainstream of their times—James Henry Dooley (1841-1922) and Sallie May Dooley (1846-1925). Their one-hundred-acre estate today provides a window on to the Gilded Age, an ambitious era of growing affluence, expanding American presence on the world stage, technological innovation, and heightened activity in all fields of design. Maymont's elaborate landscape and treasure-filled mansion bespeak the pinnacle of financial success, fashionable lifestyle, and modern design and taste in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

The American country place was a particular genius of the Gilded Age, a clear demonstration of the immense wealth generated during the unusually advantageous economic climate of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As the legendary fortunes of American tycoons such as Vanderbilt, Morgan, and Rockefeller grew, so too did those of the many second-tier financiers and business leaders. In 1892, the *New York Tribune Monthly* named 4,047 millionaires in the United States.² Among them was James H. Dooley. Members

of the affluent class not only shared a passion for building lavish dwellings, but many also led a surge in philanthropy, a trend of the times to which Maymont owes its survival. The Dooleys bequeathed their estate to the City of Richmond in 1925 to be used as a museum and park, a gift which also contributed to a nationwide movement to make American cities more beautiful and culturally enriched. Among the earliest Victorian houses bequeathed as a museum, it opened to the public in 1926 and, since 1975, has been preserved and operated by the nonprofit Maymont Foundation. Maymont's development by a single generation of one family over a thirty-year period and, thereafter, its continuous use as a museum and park has resulted in a high degree of historical integrity. A Virginia Historic Landmark and listed on the National Register Historic Places, Maymont is an unusually complete, well-preserved Gilded Age showplace, likened by architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson to "a grand opera with a whole series of crescendos and dramatic highpoints."³

In keeping with the many country places that were springing up across the land during the Gilded Age, the

Dooleys' estate was not agricultural but purely ornamental in intent. Architectural writer Barr Ferree observed in 1904: "The very brief space of ten years has been sufficient in which to develop an entirely new type of American country house."⁴ While his book *American Estates & Gardens* featured such over-the-top examples as Biltmore in Asheville, Ferree's characterization of this new architectural and social phenomenon befits the Dooleys' estate as well:

Country houses we have always had, and large ones too; but the great country house as it is now understood is a



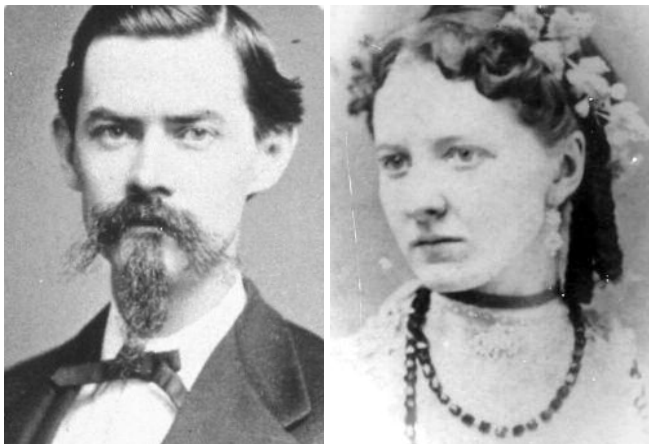
Aerial view of Maymont, Richmond, Virginia.

new type of dwelling, a sumptuous house, built at large expense, often palatial in its dimensions, furnished in the richest manner and placed on an estate...and in most cases with a garden which is an integral part of the architectural scheme.⁵

Building estates, such as Maymont, gave American millionaires the opportunity to create private domains, ideal worlds removed from increasingly crowded urban centers. As Ferree wrote, taking pleasure in country life and escape from the city was “one of the most remarkable social features of contemporary American life.”⁶

While the Dooleys do not figure in U.S. history texts, their stories, interests, and aspirations embody much of the prevailing culture of their time and social position. Having grown up in antebellum Virginia, both were accustomed to a social, economic and political order radically different from the one that was emerging at the time of their marriage during the Reconstruction period. Born on the Virginia plantation of her grandfather, Sallie was steeped in the agrarian world of the old South. On the other hand, James was the son of Irish immigrants who settled in Richmond in the 1830s and became quite prosperous. As a youth, he excelled in his studies and aspired to make a fortune. He graduated first in his class from Georgetown College (now Georgetown University) in 1860. During the Civil War, he enlisted in the Confederate army; however, within a month, he had been wounded and captured. Soon after the war, he completed a master’s degree at Georgetown. Despite post-war turmoil, Dooley established a successful law practice. By the early 1880s, he turned his focus to the rejuvenation of southern railroads. With a small group of Richmond associates, Major Dooley, as he was known by his contemporaries, concentrated first on rebuilding the Richmond & Danville Railroad and expanding it into the Deep South. He later participated in the founding of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad and served on the board of the Chesapeake & Ohio. His involvement in railroads led on to major investments in the Sloss Sheffield Iron and Steel Company in Alabama, real estate in Virginia, Alabama, and St. Paul, Minnesota, and other diverse ventures. Touted by the *New York Star* as “one of the prominent Southern men on Wall Street,” he not only amassed a great personal fortune but at the same time played an important role in emergence of the New South.⁷

A leader in the redevelopment of his city, he sat on local hospital and orphanage boards and for many years served as



L to R: James Henry Dooley, 1874. Sallie May Dooley, c. 1870.

president of the Art Club of Richmond. As one of his associates remarked, Major Dooley “combined the art of making money with the love of art.”⁸ His affinity for European art and culture is strongly evident in the character and contents of Maymont as well as in the Dooleys’ summer home, Swannanoa, an Italian Renaissance-style villa completed in 1913 in Virginia’s Blue Ridge Mountains.⁹

A proud descendant of prominent old Virginia families, Sallie Dooley took a leadership role in founding the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Society of Colonial Dames in Virginia. Mrs. Dooley was also a writer. Her book, *Dem Good Ole Times*, published in 1906 by Doubleday, Page & Company, is a collection of plantation stories that places her squarely in the literary camp of Lost Cause apologists. An avid amateur horticulturist, Mrs. Dooley lavished particular attention on the gardens of Maymont and Swannanoa. She wrote, “I am so fond of such things that I always superintend the planting *myself*.”¹⁰ Together she and her husband traveled widely throughout the country, frequenting fashionable resorts including Palm Beach and the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and enjoyed touring Europe. Though Southerners born and raised, they embraced a cosmopolitan outlook and thrived in the changing world around them.

In 1886, the Dooleys acquired farmland west of town on the banks of the James River where they planned to build their new residence. They engaged architect Edgerton Stewart Rogers (1860-1901) who had recently moved to Richmond from Rome where he was born and educated.¹¹ With the entrée of family connections—his mother, a Richmond native and his father, Randolph Rogers, the internationally known sculptor—the young architect had little difficulty establishing himself professionally and socially. By the end of his brief practice around 1896, he had to his credit the country houses of two of the city’s most prominent citizens, several public buildings in Richmond and around the state, and the Virginia Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago—a model of Mount Vernon—an icon of the burgeoning Colonial Revival.¹² Of his works, only the Maymont Mansion remains.

Rogers’s design for the Dooleys reflects the penchant for historical styles among late-nineteenth-century architects and other designers who embraced the past as a vast source of inspiration. Designers were also freely adapting styles from distant cultures of the world. Arbiters of taste encouraged the eclectic assemblage of diverse styles within the home for the enrichment of life and for the expression of individuality. Maymont was conceived when eclecticism was at its peak in American taste, a trend that was fueled by an explosion of knowledge and advanced by technological innovations. Improved printing and photographic processes broadened the dissemination of information, images, and ideas. Moreover, the increasing convenience of travel exposed thousands of Americans to the cultural centers of Europe and beyond and to the great international expositions. With castle-like turrets, Italian and Japanese gardens, and countless styles within the mansion, Maymont is a veritable embodiment of Gilded Age eclecticism, a hallmark of the era.

The highest point of land on the property was selected as the site for the Dooleys’ residence. Imparting drama to the approach, a long, magnolia-lined drive leads up a gentle, curving slope to the house. Broad sweeps of rolling parkland spread north and south of the drive. Towers, gables, and varying roof-lines of substantial outbuildings to the south form a picturesque vista with a decidedly “Old World”

character. At the end of the formal drive stands the Maymont Mansion, surrounded by expansive lawns planted with flowering trees, arching rose bowers, and towering exotic specimens. The mansion was sited to command pleasing prospects of the landscape, views that had enthralled the couple when they first visited the property while horseback riding in the countryside, when, as Major Dooley recalled, they were “greatly struck with the beauty of the views of the River and the beautiful oaks that were on the slope of that hill.”¹³

For the residence, Rogers combined a sober interpretation of Richardsonian Romanesque with Châteauesque elements. The rough-cut stone work, the round arches of the porte cochere, and the structure’s overall rugged strength and massiveness reflect the style made popular in the 1870s and 1880s by the great American architect Henry Hobson Richardson. Though unadorned by the typical Romanesque-inspired decorative carving, Châteauesque features animate Rogers’s design with variously shaped towers and steeply-pitched gables. A distinctly American feature, the ample, curving porch with polished pink-granite columns encircles the west front. The three-story, thirty-three-room structure is set on a full basement. Faced with buff-colored sandstone, it was roofed originally with red slate.¹⁴ A modern dwelling of its day, it boasted the latest household systems and conveniences. It was one of the earliest houses in the area to be equipped with electricity, featuring hybrid electric and gas lighting fixtures that bridged the changing technology of the day. By 1893, the Dooleys’ 13,000-square-foot mansion was completed. They named their estate Maymont, combining Mrs. Dooley’s maiden name, May, and the French word for hill. While the Maymont Mansion was dwarfed in comparison to some country houses, what it lacked in size and exterior embellishment, its interior opulence more than compensated. Architectural historian Calder Loth compares the mansion to an oyster shell, “rough on the outside but glimmering and luminous within.”¹⁵

Unlike many historic house museums, the Maymont Mansion never underwent any major alterations after the Dooleys’ time. Although architectural drawings and other records of its design, construction, and decoration were among the family papers burned following Mrs. Dooley’s death, the physical integrity of the building, its interiors, and the large collection of original furnishings and artwork have provided an exceptional document upon which to base the mansion’s conservation and restoration. As a result, the interiors today closely mirror their original appearance. Architectural historian Laurie Ossman places the Maymont interiors “among the best examples of Gilded Age décor in America.”¹⁶

The creative owners embraced the “artistic” taste, in the parlance of the day, characterized by the layering, juxtaposition, and often asymmetrical arrangements of patterns, tones and textures combined with historical allusions and diverse influences from around the world. Surfaces were richly adorned and spaces filled to capacity. Multitudinous objets d’art, unusual furnishings, and luxurious textiles were arranged to produce an array of artful vignettes. Contemporary tastemakers advised that each room have its own distinct character or theme, and Maymont interiors followed suit. A range of decorative elements were employed to enrich the character of each room: stained-glass, fine woodwork, parquet, elaborately molded and gilded plasterwork, stenciling, decorative ceiling paintings, various

wall treatments, and other costly detailing. The decoration reveals the hand of a sophisticated but as yet unidentified designer.¹⁷

The Dooleys filled their home with French tapestries, oriental rugs, richly carved furniture, Neoclassical sculpture, fine European and Asian porcelain, and luxury items from Tiffany & Company. The display of well-executed copies of Old Masters was valued as an ennobling influence in the home and a mark of sophistication. Decorative arts historian Kenneth L. Ames has observed that although the Dooleys’ taste was typical in many regards, some pieces are “quite unlike the objects the orthodox new rich elsewhere chose to collect. Maymont has some truly distinguished objects in its collections.”¹⁸ Among these are the monumental Rococo Revival cabinet by Jean-Paul Mazaroz shown at the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle; one of Haviland’s limited-number sets of the flamboyant Hayes White House dinner service, probably the largest collection of this famous set on permanent public display;¹⁹ the seventeenth-century marble group *The Birth of Wine* by Italian sculptor Francesco Grassia;²⁰ a large, eighteenth-century tapestry by Gobelins, representing a scene from *Don Quixote*, acquired by Dooley from the international art dealer Duveen; Mrs. Dooley’s incomparable Swan Bed; and one of Maymont’s greatest treasures, the Tiffany & Company sterling silver and narwhal-tusk dressing table and chair, a luxurious, one-of-a-kind creation.²¹

The Living Hall, with its imposing English Renaissance-inspired mantelpiece, brings to mind the “baronial hall” of romanticized history. Designed to make a dramatic first impression as guests entered from the porte cochere, the Living Hall was the centerpiece of the house plan, its grand staircase rising three stories. At its base stands a majestic bronze sculpture of a striding lion by Louis Amateis. Soaring fifteen feet above the Living Hall, the stained-glass window by Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company (renamed Tiffany Studios in 1902) was placed with dazzling effect.²² For a reception in February 1898, attended by four hundred guests and catered by Pompeo Maresi of New York City, the Living Hall was transformed into a virtual bower: “From bottom to top of the stairs was a fragrant network of ferns, smilax and pink roses, and a light was so placed as to bring out with vivid clearness the beauty of the large Tiffany stained glass window at the top of the stairs.”²³

Traditionally a masculine domain in the domestic sphere, the Library reveals Maymont as the home of a man of learning who valued among his most-prized possessions the silver academic medals he won while a student at Georgetown, a man in whose memory the Richmond Public Library was built through a bequest from his wife. The room is a superb expression of the “artistic” taste of the day. The mantelpiece incorporates carved Colonial Revival motifs and, apropos the setting, bronze portrait plaques of American poets Edgar Allan Poe and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. True to the eclectic fashion of the time, furnishings range from a Louis XV-style cylinder desk to a Louis Comfort Tiffany *Jack-in-the-Pulpit* vase, a Regency teapoy, and a fine Kirman rug. The Library’s original light fixtures and venetian blinds are still in place, as they are throughout other first- and second-floor rooms.

The adjoining two drawing rooms—distinctly feminine in character—demonstrate the sumptuous quality synonymous with the era. In the Pink Drawing Room, the gilded mantel and the ceiling fresco, a frothy evocation of Rococo art,



L to R: The Living Hall and grand staircase at Maymont. Photo by Dale Quarterman. The Pink Drawing Room at Maymont. Photo by Dennis McWaters.

establish a Louis XV theme. Richard Guy Wilson has called the room a “high calorie confection of Gilded Age design.”²⁴ A splendid setting in which a grande dame of society might receive her guests, it was here that Mrs. Dooley greeted the throng at her 1898 reception:

Her gown was one of the works of art from the Worth establishment, with a front of cream-colored brocade embroidered in silver; corsage draped with exquisite lace, and a court train of Nile green satin falling from just below the shoulders. Magnificent opals and diamonds and a mammoth bouquet of lilies of the valley completed the costume.²⁵

The Blue Drawing Room reflects the Louis XVI style, articulated by Neoclassical detailing, the decoratively painted doors, French tapestry-covered salon furniture, and Sèvres porcelain. Amplifying the luxurious character of these rooms are walls covered in silk damask, hearthstones of white onyx, and ceilings and cornices embellished with elaborate plasterwork. Detailing in the Pink Drawing Room is highlighted with gilding, and in the Blue Drawing Room with aluminum leaf, then a costly and stylish novelty. In the Pink Drawing Room, chandeliers are gold-plated; in the Blue Drawing Room, silver-plated. Together these rooms form a high-style statement of wealth and opulence.

The Dining Room is the largest room of the house and, in the traditional hierarchy of domestic spaces, the most elevated. A stately setting for formal, multi-course dinners, it demonstrates the dramatic effects of dark dining room decoration, which according to Mary Oakey Dewing made “the most striking contrast with the concentrated glory of the table, with its costly service, and the guests in their light colored dresses.”²⁶ Painted-canvas wall coverings depicting garden scenes along with quarter-sawn oak wainscoting and a paneled ceiling offered a rich backdrop for treasures that were sure to capture the attention of guests.

Heightening the eclecticism of the mansion’s interior, the Den, a small anteroom, was decorated in a style that would have been considered “oriental,” a term at the time that referred to a wide geographic area. The ogee arch of the walnut mantel and Moorish-patterned hearth tiles by the Low Art Tile Company establish a Near Eastern theme, also echoed in the stained-glass transom design.²⁷

Mrs. Dooley’s bedroom, known now as the Swan Room, is one of Maymont’s dramatic high points. With a ceiling painting of blue sky and flower garlands, the Swan Room is the dream-like setting of two of Maymont’s most extraordinary treasures: Mrs. Dooley’s bed designed in the shape of an enormous swan and the sterling silver dressing table and chair, a Tiffany & Company tour de force, designed in 1903. Setting it apart from all other silver showpieces of this era, the remarkable ensemble is fashioned from four entire narwhal tusks capped with dragon-head finials and silverwork elaborately chased with intricate animal-interlace patterning and narwhal-tusk ivory inlay. It is the ultimate expression of Tiffany & Company’s Viking style.²⁸ The swan furniture was acquired for Mrs. Dooley’s use at Swannanoa from Neuman & Company, the New York decorator and furnisher that coordinated the interiors of the couple’s summer home. While Wagnerian and other artistic and mythological allusions are readily apparent, whatever its original inspiration, the Swan Bed embodies the whim of a wealthy lady who delighted in fantasy and romance.

In grand homes such as Maymont, the labor of skilled domestic workers was vital for maintaining the elegance, order, and dignity of the household, preparing and serving the meals, tending to the family’s personal needs, and carrying out the various ceremonial functions and elaborate social rituals of the day. The demand for domestic workers reached a zenith in the Gilded Age. In her 1897 study, *Domestic Service*, Vassar professor Lucy Salmon showed that Richmond and

Washington, D. C. tied for the highest domestic employment rate among all major American cities.²⁹ While in other regions of the country, the domestic labor force was largely drawn from new immigrant populations, in the South, African Americans continued to fill most domestic jobs. The Maymont domestic staff generally numbered between seven and ten individuals—nearly all African Americans. As in other well-to-do homes of the era, the mansion was planned to limit the intersection of the two worlds of server and served. In addition to the backstairs and first-floor Butler’s Pantry, Maymont’s principal utilitarian zone was centered in the basement. With full-size windows in most spaces and nine-and-a-half-foot ceilings, belowstairs rooms include the kitchen, kitchen pantry, cold pantry, wine cellar, laundry room, maids’ bedroom, butler’s bedroom, furnace room, and coal storage rooms. Fully restored, the area is now filled with period furnishings and household accessories and features an extensive exhibition interpreting the lives of African-American domestic employees, their important role on the job, and their challenges beyond the workplace during the Jim Crow era.

The stylish eclecticism of the interiors extended into the grounds of the estate. An essential characteristic of the Gilded Age country place, an artfully designed landscape offered further opportunities for owners to express their taste and interests while enhancing the natural beauty of the site. Moreover, a high-maintenance landscape was perhaps the ultimate display of affluence, developed at considerable cost and requiring meticulous ongoing care by a small army of workers—twenty at Maymont. For three decades, the Dooleys devoted their time, energies, and wealth to transforming the rough pastures of the former dairy farm into a showplace. Situated within Virginia’s fall-line geologic zone, the terrain—with its high riverside bluffs, granite outcroppings, broad uplands, ravines, and streams—provided an excellent canvas for creating a landscape of great drama and variety. Like other estates, English-style parkland bound the entire complex together, providing naturalistic vistas and a scenic backdrop for the architecture. As Major Dooley explained in 1906,

establishing the lawns was one of the first challenges. Another was creating an arboretum throughout the grounds, which today is one of the country’s notable, century-old tree collections with hundreds of species from around the world. Describing the couple’s early efforts, Major Dooley recalled that they

put out six hundred rose bushes and thousands of flowers, and purchased the most costly evergreens and all of those beautiful cherry trees they have in Japan, at great cost.³⁰

After the death of architect Edgerton Rogers in 1901, the Dooleys relied on the prominent Richmond architectural firm Noland & Baskervill to continue the development of Maymont. The firm contributed many fine structures to the Richmond skyline and also designed the Dooleys’ summer home.³¹ Noland & Baskervill transformed the Maymont complex, adding several impressive structures situated chiefly along the service road: a substantial barn of granite and gray brick; a balustraded fountain pool, based on a garden feature at the Villa Torlonia near Rome;³² the Normandy-style carriage house, now displaying a fine collection of carriages; and the great, cylindrical, forty-five-foot water tower, which fed the elaborate water features of the landscape. This village-like assemblage also includes earlier Dooley-era structures: a modest gatehouse, coop, compost house, and a large Shingle Style outbuilding with octagonal tower, later adapted as the garage. Gazebos in a variety of styles, stone bridges, statuary, and other ornaments enliven the landscape. The final addition to the grounds during the Dooley era was the Doric-style mausoleum, designed by Henry E. Baskervill and his new partner Garey Lambert. Calder Loth traces the design inspiration of this “demure architectural jewel” to two elegant monuments of ancient Greek architecture: the Diana Temple at Eleusis and the Choragic Monument of Thrasyillos.³³

Lined with flower borders, the flagstone “Via Florum” connects the house and the Italian Garden, designed by Noland & Baskervill. Popularized by country house architect Charles Adams Platt and author Edith Wharton, Italian



L to R: The Blue Drawing Room reflects the Louis XVI style. Photo by Dale Quarterman. The Dining Room, the largest room at Maymont. Photo by Dennis McWaters.

gardens were one of the most popular additions to Gilded Age estates. Overlooking the river, the Dooleys' terraced garden included a long, rose-covered pergola, sculptural fountains and urns, and other traditional elements inspired by the Renaissance model. Perched on a nearby knoll, a gazebo that Major Dooley acquired in Venice provides the focal point of a vista east of the upper terrace.³⁴ From the lower terrace, the Cascade, based on a feature at the Villa Torlonia, descends the hillside.³⁵ Juxtaposing the formal Cascade, a naturalistic waterfall was created nearby, descending forty-five feet over a massive outcropping to the Japanese Garden below.

In keeping with the fascination with Japan that was sweeping the West at the turn of the twentieth century, the Dooleys engaged a Japanese garden master to design a special landscape feature in his native style. Maymont's Japanese Garden is attributed to Y. Muto who also developed gardens at Compton (now the Morris Arboretum) and at Fairmount Park, both in Philadelphia, and for New York estates in Tuxedo Park and on Long Island.³⁶ Situated at the base of one of the three old quarries on the property, the Japanese Garden was completed in 1912. The waterfall provides a spectacular backdrop for the garden. Emerging from its base, a winding watercourse meanders through the garden and empties into a large pond. Including elements found in Josiah Condor's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893), the garden featured an earthen bridge, various lanterns, native Japanese plantings, and two small pavilions, one with fan-shaped windows.³⁷ Art historian Kendall H. Brown notes that Muto's trademark survives at Maymont—"his dramatic use of stones that stand in the garden and project boldly from the stream bank."³⁸

Further enhancing the eclecticism of the landscape, the Dooleys added a grotto set into the steep hillside below the Italian Garden. It is a rare American example of this particular type of landscape feature. Originating in ancient Rome, grottoes were intended as places to contemplate the irregular and hidden aspects of nature. Maymont's Grotto was outlined with stalactites and stalagmites collected in the Virginia mountains. Water channeled from a spring trickles down the walls encrusted with cave formations. The pebble-mosaic forecourt, displaying the heraldic symbol of Florence, is flanked by copies of lion sculptures by Antonio Canova.

The Dooleys' estate, once enjoyed by invitation only, is today enjoyed by more than 500,000 visitors annually. The Dooleys bequeathed the greatest portion of their wealth to Richmond charities; however, with no children to inherit their home, they decided to leave Maymont as a park and museum to the City of Richmond. The bequest also included a selection of nearly 1,000 original furnishings and artworks from their two residences to form the museum collection. Unfortunately, the Dooleys chose to leave no endowment to maintain Maymont. Equally unfortunate was the decision to burn all family papers in the house after Sallie Dooley's death. Within

six months, Maymont was opened to the public and instantly became a beloved Richmond oasis. Despite local affection for Maymont, a period of steady deterioration persisted over the next forty-five years. Although the City began long overdue repairs in 1970, much still remained to be accomplished five years later when the nonprofit Maymont Foundation assumed responsibility for the estate. By 1980, ongoing collections conservation was established and a careful restoration of the mansion ensued, a long-term endeavor that has been supported by federal and private foundation grants and Maymont's preservation affinity group, the Maymont Council, founded in 1983. In recognition of exceptional stewardship, the American Institute for Conservation and Heritage Preservation honored the Maymont Mansion as the 2011 recipient of the Ross Merrill Award for Outstanding Commitment to Preservation and Care of Collections.

Maymont is important as a rare survivor, an amazingly intact Gilded Age estate, one that was conceived by Southerners during a challenging era of the region's history. Maymont expresses not only the singular vision of two generous and enlightened individuals, but moreover, it provides a compelling representation of the cultural forces,



Sallie Dooley's Swan-shaped bed and Tiffany & Company sterling silver dressing table and chair. Photo by Dale Quarterman.

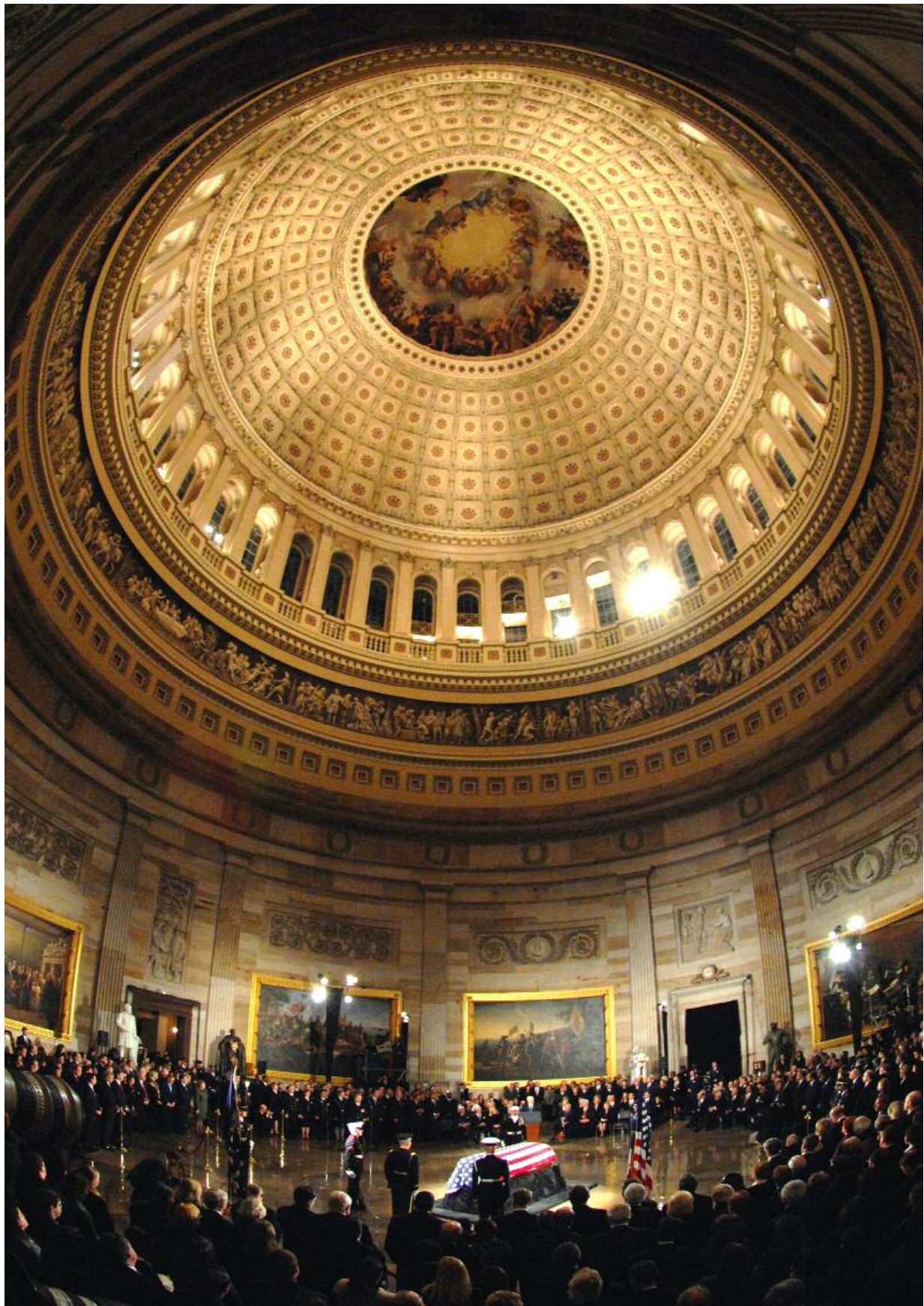
modern design, and affluent lifestyle of the period in which it was created. With its abundant historical resources, Maymont in its entirety comprises an unusually complete document of the Gilded Age. Indeed, James and Sallie Dooley left a showplace that continues to enthrall visitors today, a powerful evocation of a dynamic era of America's past.



In March 2017, The Victorian Society in America and Maymont will partner on a symposium and study tour titled *Aesthetic Revolutions & Victorian Taste*.

Notes

1. Etta Donnan Mann, *Four Years in the Governor's Mansion of Virginia*, 1910-1914, (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1937), 151.
2. "American Millionaires," *New York Tribune Monthly*, vol. 4, June 1892, 55.
3. Richard Guy Wilson, "Garden Estates," *America's Castles*, A & E Network television series, 1996. Dr. Wilson is the Commonwealth Professor of Architectural History at the University of Virginia and, since 1979, Director of The Victorian Society Summer School.
4. Barr Ferree, *American Country Estates and Gardens* (New York: Munn & Co., 1904), 1.
5. Ferree, 1.
6. Ferree, 2.
7. "What a Southern Capitalist Thinks of the Results of Grover Cleveland's Administration," *The New York Star*, August 9, 1888, 7.
8. William A. MacCorkle, *The Recollections of Fifty Years of West Virginia* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), 610.
9. Dale Cyrus Wheary, "Swannanoa: Summer Home of James and Sallie Dooley," *Augusta County Historical Bulletin*, vol.50 (Staunton, Va.: Augusta County Historical Society, 2014), 19-34.
10. Sallie Dooley to Biltmore Nursery, February 19, 1912, Biltmore Estate Archives. The author thanks Bill Alexander, Biltmore Landscape and Forest Historian, for sharing this resource.
11. *Chataignes' Richmond City Directory*, 1891-1893. See also "Davis Monument," *The Times*, June 30, 1896, Richmond, Va., 1.
12. Elizabeth Mahone, "Edgerton Stewart Rogers: 1860-1901" (unpublished paper, Principia College, 1988). Rogers also designed Westbrook near Richmond for tobacco tycoon Lewis Ginter; the house was razed in 1975.
13. James H. Dooley, Testimony, Annexation Hearing, City of Richmond vs. Henrico County, 1906, 1813. The author thanks Lynn Bayliss for locating this resource.
14. The City of Richmond replaced the mansion's red slate roof with gray Buckingham slate in 1962.
15. Calder Loth, interview, "Garden Estates," *America's Castles*, A & E Television Networks, 1996.
16. Laurie Ossman, *Great Houses of the South* (New York: Rizzoli, 2010), 212.
17. Although not documented, it is possible that the Dooleys may have used the services of Neuman & Co. to some extent at Maymont. This now obscure New York interior decorator and furnisher was engaged to coordinate Swannanoa's elaborate interiors. Neuman & Co. was in business in New York City from around 1880 through possibly as late as 1925.
18. Kenneth L. Ames, Maymont Interpretive Self-Study, unpublished report, 1996. Dr. Ames, Bard College Chairman and Professor of Graduate Studies in Decorative Arts, served as a consultant on Maymont's NEH-funded interpretive study.
19. Robert F. Doares, "On the Trail of a Canadian Dinner Service in the President Hayes Design," *American Ceramic Circle Journal*, vol. 18 (2015).
20. Miles Chappell, "Bernini and Francesco Grassia's 'Allegory of Human Life: the Origins and Clarification of Some Erroneous Suppositions,'" *The Southeastern College Art Conference Review* (1983), 126-134.
21. Dale Cyrus Wheary, "Vanity of Vanities: A Tiffany & Company Rediscovery," *The Magazine Antiques* (April 2008), 102-103.
22. In 1912, the Dooleys commissioned Tiffany to create for their summer home, Swannanoa, an even grander stained glass window depicting a youthful Sallie Dooley in classical garb standing in a luxuriously planted Italian garden with a mountain sunset in the background. See Tiffany Studios artist's proof photograph, numbered 13735, Maymont Mansion Archives.
23. "Brilliant Reception," *The Times*, February 10, 1898, Richmond, Virginia, 5.
24. Richard Guy Wilson, interview, "Garden Estates," *America's Castles*, A & E Television Network 1996.
25. "Mrs. Dooley's Brilliant Reception," *Richmond Dispatch*, February 13, 1898.
26. Maria Oakey Dewing, *Beauty in the Household*, 1882, reprint, p. 53-54. The author thanks Dr. Charles E. Brownell for sharing this reference.
27. *Illustrated Catalogue of Art Tiles Made by J. G. & J. F. Low*, (Chelsea, Massachusetts, 1887), reprint (Shannon and Norman Karlson, 1990), Plate No. VIII. The author is indebted to Dr. Charles Brownell for identifying the maker of the hearth tiles.
28. Dale Cyrus Wheary, "Vanity of Vanities: A Tiffany & Company Rediscovery," *The Magazine Antiques* (April 2008), 102-103.
29. Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *From Morning to Night: Domestic Service in Maymont House & the Gilded Age South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 21, 36.
30. James H. Dooley, Testimony, Annexation Hearing, City of Richmond vs. Henrico County, 1906, 1814.
31. Karen Steele, "Henry E. Baskerville: Eclectic Architect," *Richmond Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Summer 1984), 24-31. See also Christopher Novelli, "William Noland and Residential Design on Richmond's Franklin Street," (Master's Thesis, School of Architecture, University of Virginia, 1990). John E. Wells and Robert E. Dalton, *The Virginia Architects, 1835-1955* (Richmond: New South Architectural Press, 1997). 328-331. Dale Cyrus Wheary, "Swannanoa: Summer Home of James and Sallie Dooley" *Augusta County Historical Bulletin*.
32. *The Gardens of Italy*, ed. R. T. Bolton (London: Country Life, 1919). The author is indebted to Calder Loth for identifying the Villa Torlonia as the design source for Maymont's Fountain Pool and the Cascade Fountain.
33. Calder Loth, "The Dooley Mausoleum at Maymont," *Maymont Notes*, no. 2 (Maymont Foundation: Fall 2002), 4-7.
34. James Dooley to Florence Dooley Lewis, April 11, 1913, Adele Clark Papers, Special Collections, James Branch Cabell Library, Virginia Commonwealth University.
35. See note 34.
36. "Maymont," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, May 2, 1935. See also Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983) 198. Elouise Binns and Bian Tan, "The Search for Muto," (unpublished paper, Morris Arboretum Archives, 1988). Fitzhugh Elder, Jr. interview by Dale Wheary, January 26, 1981, transcript, Maymont Mansion Oral History Files.
37. Both pavilions fell derelict prior to 1975. Only the one perched on a ledge of the Waterfall has been reconstructed by Maymont Foundation. The Dooleys' Japanese Garden was much smaller than the present garden. It was renovated and expanded by Barry Starke of Earth Design in 1978.
38. Kendall H. Brown, *Quiet Beauty: Japanese Gardens in North America*, revised second printing (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2013), 33.



Overview of the United States Capitol Rotunda, December 30, 2006. Photograph taken during a memorial service for President Gerald R. Ford. (William Henry Powell's *Discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto, A.D. 1541* can be seen at rear, left of center). Photo by William D. Moss.

Politics and Paintings

EMANUEL LEUTZE, WILLIAM HENRY POWELL, AND THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Barbara J. Mitnick

In 1817, Congress commissioned the first four of an eventual eight history paintings for the Rotunda of the United States Capitol, an enormous central space between the House and Senate wings. John Trumbull of Connecticut, a Revolutionary War veteran with important social and political connections to many members of Congress, was chosen as the artist, and the four paintings by him were completed within the next ten years. They were based on events of the nation's Revolutionary period.

In the late 1820s, after the installation in the Rotunda of the last of the four Trumbull paintings, Congress turned its attention to the awarding of commissions to fill the remaining four empty panels.¹ Political squabbles primarily related to regional interests would hold up a decision on the selection of artists and subjects for many years. Finally, on June 23, 1836, as documented in the report of the 24th Congress, a joint committee was appointed to:

contract with one or more competent American artists for the execution of four historical pictures, upon subjects serving to illustrate the discovery of America, the settlement of the United States, the history of the revolution, or the adoption of the constitution, to be placed in the vacant panels of the rotundo [a common 19th century spelling and pronunciation], the subject to be left to the choice of the artists, under the control of the committee.²

In her history of the Rotunda commissions, Anne Uhry Abrams notes that the remaining four historical images would “provide excellent insights into the priorities and prejudices of the early nineteenth century.” It would also be clear that Congress was interested in protecting “the interests of the voters back home.”³

By order of Congress, ten thousand dollars (a sum that in today's money would total about a quarter of a million dollars) would be paid to each of the selected four painters: John Gadsby Chapman (*The Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1613*), Robert Walter Weir (*The Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, Holland, July 22, 1620*), John Vanderlyn (*The Landing of Columbus*), and Henry Inman. Inman had intended to create a narrative scene of the emigration to Kentucky of the explorer and frontiersman, Daniel Boone. However, almost ten years later, on January 17, 1846, he died at the relatively young age of 45, and his contract to produce his painting therefore went unfulfilled.⁴ By the time of Inman's death, the Chapman and Weir paintings had both been placed in the Rotunda, in 1840 and 1845 respectively; and the Vanderlyn would be installed in January of 1847.

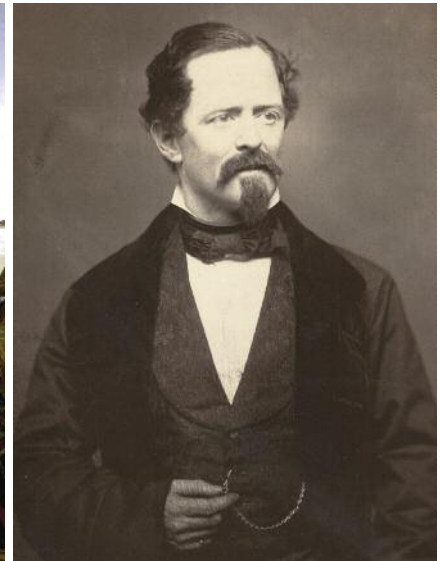
At that time, the eighth, and last, Rotunda panel remained unfilled and uncommissioned, even though stories and undocumented recollections have indicated that none other than Inman student Daniel Huntington and even Samuel F. B.

Morse had offered to complete Inman's work.⁵ It was not as though no other capable American history painters were available. Possible choices included Philadelphia's Peter Rothermel, who, in 1842, in commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in America, completed his first grand history painting, *Columbus Before the Queen*, today in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Also on the scene was Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868), an arguably even more accomplished painter who had been creating several history paintings including his own version of *Columbus Before the Queen*, now in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum.⁶

Finally, in early 1848, a contract for the space was awarded to another Inman pupil, William Henry Powell (1823-1879) without benefit of an open competition. According to Powell's written agreement with Congress, which he signed on January 14, 1848, he was to deliver the completed picture “within four years of the signing of the contract.” It also stipulated that the subject of the picture “shall come fairly and obviously within the scope of the joint Resolution of June 23rd 1836.”⁷ For his subject, Powell chose *Discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto A. D. 1541*.

While the early history of the first seven Rotunda commissions is straightforward, the history of the eighth—beginning with Henry Inman—is not. Here begins the interesting backstory including the concurrent activities and audacious maneuvering of Emanuel Leutze. This episode in American art history deserves a review and continuing investigation.

Considering the accomplishments of these artists and others of the period, the 1848 award of the commission for the final Rotunda panel to the young William Henry Powell must have been something of a surprise. The contemporary writer and art critic, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, was later to comment (in 1867) that it was “a commission bestowed upon him [Powell] rather in deference to his Western origin than because of priority of claim in point of rank or age.”⁸ It does seem that when he received the commission, Powell was simply in the right place at the right time and from the right part of the country, rather than the most qualified or best known history painter. Apparently born in New York, his youth was spent in Cincinnati, where he began his art studies with the portrait and animal painter, James Henry Beard. After he came to the attention of the major Cincinnati art patron and collector, Nicholas Longworth, Longworth reportedly financed Powell's 1837 trip to New York, where he became a student of Henry Inman. Powell subsequently sailed to Italy and studied there for the next three years. Until the Rotunda commission he seems to have painted a small number of portraits, but only one truly important history painting, *Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca*, now in the collection of the Phoenix Art Museum.⁹



L to R: William Henry Powell, *Discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto, A. D., 1541, 1848-53*. United States Capitol Art Collection. William H. Powell, c. 1880. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Beyond the few extant examples of Powell's work, a review of his inventories from the 1840s filed at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, and elsewhere, reveals little to recommend him for a Rotunda contract. Nevertheless, at the time that this new Rotunda commission was under consideration, a number of recommendations for Powell appeared; coincidentally, two significant letters to the Library Committee of Congress, both dated January 7, 1847, arrived. One was from none other than Washington Irving, at the time the renowned author of the then most popular biography of Christopher Columbus in America, a three-volume publication of 1828. And another came from Irving's friend and colleague, Henry Brevoort, recommending Powell's "genius and enthusiasm" for the Rotunda project. Moreover, an additional significant recommendation is found in the January 20, 1847, *Daily National Intelligencer*, arguably Washington D.C.'s most important newspaper of the time. Taken together, this correspondence suggests an organized and ongoing campaign for the commission on Powell's behalf.¹⁰

In early 1848, with the much prized contract in hand, Powell began work in his Paris studio—a location with some precedent, since John Vanderlyn also had completed his Capitol Rotunda commission, *Landing of Columbus*, there. As for Powell, one can only wonder about his artistic activities during this time, since it appears that his surviving paintings from this Paris period are so few in number. He likely was spending much of his time doing period research and is thought to have based his composition on several accounts and histories, including one by Washington Irving's nephew, Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto*, originally published in 1835, which acknowledges the Spanish conquistador and explorer as the first European to have seen the Mississippi River.¹¹

In 1853, the *DeSoto* was finished, although Powell was already a year late in sending it to Congress. Nevertheless, he was not yet ready to deliver the work; he apparently needed (or at least wanted) money—that is, reportedly, what he considered a final payment of \$2,000 (approximately \$60,000 in 2015 funds), which he requested in a July 31, 1854, letter to James Guthrie, then Secretary of the Treasury. In the letter, Powell does not mention the terms of his Rotunda

contract, which he had further violated by delaying the painting's installation so that he could send it for exhibition to several American cities. His personal needs and desires seemingly were paramount. He tells Guthrie that the work continues on tour in "New York, in the West, South, and Southwest," where he is "truly happy to say that it has met everywhere a cordial reception and the highest praise." In the letter, he also goes on to state that "this work of art has cost me five years of arduous and steady labour. The expenses attending it have run me in debt and I find myself forced, by my necessities, to ask for the remaining instalment [sic] of two thousand dollars." Then, possibly to soften the blow of the delay, he promises Guthrie that he will personally supervise the installation of the painting in the Rotunda in two months—September of 1854, but he appears to have proceeded to delay that date as well, since according to newspaper accounts and the records of Congress, the work was not actually placed until five months later on February 16, 1855.¹²

It is also noteworthy that during the installation delay, some critics were still lamenting that the major public commission had not gone to someone else. For example, Charles Lanman, writing in the *Crayon* of February 28, 1855 (even after Powell's work was finally installed) was still arguing that it should have been awarded to Daniel Huntington, Peter Roethermel, or Emanuel Leutze.¹³

It is Leutze's involvement in this controversy that continues to provide most of the intrigue. Although born in Germany, Leutze is remembered by scholars as the finest American history painter of the mid-nineteenth century. At the age of nine, he immigrated with his family to America, settling in Philadelphia. His art training consisted of a brief period of study with the English-born painter and printmaker, John Rubens Smith, in Philadelphia; travel to Washington, D. C. in January of 1837, where he began working on submissions for the fourth volume of James Barton Longacre and James Herring's *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*; then on to Virginia for the next two years where he apparently concentrated on portraits. In 1840 Leutze sailed for Europe. By February of 1841, he had settled in Düsseldorf and studied in the Düsseldorf Academy of Fine Arts, a serious destination particularly for American landscape

as well as history painters during that period. By the following year, with two colleagues, Trevor McClurg and J. G. Schwarze, Leutze opened a studio in Düsseldorf. In 1845, he married Prussian-born Juliane Lottner and settled in Germany with his new family, which came to include four children.¹⁴

Leutze's interest in the empty eighth Rotunda panel most likely began in 1846, after Inman's January death, and continued for the next two years before the commission was awarded to Powell in January of 1848. A letter published in the November 14, 1846 issue of the *Daily National Intelligencer*, by an unidentified writer, states:

Leutze now stands, beyond dispute, at the head of the American school, (if such it can be called), as the successor of Washington Allston...To the public in general, the name of Leutze is almost unknown; but among the collectors and patrons of our art, he has taken of late, by a variety of pictures, the very highest place.¹⁵

Then, with reference to the Rotunda, after noting examples of Leutze's "admirable" pictures, the writer of the letter goes on to strongly recommend that Leutze's work be included in the Rotunda itself.

Despite this praise, in his 1976 major unpublished manuscript, Leutze scholar Raymond Stehle states that "there is no evidence that Leutze gave the matter any thought."¹⁶ This is a highly questionable conclusion, for despite Stehle's meticulous research, a strong argument can be made that Leutze is more than likely to have given the matter a great deal of thought. There is no doubt that he was personally acquainted with Powell, as evidenced by the discovery of a photograph of both Powell and Leutze (among others) taken in Rome in 1845 during a meeting of the American Sketchbook Club.¹⁷ Despite his residence and commitments in Düsseldorf, Leutze had traveled to Italy to attend a meeting of the group, which would most likely also have included updates and conversations among the participants about their current projects and commissions.

Moreover, even after his firm establishment in Düsseldorf, there is no question that Leutze was seeking commissions on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, in an article published on September 19, 1846 in the *New York Mirror*, it is reported that Leutze was "at Düsseldorf where he purposes [sic]

remaining for some time, having on hand commissions from the U.S. to the amount of \$30,000 [approximately \$900,000 in 2015 funds]."¹⁸ It is likely he was aware of the substantial publicity surrounding the installation of Vanderlyn's *Landing of Columbus* in the Rotunda in early 1847. And Leutze's close following of news of the arts in America is further documented in a letter he wrote on June 14, 1847 to Philadelphian James T. Furness, thanking him for providing the "doings in the fine arts in Philadelphia" and also noting that "among my happiest hours are those when I receive letters or see friends from home."¹⁹ It would have been important for Leutze to keep abreast of commissions as well as various opportunities in the United States in general. That in 1849 he was exhibiting his paintings in the newly established Düsseldorf Gallery in New York City is further proof of keeping his interests in both continents.²⁰

Leutze seems to have had highly ambitious plans for his future commissions. And by the end of the 1840s, it is clear that he was determined to make a dramatic departure from the sizes of the history paintings he produced earlier in the decade. While his *Columbus Before the Queen* had been completed in a 39 by 51 inch format—a size entirely appropriate for inclusion in spaces available in both public and private collections—in 1849, in his Düsseldorf studio, Leutze began to create the first version of his now world famous *Washington Crossing the Delaware* in the unusually large size of twelve feet five inches by twenty-one feet three inches. One can speculate about the reasons for the vast change, but the coincidence of this major enlargement in size and format with the size of the still vacant Rotunda space remains a serious subject of interest.²¹

Leutze was then planning a trip to America, but as documented in the August 1849 edition of the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, he suddenly postponed his trip. He was "about to paint [his first version of] *Washington Crossing the Delaware*." Did he intend to try to obtain the final Rotunda eighth-panel commission despite its award a year earlier to Powell? If that was not the case, was he interested in exhibiting *Washington Crossing the Delaware* in the United States to obtain other government commissions? In October (as reported in a new issue of the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*) another postponement was announced.²² Then, more



L to R: Emanuel Leutze, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, 1851. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.. Emanuel Leutze, *Self Portrait*, c. 1865. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

than a year later, on November 5, a fire in Leutze's studio seriously damaged the painting, and its hurried removal from the studio caused the huge canvas to break in several places. At first, Leutze believed that the condition of the work rendered it beyond repair, but this opinion was not shared by the German insurance company, who by virtue of the damage had become its new owner. Leutze himself was hired to restore it; afterward it was sold in a lottery and went on to be exhibited in cities including Düsseldorf and Berlin, where it was awarded a gold medal in December of 1852. It found its final home in 1863 in the Kunsthalle in Bremen, where it was destroyed in a British air raid in early September of 1942. (Some have joked that this was Britain's final revenge on George Washington).²³

In 1851, despite his restoration commitment for the first version, Leutze quickly ordered a new canvas in order to produce a second version, once again in a Rotunda-sized format. And again, he postponed his American trip. Leutze did not intend to travel to the United States without *Washington Crossing the Delaware!*

According to publications including the *Düsseldorfer Journal und Kreisblatt* of July 16, 1851, the second *Washington Crossing the Delaware* had been finished. In early September, in the *New York Evening Post*, Leutze is mentioned as having arrived in New York on the Steamship *Atlantic*, with the painting in tow.²⁴ Numerous notices of his outstanding new work began to appear. For example, in October, when the painting was placed on view at the Stuyvesant Institute in New York City, a writer for *the Literary World* judged it "incomparably the best painting yet executed of an American subject." On November 7, a critic in the *New York Evening Mirror* identified it as "the grandest, most majestic, and most effective painting ever exhibited in America," and the praise goes on and on.²⁵ According to Leutze scholar Raymond Stehle, Henry Tuckerman was the author of an article with no byline in a November issue of the *Bulletin of the American Art Union*, in which the unidentified writer used this occasion to suggest that the decoration of the "halls in the additions to the Capitol, the construction of which had been started not long before, be put under Leutze's control," in an echo of the anonymous 1846 recommendation in the *Daily National Intelligencer*.²⁶ These accolades and others were reinforced by the scenes of the thousands of people who lined up to see the work at the Stuyvesant Institute for twenty five cents each. And as late as 1913, Henry James, who in 1851 was a child of only eight years, was moved to recall the "thrill" and overwhelming experience of seeing what he referred to as Leutze's "epoch-making masterpiece."²⁷

Washington Crossing the Delaware continued on an American tour that by March 15, 1852 ended at its most important venue, none other than the Capitol Rotunda—as had been arranged by Leutze through the efforts of Philadelphian John Skirving, an advocate of the painter's work, who was then a contractor in the Washington building trades at work in the Capitol. Newspapers, again including the *Daily National Intelligencer*, noted its presence in the Rotunda in its March 16, 1852 issue. On March 22, the same paper, though noting its continued praise for the earlier Trumbulls, reported that "some claim for this picture [*Washington Crossing the Delaware*] a superiority over every other in the rotundo [*sic*]..."²⁸

Other notices appeared later in the month and throughout the first half of April. The exact location of the display of *Washington Crossing the Delaware* in the Capitol Rotunda is unknown; it would be fascinating to discover that it was on view in front of the still unoccupied space for the eighth panel—the very panel that by contractual obligation should have by then been filled with Powell's *DeSoto*. Leutze's Rotunda display did serve to garner other government commissions, which came to fruition by the late 1850s. And as Barbara Groseclose has outlined in her important work on Leutze, it resulted in private commissions as well (among them David Leavitt's also-enormous *Washington Rallying the Troops at the Battle of Monmouth*).²⁹

On March 25, 1852, Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire offered a resolution to Congress:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Buildings be instructed with the propriety of purchasing the great national painting, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, and occasioning it to be placed in the mansion of the President of the United States.³⁰

But nothing happened. And according to Raymond Stehle, this apparent lack of interest is what had moved Leutze to complete the sale of *Washington Crossing the Delaware* to the private collector, Marshall O. Roberts, although it appears that the artist continued to market the idea of a replica for the government throughout March and early April. On April 5, 1852, Leutze petitioned Congress for a commission to make the replica along with a companion piece depicting *Washington Rallying the Troops at the Battle of Monmouth*. Three days later, Senator James Cooper of New York asked Congress to give Leutze's application favorable consideration, but this request (along with others for painters G. P. A. Healy and Peter Rothermel) appears to have gone unanswered.³¹ Finally, on May 16 of that year, Leutze sailed back to Germany.

By 1860, times had changed. In 1853, Montgomery Meigs had become the Supervising Engineer of the Capitol, and in a letter of January 12, 1854 to Leutze he began discussions about a new government commission. The "Manifest Destiny" subject of *Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way*, now located in the west stairway of the House Wing of the Capitol was subsequently completed by Leutze in 1861. At the same time, Powell, having followed his Rotunda *DeSoto* with Perry's *Victory on Lake Erie* for the Ohio State Capitol, was commissioned to paint a larger version of this painting for the east stairway of the U.S. Senate wing, a work he completed many years later in 1873. Again, politics no doubt played a part.³²

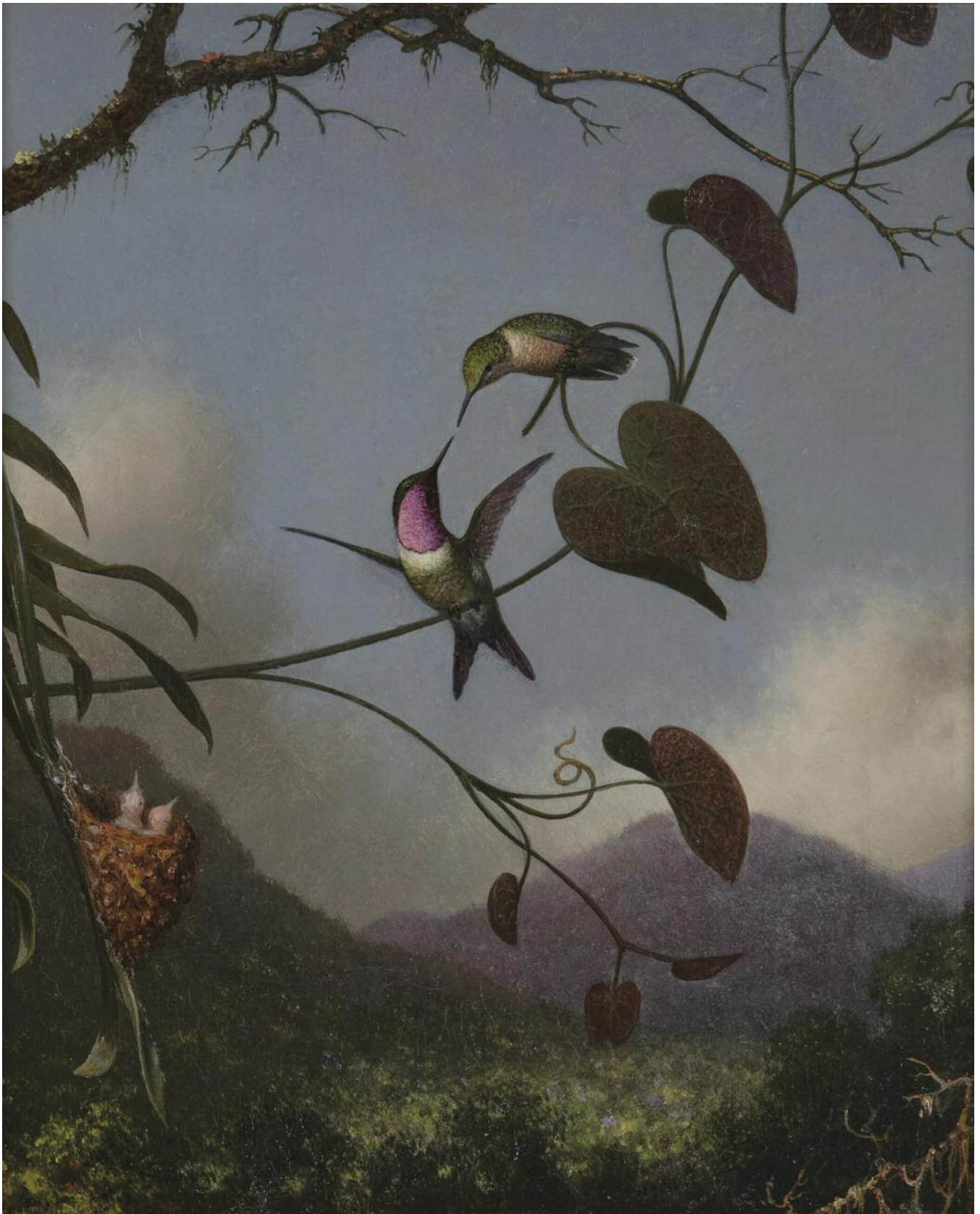
In conclusion, seven of the eight great paintings in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol were commissioned, produced, and then hung in their allotted spaces. The history of the eighth painting, particularly its delay in execution and installation, appears to have set the stage for the temptation of Emanuel Leutze to jump into the gap and produce his masterpiece, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, in close to the right size to fit the Rotunda space. A coincidence? Probably not, it can be argued.

Leutze appeared to have been waiting in the wings while also interested in establishing himself as a significant player in the history of United States Capitol history. Nothing ventured, nothing gained.



Notes

1. This article is an expanded version of a paper delivered by the author at the annual conference of the College Art Association, Washington, D. C., February 3, 2016. For discussions of the commission of the eight paintings in the Capitol Rotunda, see Anne Uhry Abrams, "National Paintings and American Character: Historical Murals in the Capitol Rotunda" in William Ayres (general editor), *Picturing History: American Painting 1770-1930* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1993), pp. 65-79 and Vivien Green Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 42-61.
2. U. S. Congress, House, *Register of Debates*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., 23 Je. 1836, XII, pt. 4, Appendix, xxiii.
3. Abrams, "National Paintings," pp. 65 and 70.
4. See Theodore Bolton, "Henry Inman: An Account of his Life and Work," *The Art Quarterly* (Autumn, 1940), p. 372, where the author notes that "save for a sketch," a government commission to paint one of the large pictures for the Rotunda of the Capitol, Washington, D. C. was left unfinished at Inman's death. Suffering from asthma and therefore undoubtedly concerned that he would face an early death, Inman wrote to Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, on May 22, 1840 requesting that future payments due him for work on his Rotunda painting be sent directly to John Duer, Vice President of the American Life Insurance Co. Library of Congress.
5. See William Gerdts, *The Art of Henry Inman* (Washington, D. C.; National Portrait Gallery, 1987), pp. 42-43, where the author mentions other possible artists to complete Inman's commission.
6. For Rothermel, see Mark Edward Thistlethwaite, *Painting in the Grand Manner: The Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel* (1812-1895). (Chadds Ford, P. A.: Brandywine River Museum, 1995). For Leutze, see Raymond L. Stehle, *The Life and Works of Emanuel Leutze*, unpublished typescript (Washington, D. C., 1976), Office of the Architect of the U. S. Capitol and Barbara S. Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze, 1816-1868: Freedom is the Only King* (Washington, D. C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1975).
7. Powell's contract with Congress titled "A Picture for the Rotunda of the Capitol" identifies \$10,000 as consideration for this commission. Office of the Architect of the Capitol. For a detailed and early history of artwork in the Capitol, see also Charles E. Fairman, *Art and Artists of the Capitol* (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1927).
8. See Henry Theodore Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life* (Reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1967), p. 458.
9. For Powell, see Henri L. Stuart, *William H. Powell's Historical Picture of the Discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto A. D. 1541*. Painted by order of the U. S. Government for the Rotunda of the National Capitol at Washington...a Brief Biography of Mr. Powell...a Description of the Painting. (New York, 1854). See also Michael J. Devine, "The Historical Paintings of William Henry Powell." *Ohio History* (Winter, 1980), pp. 65-77.
10. Letters dated January 7, 1847 to the Library Committee of Congress from Washington Irving and Henry Brevoort. Office of the Architect of the Capitol. See also *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 20, 1847. Library of Congress.
11. Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1835).
12. Letter from Powell (from New York residence at 44 East 22nd Street) to James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury, dated July 31, 1854. Office of the Architect of the Capitol.
13. *The Crayon*, February 28, 1855, p. 136-137. Lanman is remembered as an artist, librarian, author, government official and explorer.
14. For additional biographical information on Leutze, see, for example, Stehle, *The Life and Works of Emanuel Leutze and Groseclose, Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868): Freedom Is the Only King*.
15. *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 14, 1846, p. 2. Library of Congress.
16. Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 19.
17. See "Sketch club of American Artists at Rome during the winter of 1844 & 5 Apr.26," Philibert Perraud, photographer. Miscellaneous photographs collection. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
18. *New York Mirror*, Sept. 19, 1846. Quoted in Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 18.
19. Letter written by Leutze to James T. Furness, June 14, 1847 quoted in Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 18.
20. The Dusseldorf Gallery opened in New York City in 1849. See *Catalogue of Paintings and Original Drawings by Artists of the Dusseldorf Academy of Fine Arts* (New York: George F. Nesbitt, printer; 1849). Leutze exhibited *Henry VIII and Anna Boleyna* (#50) and *The Puritan and his Daughter* (#80) in the gallery's first exhibition.
21. For background information on Leutze's first version of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, see Stehle, *Life and Works*, pp. 24-60 and Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze*, pp. 34-41.
22. *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, August, 1849, p. 27 and October, 1849, p. 25.
23. For example, see David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 3.
24. Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 32.
25. *Literary World*, October 18, 1851. *New York Evening Mirror*, November 7, 1851. See also Stehle, *Life and Works*, pp. 29-33.
26. *Bulletin of the American Art Union*, November 1851, pp. 130-132, quoted in Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 39.
27. Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 266-267.
28. See references to Skirving correspondence in Stehle, *Life and Works*, pp. 41-44. For notices of the exhibition of the painting in the Capitol Rotunda, see *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 16, 22, 26, and April 9.
29. Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze*, pp. 44-46 and 85 (cat. 62).
30. See Stehle, *Life and Works*, pp. 45-46.
31. Stehle, *Life and Works*, p. 46. For the Cooper resolution, see Fairman, *Art and Artists*, p. 138 and *The Congressional Globe*, April 8, 1852.
32. Letter from Montgomery Meigs to Emanuel Leutze in Dusseldorf, January 12, 1854. Office of the Architect of the Capitol. For Meigs, see also Russell F. Weigley, "Captain Meigs and the Artists of the Capitol: Federal Patronage of Art in the 1850s," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C.*, Vol 69/70, pp. 285-305.



Martin Johnson Heade, *Amethyst Woodstar*, c.1864. Crystal Bridges Museum of Art.

Hummingbirds, Emperors, and Railway Barons

HEADE'S *GEMS* AND THEIR JOURNEYS

Cynthia Haveson Veloric

American painter Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904) is best known for his lush paintings of tropical locales, oversized orchids, and dramatically-lit salt marshes. His work can be found amongst the highlights of nineteenth century landscape and still-life collections of most major American museums. But appreciation of Heade's style was slow in forming, and during his mid-career he worked in the shadows of his more popular Hudson River School colleagues. Though he exhibited widely in New York, his work sold for small sums, and fame and recognition eluded him. In a bold move, Heade sailed off for Brazil in 1863. Whether this sojourn was a retreat from the competitive atmosphere of the New York studios and Academy of Design, or a personal dodge from the Civil War is not known, but the oils he created in Brazil certainly have an escapist quality. They featured dreamy landscapes and series of hummingbirds which he called *The Gems of Brazil*. Though much has been written about Heade's hummingbirds to date, this essay describes how *The Gems of Brazil* functioned as a pivot point for Heade's internationalism, and led to a number of "firsts" for an American artist in Brazil, and later London.¹ The artist used human connections, foreign countries, and exotic material to further his career and mark himself as a culturally enlightened, sophisticated artist. Encouraged to go to South America by Frederic Church, among others, he was one of the first professional artists to work in Brazil,² engage with life and culture there, and establish a reputation for himself—a reputation that was endorsed by the Emperor himself. He was also the first American to send paintings from Brazil to London to be chromolithographed, thus widening his exposure while spreading knowledge of relatively unknown lands. Once in London, he exhibited at prestigious venues, sold his oil paintings, and made the acquaintance of some of the leading minds of the day. When he returned to North America he brought back a unique and heartfelt artistic product. *The Gems of Brazil* (hereafter *Gems*) was comprised of twenty small-scale oils (12 x 10 inches). The name *Gems* may refer not only to the hummingbirds, but to the small size of the panels, each one a little treasure. The exotic birds are shown in realistic detail in a variety of positions—at rest, feeding, mating, and eating. Sometimes they are self-enclosed solid forms on branches; sometimes they become decorative shapes through the design and color of their spread wings. One particularly dramatic composition shows one bird aloft as it shares food with another through its bill. Supporting the birds are meticulously detailed branches, vines and flowers. These sharp, linear compositional elements occupy the foreground while mist and clouds shroud the lush tropical scenery in the background. Also setting off the brilliant colored skins and feathers are the cool grays and blues of the background. This creates an unexpected visual jolt because

Heade does not resort to traditional depictions of receding pictorial space. Clearly he is focusing on the birds while still conveying a true, if dramatic picture of their natural habitat. It is the realism of the birds combined with the authenticity of the environment that made these paintings so unique. This accomplishment alone should have made Heade a critical and financial success throughout the Atlantic world.

Heade (1819-1904) who hailed from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, had his early artistic training close to home with Edward Hicks, another Bucks County native. He began his career as a portrait painter, and debuted at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1841. He was not to remain local for long. His cosmopolitan inclinations and sense of wanderlust took him abroad, where he studied and lived in Rome for two years. When he returned to America he worked as an itinerant portrait painter as far south as Richmond, Virginia, and as far west as Saint Louis; exhibiting in major cities including Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Providence, and Boston. In 1858 he settled into the Tenth Street Studios in New York. There he met Frederic Church, who became a dear friend and with whom he eventually shared a studio. Meanwhile Heade had begun to paint still lifes, landscapes and seascapes of the northeastern seaboard. Church, who had painted landscapes in South America, urged Heade to follow suit and journey to the southern continent. Church, along with countless numbers of artist-travellers had been inspired by Prussian geographer and intellectual Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Humboldt's travels in Latin America and his subsequent publication *Kosmos* (1845-62, translated into English 1850), stimulated the theories of Darwin and the ecology and environmental movements. Church actually followed Humboldt's footsteps in the northern Andes of Ecuador in 1853 and 1857, before he met Heade. One can imagine Church relating his adventures to his new studio mate, and the two artists discussing the infinite varieties of nature to be found closer to the equator and their desire to paint them. Both shared an artistic and scientific curiosity about the world beyond the Atlantic and were willing to relinquish the comforts of urban life to experience it.

By 1863 Heade had formulated a definitive mission—to observe, sketch, and paint the hummingbirds native to Brazil. Either through friends and contacts in the Boston area or good public relation skills, Heade's intentions were reported in the *Boston Transcript* in August, 1863, "M. J. Heade Esq., the artist so well known for his landscapes...is about to visit Brazil, to paint those winged jewels, the hummingbirds, in all their variety of life as found beneath the tropics."³ He was planning "to prepare in London or Paris a large and elegant Album on these wonderful little creatures, got up in the highest style of art." Heade's love of hummingbirds extended back to his

childhood when he saw a ruby-throated one in Bucks County. Now he would seek out an authentic and immediate experience with the little winged creatures which would result in a novel combination of small-scale oils and a lavishly illustrated book.

Other artist naturalists before Heade created highly finished renderings of birds from North and South America which were printed and published as large folios, but none of the artists had studied the birds from life. Alexander Wilson, a Scottish immigrant, published his *American Ornithology* (1808-1814), the first natural history book on American birds. Wilson drew most of the birds himself; the engraving was mostly handled by Alexander Lawson and John G. Warnicke. Wilson worked with a small budget and so had to crowd as many specimens as he could onto one plate for the series. John James Audubon's *Birds of America* (1827-1838) was more ambitious in scale, color and design. The work consisted of hand-colored, life-size prints, made from engraved plates, measuring around 39 by 26 inches. Audubon used wires and threads to hold the dead birds in life-like poses while he drew them. Englishman John Gould had created three hundred and sixty plates of hand-colored lithographs in his *Monograph of the Trochilidae, a Family of Hummingbirds* (1849-1861). Gould worked from skins only, having never set foot in South America. These three publications set the standard for ornithological illustrations; they are naturalistically colored, precise, and sensitively drawn.⁴ None of these artists were American; perhaps Heade saw this as an opportunity to claim the field for an American artist. Also, these images of birds were primarily scientific illustrations, intended for study and classification purposes, with a lesser emphasis on artistic qualities. Heade, a full-blown professional artist, had the training, skill, materials, and resources to render hummingbirds in a more artistic way, while still being faithful to science. It is known that he referred to these books for corroboration for he found them reliable. In his introduction to *The Gems* he makes reference to the scientific illustrators with the disclaimer,

Without assuming for this monograph the importance of a scientific character, it has been the object of this author, by consulting the works of various Trochilidists (hummingbird specialists) as well as by gleaning all the information possible relating to the birds...⁵

Although Heade's stated motivation to visit Brazil was ostensibly the hummingbirds, we may assume that he wanted to set himself apart from other American artists whose idea of cosmopolitanism was to sojourn or study in the ateliers of Europe. Although other artists had visited Brazil, they were attached to government or private expeditions whose aim was to record native species, landscape and or ports of call in a scientific or documentary way.⁶ A thorough reading of his Hummingbird Notebook does not reveal any political agenda; there is no evidence that Heade subscribed to the prevailing American ideology about manifest destiny or Pan-American unity. The idea of exploring Brazil in particular may have come from Reverend James C. Fletcher (1823-1901) whom Heade met while painting in Newburyport, Massachusetts in the late 1850s until the early 1860s.⁷ Fletcher was acting secretary of the United States legation at Rio de Janeiro in the 1850s and co-author of the book *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857) in which he informed his readers of the many varieties of hummingbirds to be found there. Rio, in fact, was a

"hummingbird center" where skins were traded, and feathers sold to Europeans for hats. Fletcher may have encouraged Heade to produce an illustrated book on hummingbirds, though there is no evidence that he intended to collaborate or fund the project. An amateur naturalist, Fletcher collected specimens in Brazil for Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard. It is likely that Fletcher connected Heade with this renowned zoologist, for they both shared goals of creating compendia of species from Brazil. (Although Heade would serve the scientific community by bringing back specimens of tropical birds and butterflies, he was not able to fulfill Agassiz's request to bring back hummingbird eggs.)⁸ Perhaps Fletcher's most useful role was to be the conduit through which Heade met many prominent Brazilians, including the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II. Pedro had brought distinction, political, and economic stability to Brazil, while making it an international power. A great sponsor of learning, the arts, and the sciences, he strengthened the Academy of Fine Arts and created libraries, music and geographic institutes. His erudition and support was noted abroad by his election to London's Royal Society and the American Geographical Society among others. His friends included Pasteur, Agassiz, Graham Bell, and Wagner. An introduction to the Emperor would be Heade's ticket to success there.

We can cite other influences on Heade's decision to sail to the southern hemisphere—some are direct, some are subtle, or even subconscious. All of them had to do with expanding his horizons artistically, intellectually, and physically. He had been visually transported to foreign lands through illustrated travel books available to him through his friend and patron John Russell Bartlett. Bartlett, an important political, cultural, and publishing figure in Providence and New York, published some of Heade's travelogues (under a pseudonym) in the *Providence Journal* in the late 1850s until the early 1860s.⁹ Church's great production of his sojourns, the *Heart of the Andes* (1859), resplendent with countless details of the natural terrain, was unveiled to an awestruck crowd in New York in 1859. A huge critical and financial success followed.¹⁰ Heade could not have been unaffected by this phenomenon. While respecting his friend and mentor, he may have become slightly jealous, or alternatively, more inspired, perhaps needing to escape from Church's high profile and pursue fame and recognition on his own terms; to literally follow a different path.¹¹ No matter which of the abovementioned circumstances caused Heade's decision, he planned to paint in Brazil, gain recognition there, and maximize his exposure by sending his paintings to London to be reproduced.

Heade embarked from New York on the steamer *Golden City* on September 2, 1863 and arrived in Rio on September 20. While there he wrote several letters and kept a journal (referred to as the Brazil-London Journal).¹² From these sources we can peer inside his most private thoughts, see his sketches of tropical life, and read his draft for an introduction to *Gems*. It was in Rio that he accomplished a number of firsts on the part of an American artist in this period.

Almost immediately he set upon sketching the birds. The sketches were based primarily on field observations, but he also used skins and dead birds; he even dissected one.¹³ This may have been unusual for a portraitist and landscape painter, but Heade had been an avid hunter of birds and small game throughout his life. His passion for wildlife, and birds in particular, is evident in much of his artwork after his trip to Brazil and in his writing for *Forest and Stream* magazine.¹⁴

Late in life, he even kept pet hummingbirds in his Florida home.¹⁵

In his Introduction to *Gems* he speaks of the birds with emotion, giving them human and domestic qualities. He also writes about their adaptive qualities, for example how the bill is shaped to get its food from deep inside a flower.¹⁶ The paintings depict the birds in striking realistic detail and their habits as well. Little vignettes show the birds as a family—in pairs at the nest, males ruffling their feathers in mating rituals, feeding one another. There is evidence that Heade was well aware of and interested in Charles Darwin's concept of evolution and natural selection.¹⁷ Darwin's publication, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859) was widely discussed in literary and scientific circles in America before Heade went to Brazil. The fact that Heade shows his beloved birds in a variety of rituals which allow them to survive and reproduce, allies the paintings closely with Darwin's theories.

When Heade began *The Gems*, John Ruskin's writings on landscape, nature and spirituality were the fashion in England and to some extent America. American Pre-Raphaelite painters, whose attitudes were influenced by Ruskin, were present in the Tenth Street Studio building in the 1860s, and thus accessible to Heade. Ruskin extolled the virtues of landscape painting as a means by which one discovers the "truth of nature, immanent with divine presence." The artist was commanded to paint nature with scientific precision in order to reveal the creative power of the deity. The more details painted, the more ideas of God's handiwork would be revealed, and the greater the significance of the image.¹⁸ Whether Heade was a religious man or not, he seemed to believe in a higher power. In his introduction to *The Gems*, he quoted Audubon, who found signs of divinity in the birds he observed:

...where is the person, I ask, who, on observing this glittering fragment of the rainbow would not pause, admire and turn his mind with reverence toward the Almighty Creator, the wonders of whose hand we at every step discover, and of whose Sublime and beautiful conceptions we everywhere observe the manifestations in his admirable system of Creation?¹⁹

Considering Heade's use of painstaking detail in his birds, trees, and flowers, and his reverence for Audubon's words, one might assume that he was also moved by Ruskin's philosophy. Cao offers a different interpretation of his pictorial choices:

Though Heade's hummingbirds are executed with a precision reminiscent of the Pre-Raphaelites, his emphasis on expansive landscape backgrounds and his use of oil paint indicate divergent motivations...[his] fragments of nature are neither a microcosm invested with spiritual importance nor something to be stitched into a composite to form a worldly macrocosm.²⁰

In this proposition the hummingbird remains merely a pictorial fragment, devoid of larger aesthetic or otherworldly associations. While viewing *The Gems*, one can indeed focus on the fragment, the particularity and the preciousness of these birds in the moment, while at the same time appreciating the beauty and lushness of mother nature at large.

We do not know if Brazilian viewers of *Gems* were familiar with any of these concepts or publications, but they were quite

enthusiastic about the oils. Though Heade's first impressions of Brazil were those of poverty, dirt, and ignorance, he eventually changed his opinion after meeting a number of prominent citizens.²¹ The ticket to Heade's success in Rio, though, was his acquaintance with Emperor Dom Pedro II. Fletcher, who knew the emperor, had arranged an introduction in advance. The artist recorded that he dressed up "white kitted and clerically cravatted," brought gifts, and showed the emperor some of his own paintings including hummingbirds. Of the visit, Heade recorded, "He expressed great delight on seeing two of my unfinished oiseau mouche...and desired me to revisit the palace when they were all completed."²²

Later in 1864 he did indeed have a private audience with the emperor. At that meeting he showed him twelve of his *Gems of Brazil* and they discussed the book project. Heade asked the emperor for permission to publish it under his royal patronage. He wrote in his journal that the Emperor bowed, agreed, smiled and generally "lay aside his royalty."²³ This exchange and honor was the first documented by an American



Martin Johnson Heade, *Black-breasted Plovercrest*, c.1864. Crystal Bridges Museum of Art.

artist in Brazil. We can only wonder if the two met again in America in 1876, when the Emperor visited the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.

A month after this private meeting, Heade exhibited the *Gems of Brazil* paintings at the annual Academy of Fine Arts exhibition in Rio. The emperor and his family were in attendance. Surely they openly admired Heade's work, especially since the Emperor had given him previous encouragement. A few of Heade's views of the harbor at Rio, also on exhibit, were locales suggested to Heade by the emperor. Their special relationship was recognized in print—the exhibition catalogue noted that *The Gems* were to be

the basis of an illustrated book dedicated to the emperor.²⁴ On March 30, 1864, Dom Pedro named Heade as a Knight of the Order of the Rose “for the works with which you have distinguished the General exposition of the Academia das Bellas [sic] Artes in the past year.”²⁵ This was the first documented honor of its kind for an American artist in Brazil.

Throughout that spring Heade continued to paint birds and local scenery, while he socialized with educated and accomplished locals, ex-patriots, and international residents. He spent a great deal of time with James Watson Webb, the head of the United States Mission in Brazil, and former publisher of the *New York Journal and Courier*. Webb and his socialite wife entertained Heade in their city home, and at their mountain retreat, where the emperor was a frequent visitor. It was perhaps through this well-connected couple that Heade met the prominent people who subscribed to his book project. He found around sixty subscribers who contributed nearly three thousand dollars towards the elegant, leather-bound folio.²⁶ This approbation marks Heade as a successful international artist at this point in his career.

Once Heade had the backing of the emperor and an international group of subscribers, he commenced looking for a highly qualified printer. He may have had a few in mind before he left New York. He may not have been impressed with the artistic merits of his predecessors’ ornithological volumes, because he did not contact any of those printing firms or publishers. He specifically wanted to have his oil paintings reproduced as chromolithographs, a process he hoped would capture the nuances of color and atmosphere he desired. In the early 1860s, there were reputable lithography firms producing chromolithographs in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. But many of these lithographs had to be colored by hand after the final printing step. For example, Julius Bien in New York began publishing Audubon’s *Birds* as chromolithographs in 1858. Though the edition was a major technical accomplishment, there is evidence of hand coloring. This demonstrates that “fully mechanized chromolithography was still as unusual in America in 1858 as it had been in Europe a decade earlier.”²⁷ The need for hand coloring meant that the job became labor intensive, expensive, and slow. Heade, who had travelled and studied in Europe, may not have considered any of these firms up to the job in a technical sense. Chromolithography in America at that time was associated with commercialism and Heade may have shared the American bias that lithography was not fine art. He decided to have his book printed in either France or England before he left America for Brazil. In the 1860s, Paris was a known as a high quality lithography center which produced and distributed prints all over Europe and America. Many of the best German lithographers had emigrated there during or after the wars of 1848.²⁸

But Heade did not choose Paris, opting instead for London. There were enough valid reasons. Audubon and Gould had both had their work printed there to great success, establishing a new tradition of ornithological anthology.

Gould’s exhibition of fifteen hundred hummingbird specimens at the Zoological Gardens in Regent’s Park had been the rage of London in 1851. Even though thousands of hummingbirds (and other exotic species) were shipped as specimens into England during the Victorian period for study, none apparently were cultivated in aviaries.²⁹ Perhaps Heade wished to build upon that excitement, following up with an exquisite artistic folio that would serve as a replacement for the living birds. England was home to Ruskin and Darwin, whose theories and publications were avidly discussed. By the early 1860s the study of natural history was pervasive throughout Europe, but especially in Britain. National history societies were founded in Northumbria (1829), London (1858) and Birmingham (1859). These societies promoted scientific, empirical investigations of nature. Exploration and specimen gathering led to publications and new private and public collections. Lastly, there was a trend for suburban gardens and greenhouses, where rare varieties of trees, flowers, fruits, and shrubs were the pride of amateur horticulturalists.³⁰ Heade’s folios of exotic birds, situated in the wild forests of Brazil, could serve two purposes for the collector—provide a visual foil or escape from current British industrialization and rural development, and contribute to the progress of natural science by offering illustrations of birds in their natural habitats, done from life. Once he returned to the States, he hoped the same would hold true for American collectors and naturalists.

So he turned to two firms in London—Day & Son and M. & N. Hanhart. Day & Son was a large and prestigious lithographic company which had been granted the status of “Lithographer to Queen Victoria and to the Queen Dowager” in 1837. In 1851 they were commissioned by architect Matthew Wyatt to produce the book *The Industrial Arts of the*



Martin Johnson Heade, *Sunset Harbor at Rio*, 1864. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

Nineteenth Century, a selection of items from the Great Exhibition of 1851 (where they won a medal). This large folio of one hundred and sixty chromolithographed plates garnered praise for its unsurpassed scale and speed of production.³¹

M. & N. Hanhart (active 1839-1882) had published natural history illustrations that were used in *Ibis* and the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*. They used a complex layering of tint stones which resulted in elaborate chromolithographs of nuanced color and tonal values.³²

From the Brazil-London journal we know that Heade sent a few finished oils to London to be printed in advance of his

arrival. His initial enthusiasm dampened though when he arrived and saw some of the printed results. He felt it necessary to touch them up with hand coloring which is what he originally wanted to avoid. He curtailed the project after four of the original oils were reproduced. In addition to his dissatisfaction, he noted in a letter to Bartlett that he had run out of money. Heade's appeal waxed and waned during his stay as did his patrons for the book. Cyrus W. Field, Church's patron, offered to exhibit two of the chromolithographs at his house in New York. The Count d'Eu, the imperial princess of Brazil, and the Dutchess of Sutherland were all patrons in London as well. This was quite an accomplishment, considering his humble American origins. It was clearly his talent, connections, and international experiences that enabled him to mingle with prominent, cosmopolitan members of society. But socializing with patrons was not enough, and Heade was out of funds by the summer of 1864.³³ The chromolithographs are known today as *Brazilian Hummingbirds I-IV*. It has not been ascertained whether they were printed by Hanhart or Day & Son as they are not inscribed. There were several impressions done from each of the four chromolithographs. Heade must have brought the majority back with him in 1865 intending to sell them, at which point the *Gems* became part of a migration of commodities and the circulation of ideas across the Atlantic. Commercial success for the *Gems* was not instantaneous; three years later a reviewer for the *New York Evening Post* of October 13, 1868 wrote that

Mr. Heade has several chromos of Brazilian humming birds, whose brilliant colors harmonize with the rich tropical scenery in the background, and which he has retouched and made nearly as good as original pictures.³⁴

Why did the book project fail? Several factors may have caused it. Perhaps it was bad timing—Gould's work was already pervasive and admired. The quality of the chromos was not what he desired and he had to hand color them in order to match the paintings. In a milieu where natural history societies proliferated, perhaps the *Gems* were not "scientific" enough. His inclusion of scenery, atmosphere, and a sense of life is pleasing to modern eyes, but perhaps not to some potential naturalist collectors. There may have been some ill feelings towards Heade. Although he had pockets of admirers in London, he made it known that he disliked the British whom he saw as Southern sympathizers in the Civil War.³⁵ But though Heade lost the battle, he won the war. Before summer's end he found British and American patrons for the *Gems* oils, and so commenced painting replicas and variants. He wrote to his friend Bartlett in Providence on September, 1864, "I doubt whether you'll ever see any of the original Humming Birds, for I can get such prices for them here that I can't afford to take them home to sell for one fourth of what I can get here."³⁶ The boast must not have been baseless for he was able to rent an ample studio in London for another year. Once established there, he not only made replicas of *The Gems*, but painted and sold American landscapes and Brazilian scenes.

The man who bought the twenty original *Gems* and a set of the completed chromolithographs was Sir Morton Samuel Peto.³⁷ It is worth probing to learn what sort of man would buy so many specific-themed pictures from a relatively minor figure in London art circles. What bonded these two men from different worlds, and how was the connection made? Heade's

letters indicate his activity in prominent social circles in London. He could have met Peto through any number of well-connected contacts. One connection could have been the renowned Baptist preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) whose popular and controversial sermons and writings were the talk of London. Probably out of curiosity, Heade went to hear Spurgeon preach at his famed Metropolitan Tabernacle in South London.³⁸ He may have rubbed shoulders there with Peto, a distinguished Baptist layman who had laid the foundation stone for the church.³⁹ Perhaps Peto discovered Heade's work in 1865, when the artist exhibited *Brazilian Forest Scene* at the British Institution. In addition, he could have encountered Heade's work in America, where Peto travelled extensively in the fall of 1865. He had bought two paintings at Knoedler in New York,⁴⁰ and it is possible that he visited the Tenth Street Studios where many of the most sought after artists were working. The provenance of the original *Gems* is still uncertain, but it is possible that Peto purchased the paintings in 1866, right before his railway business suffered a major financial loss.

Why would Peto have been drawn to Heade's paintings? Peto was sort of a Renaissance man—engineer, industrialist, philanthropist, and art collector. As he built railways throughout Europe, North Africa, and South America, he recorded his admiration of the scenery. Peto had a great appreciation for art, architecture, and gardens. He was a major funder of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and a friend of Joseph Paxton, the architect of the Crystal Palace.⁴¹ One of his enduring personal projects was the rebuilding of Somerleyton Hall in Suffolk where he lived for nearly twenty years (1843-63). The Anglo-Italian manor was filled with commissioned



Martin Johnson Heade, *Two Brazilian Hummingbirds*, Chromolithograph. c. 1864. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

paintings and decorative arts. Paxton helped redesign the gardens and built ornate iron and glass greenhouses, then called "winter-gardens." One is tempted to imagine some of the *Gems* hanging at Somerleyton Hall, but Peto's patronage of Heade occurred after he had sold the great estate. Peto was, like Heade, a man of international tastes and travels. *The*



Martin Johnson Heade, *The Great Florida Sunset*, 1887. Minnesota Marine Art Museum.

Gems may have embodied ideas or fulfilled certain purposes for him: memories of South America; the advancement of the natural sciences through precise documentation; preciousness of a rare species; and connoisseurship gained through collecting a series from a single artist.

Heade remained in London for over a year, returning to the United States in the fall or winter of 1865, just after the end of the Civil War. He went to Providence, fortified with tropical specimens, and some of the original *Gems* or their variants. Bartlett served as an agent in at least one sale of a hummingbird lithograph.⁴² After brief visits to New York and Trenton he went back to the tropics—in 1866 to Nicaragua and in 1870 to Colombia, Panama and Jamaica. This would be the last of his transatlantic voyages. During these trips, he began to make larger, more complex compositions combining hummingbirds and tropical flowers in landscape. Sometimes he treated these wonders of nature as isolated still lifes, or blew them up to dominate hazy verdant vistas. Heade's compositional invention, jeweled color schemes, and vivacity make him unique among nineteenth century American artists. However, though he exhibited and sold widely, and was often mentioned in contemporary art reviews, his transatlantic successes did not immediately translate into unanimous critical approbation back home. He was never fully accepted by the New York art establishment (he was denied membership in the Century Association and was never elected an associate of the National Academy of Design) and he achieved at best only moderate recognition. If his ego was wounded, his wanderlust was not and he resumed his itinerant lifestyle, visiting locales as far away as British Columbia and California.

In 1883 Heade married and moved to St. Augustine, Florida. His reasons are not documented but they may have

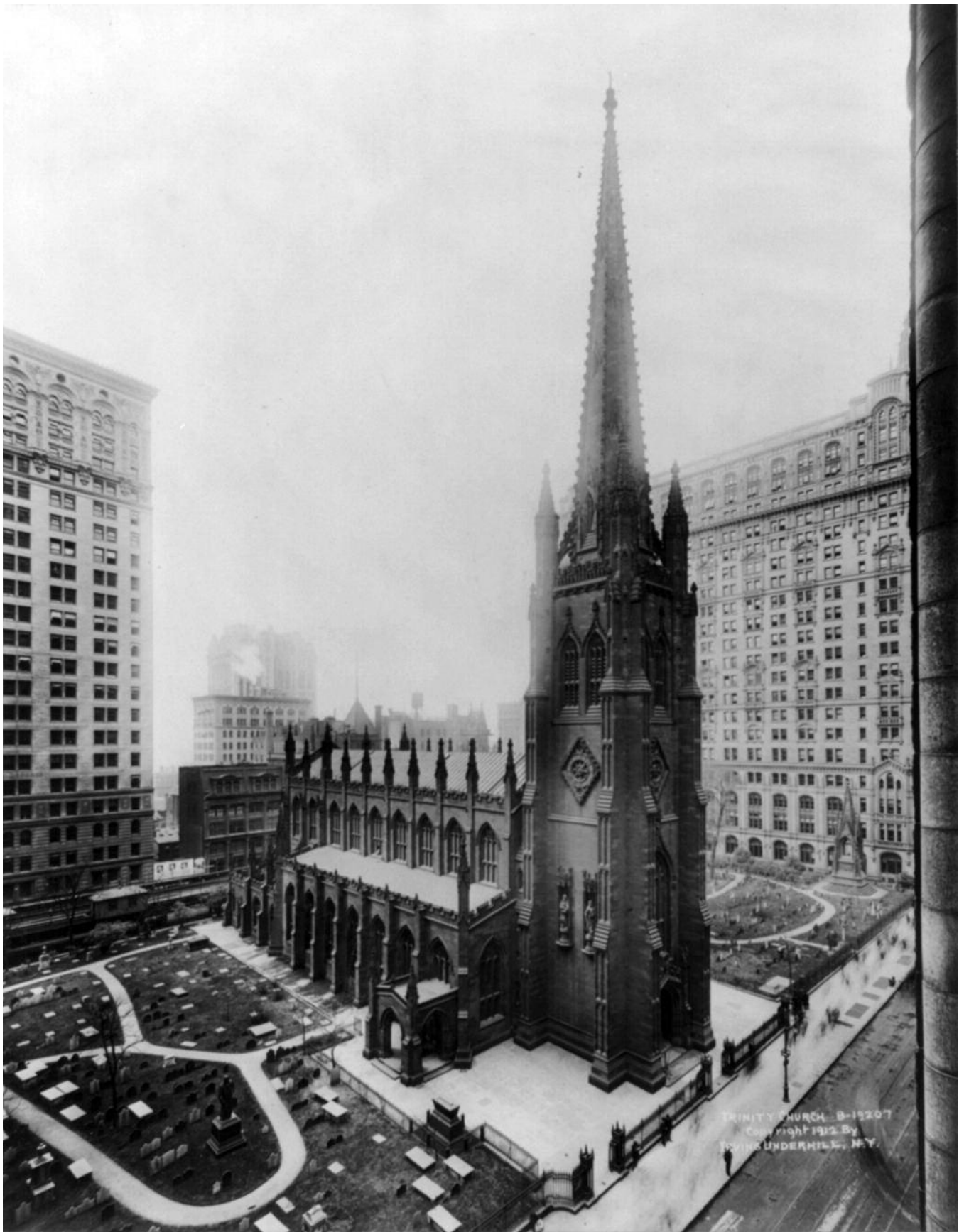
included the potency of his memories of the tropics and a continuing interest in the advocacy of wildlife conservation.⁴³ In 1885 he gained the patronage of wealthy oil and railroad magnate Henry Flagler who commissioned and purchased several dozen pictures over the next decade. In 1888 Flagler opened the magnificent Hotel Ponce de Leon which included seven artist studios. Heade was invited to occupy one of these studios. There, in a semi-tropical environment near the ocean, the artist lived in comfort until the end of his life in 1904. Heade continued to paint subjects that he had previously specialized in, such as orchids and hummingbirds, but he now also turned his attention to Florida marsh and swamp scenes. These late landscapes evoke the spirit and warmth of the Brazil paintings with their thick clouds, sunsets, tropical trees and vegetation, and waterfowl. Though far from cosmopolitan cities, Heade could take satisfaction in knowing he had participated both practically and artistically in the great age of scientific exploration and classification, had pushed artistic boundaries with his chromolithographs and new subject matter, and gained the approbation of the astute Brazilian Emperor and Sir Morton Peto. He had the Atlantic, landing on the coast of Florida where he could see the ocean that had carried him to international standing.



Notes

1. The major publications that include a discussion of the hummingbirds are Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., *The Life and Works of Martin Johnson Heade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) and *Martin Johnson Heade* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts,

- 1999) and *The Life and Work of Martin Johnson Heade: A Critical Analysis and Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 70-71. Franklin Kelly, "Martin Johnson Heade, The Gems of Brazil," In *American Paintings from the Manoogian Collection* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 116-123. Maggie M. Cao, "Heade's Hummingbirds and the Ungrounding of Landscape," *American Art* 25, no. 3 (Fall 2011) 48-75. Ella M. Foshay, "Charles Darwin and the development of American flower imagery," *Winterthur Portfolio* XV/4 (winter, 1980) 299-314. Christopher Benfey, "The Audubon of Hummingbirds," *Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol. 48, no. 3/4 (Fall 2009) 16-23.
2. George Catlin's motivations for visiting Brazil were varied—documenting new tribes and unexplored territory, seeking out the purported gold cache confiscated from Spanish miners by the Indians, and running from creditors in England. See Katherine Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839-1879* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian, 1989).
 3. Republished in Stebbins (2000) p. 70.
 4. See Alexander Wilson and George Ord, *American Ornithology, Or, the Natural History of the Birds of the United States* (New York: Collins, 1829), (also many other later versions with additions); John J. Audubon, *The Birds of America* (London: Havell & Son, 1827-1838) and John Gould, *An Introduction to the Trochilidae: Or Family of Humming-Birds* (London: Printed by Taylor and Francis, 1861).
 5. Martin Johnson Heade, *Notebook on Hummingbirds*, Martin Johnson Heade Papers, Smithsonian Archives of American Art, p. 2.
 6. Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*. The artists cited are Jacques Burkhardt, b. Switzerland (1808-1867), Julius Montalant (1823-1878), Titian Ramsay Peale (1799-1885), Henry Walke (1809-1896). For a detailed itinerary of each see pp. 177-191.
 7. Sarah Cash, "Singing Beach, Manchester: Four Newly Identified Paintings of the North Shore of Massachusetts by Martin Johnson Heade," *American Art Journal*, vol. 27. No. 1/2 (1995/96).
 8. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (1867; repr. New York: Carr, 1966) noted that Heade brought back tropical birds and butterflies from Brazil. On Heade's refusal to procure hummingbird eggs, see Stebbins (2000) p. 63 and Didymus (Martin Johnson Heade), "Taming Hummingbirds," *Forest and Stream*, 14 April 1892, p. 348. See Manthorne on the relationship between the hummingbird paintings and Agassiz studies.
 9. See Stebbins (2000), pp. 16-17 for more complete information on Bartlett, an important political and cultural figure in Providence.
 10. See Kevin J. Avery, *Church's Great Picture, and the Heart of the Andes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).
 11. American art scholar Maggie Cao has recently offered a philosophical rumination on how Heade's Brazilian landscapes and hummingbird paintings are aesthetic subversions of Church's tropical landscapes, and an attempt to disengage from Church's influence. Cao, *ibid*.
 12. Martin Johnson Heade, *Brazil-London Journal* (1863-65) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); letters from Heade to John Russell Bartlett, *John Russell Bartlett Papers*, Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I. Stebbins (2000) has incorporated these sources into a detailed account of Heade's sojourn in Brazil and London.
 13. Stebbins (2000) p. 70.
 14. Heade wrote for *Forest and Stream* magazine from 1880-1904 under the pen name Didymus.
 15. Stebbins (1975) figs. 99, 100.
 16. *Notebook on Hummingbirds*, 11.
 17. Foshay, 312.
 18. Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 66.
 19. *Notebook on Hummingbirds*, 11.
 20. Cao, 59.
 21. Stebbins (2000), 185n7.
 22. *Brazil-London Journal*, 13.
 23. *Brazil-London Journal*, quoted in Stebbins (2000), 63-64.
 24. Stebbins (2000), 66
 25. The decoration and written award are in the Martin Johnson Heade Collection, Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, P. A. There is also a translation of the award.
 26. Stebbins (2000), 187n63.
 27. For a complete listing and description of the firms, see Peter Marzio, *The Democratic Art: Chromolithography 1840-1900, Pictures for a Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Godine, 1979). For quote, see p. 57.
 28. Marie-Stéphanie Delamaire, "American Genre Painting, the Transnational Print Trade, and the Global Nineteenth Century: The Case of Richard C. Woodville," (paper presented at the CAA conference, New York, Feb. 2013).
 29. Kelly, 116-123.
 30. Bermingham, 171.
 31. Joan Friedman, *Color Printing in England, 1486-1870: an Exhibition at the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven: The Center, 1978), 55.
 32. See "M. & N. Hanhart" on the website of the National Portrait Gallery, United Kingdom. www.npg.org.uk.
 33. Stebbins (2000), 71.
 34. Author unknown, "Fine Arts. What the Artists are Doing," *Evening Post*. October 13, 1868, p. 1. *The Gems* are beautifully reproduced in Stebbins (2000), pp. 364-366; published earlier in Martina R. Norelli, *Artist-naturalists: Observations in the Americas: (exhibition) July 14-September 10, 1972, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1972), n. p. nos. 37-40.
 35. Stebbins (2000), 75.
 36. Heade to Bartlett, from London, September 25, 1864. Reprinted in Stebbins (1999), 77n11.
 37. Stebbins (2000), 71, 364-366, and Manthorne, 214n59, and Kelly, 122n1. The set of hummingbird pictures in the collection of Richard Manoogian has, since its discovery in London in 1981, been widely considered to represent sixteen of the original twenty *Gems*. But the Manoogian set may not be the Peto group. Four working proof chromolithographs are in the MFA, Boston, Karolik Collection. Other prints are found in public and private collection throughout the United States.
 38. Stebbins (2000), 187n65.
 39. Ernest Bacon, *Spurgeon: Heir of the Puritans* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Christian Liberty Press, 1996), 61.
 40. Linda Ferber, "An American Pre-Raphaelite in New York: William Trost Richards," *Archives of American Art Journal* 47: 1-2, 11.
 41. Sir Henry Peto, *Sir Morton Peto, a Memorial Sketch* (London: E. Stock, 1893).
 42. Stebbins (1975) p. 136.
 43. For a discussion on Heade as a political advocate for wildlife in the Florida wetlands, see Charlotte M. Porter, "Wetlands and Wildlife: Martin Johnson Heade in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010) pp. 326-347.



Trinity Church, 1846, New York. Richard Upjohn, architect. Library of Congress.

The Struggle for Professionalism

ARCHITECT'S DRAWINGS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Robin H. Prater

Architectural Plans as the Embodiment of Professionalism

Theoretically, as long as an architect creates a design with his brain, pays for the material to build it, saws every board, and drives every nail; he will retain complete control of a project. Of course, this idea falls apart once the architect does not possess the money or skill to fulfill their vision. Artistic vision can be conveyed either by direct execution by the artist or through some form of notation, such as architectural plans, which allows others to implement the idea.¹ Since the Italian Renaissance, architects have struggled to define their place in the continuum between craftsman and professional, between building with their own hands and instructing others to build. As architects began to define themselves as professionals, a distance was created from the act of building. The concept of drawings as representative of design ideas, rather than as the finished product, and the ownership of architectural drawings played a crucial role in this quest for professionalism—a quest that resulted in the formation of professional organizations, the utilization of the legal system, and the reformation of architectural competitions.

The early Italian Renaissance witnessed Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) claiming ownership of his designs, and Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) espousing the idea of architect as creative designer, writing that "...the carpenter is but an instrument in the hands of the architect."²

However, this paradigm of architect as separate from the dirt and grime of actual construction was rarely even partially achieved until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³ Inigo Jones (1573-1652) laid the groundwork in England for acceptance of the architect as the sole figure in charge of both design and supervision; however, the concept was not widely recognized until the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁴ With the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century and the subsequent changes in the building industry; architects increasingly chose to align themselves with the professional class.⁵ Drawings, produced in greater quantity with more detail in response to the increasing complexity of building types and materials, came to represent not just the design ideas of the architect but also embodied the idea of architecture as a profession distinct from the craft of building and the "work for hire" of drafting. Architects in the United States, though laboring under very different circumstances from their European counterparts, also began to carve out a professional identity during the century following the formation of their new country.⁶ In order to align themselves with the professions of law and medicine, architects began to define their drawings as representations of their ideas rather than as the finished design product.

Practice of Architecture in America

In the eighteenth century, the practice of architecture in America was typically divided between gentlemen architects such as Peter Harrison (1716-1775) and Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) and carpenter-builders represented by men such as William Buckland (1734-1774) and Samuel McIntire (1757-1811). Shortly after the close of the eighteenth century, the English born and trained American Architect Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1819), paraphrasing Vitruvius, wrote about this to his disciple Robert Mills (1781-1855).⁷ His letter states:

The profession of Architecture has been hitherto in the hands of two sets of Men. The first, of those, who from travelling or from books have acquired some knowledge of the Theory of the art, but know nothing of its practice, the second of those who know nothing but the practice, and whose early life being spent in labor, and in the habits of a laborious life, have had no opportunity of acquiring the theory.⁸

The first native born American to practice architecture as a career was Charles Bulfinch (1763-1844) of Boston. College educated and seemingly destined for a career in finance, Bulfinch developed his interest in architecture during his first employment in England as well as during a subsequent trip around Europe. Upon returning to Boston in 1787, he indulged his passion for architecture by designing, pro bono, public buildings and memorials, churches, numerous residences, and even a theater.⁹ Bulfinch might have remained a gentleman architect if the failure of his investment in the Tontine Crescent housing project had not created the need for his architectural designs to provide an income for his family.¹⁰ In America at that time, even an architect as talented as Charles Bulfinch found it difficult to make a living solely off the proceeds of his architectural practice.¹¹ Several members of the next generation of architects were influenced by him and would go on to become instrumental in forming the first professional architectural societies in America.

In the early days of the Republic, the term architect was interchangeable with the title of engineer, builder, or even master mechanic.¹² When James Gallier (1798-1866) arrived from England in 1832, he was shocked to learn that carpenters and bricklayers were equally termed architects and routinely produced architectural plans.¹³ Gallier had studied architectural drawing at the School of Fine Arts in Dublin, Ireland before embarking on a series of building jobs in England prior to his departure for America.¹⁴ By his measure, New York in the 1830s possessed only one professional architectural firm, Town and Davis.¹⁵ Indeed, shortly after agreeing to form his partnership with Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892) in 1829, Ithiel Town (1784-1844) travelled

to London, Paris, and Italy for the express purpose of evaluating the current architectural practices in Europe. This trip helped to elevate the level of his personal practice and hence influenced the understanding of professionalism in architecture in New York.

The first man to declare himself a professional architect and engineer in the United States was Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1819).¹⁶ As a young man, freshly educated and back from travelling in Europe, Latrobe trained with John Smeaton (1724-1792) and Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1754-1827), whose offices were both pivotal in expanding ideas of professionalism to English architecture and engineering.¹⁷

Architectural historians Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon write that Latrobe “would spend a frustrating amount of time attempting to persuade American clients that he was not a mechanic but a professional and an educated gentleman...”¹⁸ Throughout his career in America, Latrobe sought to introduce and implement the concept of a professional class of architects and engineers.¹⁹ In the mid-eighteenth century, English gentlemen wishing to earn a living in a manner suitable to their status in society could look to entering the church, the law, or medicine. Within these disciplines, only university-educated clergymen, barristers, and physicians were considered true professionals.²⁰

When Latrobe chose to immigrate to America in 1796 after a series of personal losses, he initially planned to live the life of a gentleman, supported by land in Pennsylvania inherited from his mother.²¹ When this plan failed, Latrobe turned to architecture and engineering at a time when the United States was ripe for the development of a professional class. From colonial times, America had been characterized by a social mobility very different from the rigid class consciousness of England. Very few “gentlemen” had immigrated to America, leaving the door open for the development of an American elite drawn from the sons of merchants and planters embarking on professional careers and eager to assume the status accorded to their English brethren.²² Latrobe embraced this ambition and began to advocate for the inclusion of architecture and engineering among these professional groups. His ideas would be carried into the next generation through his association with architects such as Robert Mills (1781-1855) and William Strickland (1788-1854), both of whom worked for Latrobe early in their careers.²³

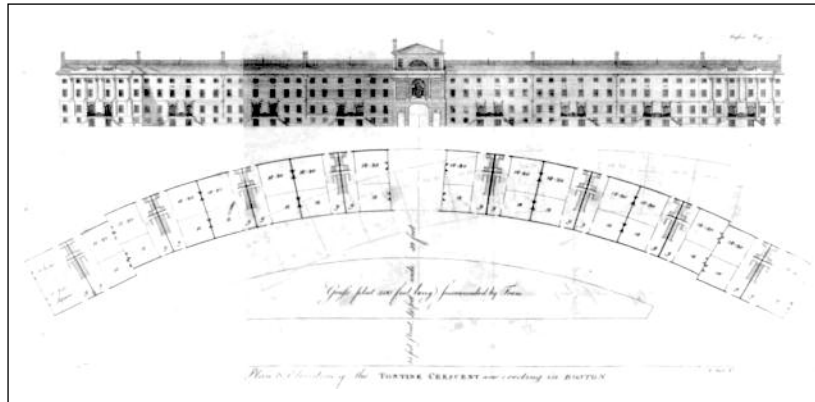
Latrobe was one of the first American architects to assert that his drawings should remain his property after the completion of construction. Advising a young Robert Mills in 1806 of his views on professional conduct, Latrobe emphasized the importance of the client fully understanding the architectural plan and agreeing that “no alteration, but by mutual discussion and agreement shall be made.”²⁴ After his first major commission within the United States, the Virginia State Penitentiary (1797), was fraught with disputes between the architect and the contractor, Latrobe increasingly turned to detailed drawings and specifications as a way to ensure that his designs were faithfully executed.²⁵ The 1799 marble contract for the Bank of Pennsylvania stated that all work must conform to Latrobe’s drawings and specifications and any changes required the signature and approval of the architect.²⁶ Drawings, as representation of the architect’s

ideas, had begun to be used to enforce the professional standing and authority of the architect.

Professional Architectural Societies

Issues surrounding architectural drawings continued to be important into the nineteenth century as architects banded together to form professional societies. The Institute of British Architects was formed in 1834 and received its royal charter of incorporation in 1837, the year of Queen Victoria’s ascension to the throne.²⁷ American architects were quick to follow suit, founding the American Institution of Architects in 1836 under the guidance of President William Strickland.²⁸ Also among the early supporters were Asher Benjamin and Alexander Parris, as well as Messrs. Town and Davis. All were disciples of Charles Bulfinch.²⁹ Membership was divided into three categories—professional, associate, and honorary—with requirements for professional members to have practiced architecture for at least five years and to have taken examinations in the five subjects of architectural history, principles of designing in architecture, principles of construction, professional etiquette, and properties of materials.³⁰ With a scattered membership and the difficulty of nineteenth century travel, the early promise of the organization soon waned.

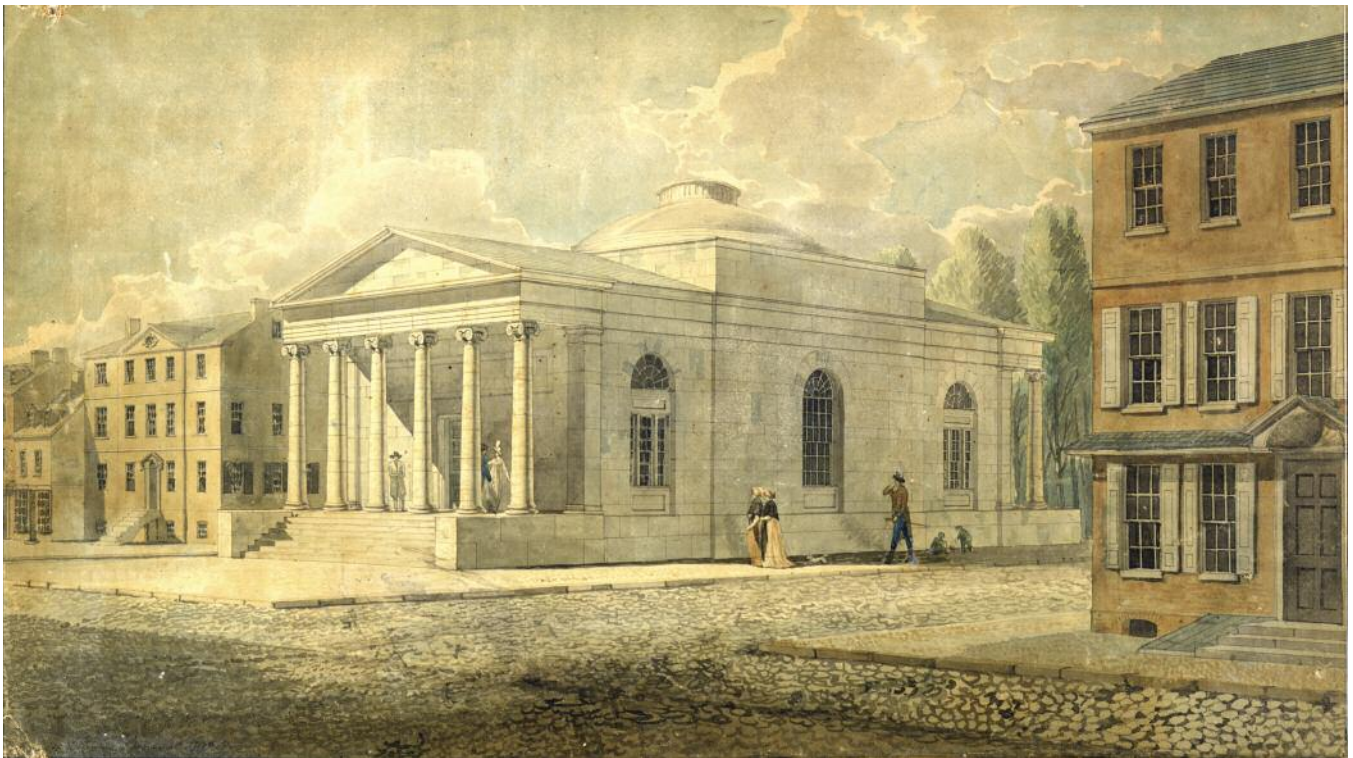
However, the idea of a professional organization remained and was revived in 1857 with the formation of the slightly differently named American Institute of Architects (AIA) with



Tontine Crescent, 1793, Boston, Massachusetts. Charles Bulfinch, architect. Library of Congress.

its stated goal to “elevate the standing of the profession.”³¹ The fledgling organization, led by Richard Upjohn (1802-1878), soon began work on sculpting and defining a professional discipline.³² Along with issues of procedure, responsibilities, and fees, one of the key concepts to be addressed was the ownership of drawings. By 1886, the AIA document outlining fee schedules noted that “all drawings belonged to the architect; the client did not purchase them.” President Richard Upjohn told the 1869 convention that, “Our merchandise is our brain; we sell ideas, creatures of the brain.”³³

Richard Upjohn had personally experienced a very different situation. Upjohn came to the profession of architecture through his early training in carpentry and joinery in England. When he arrived in Boston in 1834, he evaluated the competition and decided he was just as well-qualified to be termed an architect as the other so-called practitioners.³⁴ From this point on he began working to elevate



Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Bank of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia*, 1798. Courtesy Maryland Historical Society.

professional practices within his new career. During the 1830s, Upjohn charged for his work either on an hourly basis or as a percentage of the cost. For one of his most notable works, Trinity Church in New York (1846), Upjohn was hired for a monthly salary with the stipulation that “all plans, drafts, models, designs, and computations...are to be and remain the property of the Corporation of Trinity Church, and continue in their possession.”³⁵ This experience of losing possession of his architectural drawings seems to have impacted Upjohn’s future ideas, as the retention of architectural drawings became one of the cornerstones of his definition of professional practice.

By the 1850s, Upjohn’s firm was more established and was able to negotiate clauses about the ownership of drawings. In 1857 when Columbia College in New York decided not to construct a project for which Upjohn had made extensive design drawings, a contract was drawn up which awarded the architect 1½% of the estimated cost plus *retention of his drawings* until his death or inability to act as architect should the project be resurrected.³⁶ Both Upjohn and his son maintained that their drawings were “instruments of service” and belonged to them in the same way that a carpenter’s tools belonged to the carpenter. At this point in time, only the more prestigious firms were able to incorporate this type of clause into their contracts. The average owner still believed that he should retain possession of architectural drawings once a fee had been paid, whether or not the building was constructed. Upjohn argued that an architect must retain possession of his

drawings in order to protect himself and brought this belief into the policy-making of the AIA.³⁷

Legal Recourse

In addition to his leadership in the formation of the AIA, Richard Upjohn was also one of the first architects to defend his professional policies in court, suing for payment of his \$250 fee for design drawings for the Taunton, Massachusetts Town Hall after the commission was awarded to another individual.³⁸ Legal recourse was considered a risky option since architects relied on their reputation and the goodwill of clients for future work. Although initial cases centered on professional fees, later legal proceedings would bring in the issue of the ownership of architectural drawings.

In 1861, Richard Upjohn was once again called to court, this time to testify in a landmark case, *Hunt v. Parmley*, in Superior Court of New York City. Upjohn was one of five fellow-architects called in by Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1895) to convey to the jury that standard architectural practice endorsed a customary fee of 5% of the estimated construction costs.³⁹ In consideration for his design service, Hunt was awarded half of his requested fee, thus setting a legal precedent for the architect’s right to a commission but also demonstrating that architecture still had considerable battles left to fight in its quest for professional standing.

As President of the AIA, Upjohn’s testimony at the trial presents valuable evidence of the thinking behind the crafting of the architectural profession in America. In keeping with the



Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1819)

link begun by Latrobe between architecture and the British idea of professionalism, Upjohn and his fellow architects were creating a profession based on the paradigm of medicine and law.⁴⁰ When asked in court about an exchange between Upjohn and a future client, Upjohn related that he agreed to provide preliminary drawings for a one per cent fee with the understanding that the drawings were to be returned to the architect. When the lawyer questioned charging a percentage for an idea, Upjohn replied, “You as a lawyer, when you give your opinion, do not charge for pen, ink and paper, but for your opinion.”⁴¹ The crux of Upjohn’s argument lay in whether an architect was engaged to provide drawings or to provide a professional design concept which is merely represented by drawings. If the drawings are the end product, then the architect is basically serving as a draftsman, in which case the drawings *would* belong to the client. However, if the drawings are merely a conduit for conveying a professional solution for the client’s design requirements, then the drawings should be returned to the architect after construction so that the architect can protect himself against his ideas being used without his knowledge or consent.

Richard Morris Hunt continued to defend his right to retain ownership of his architectural plans. Even though he was an organizing member of the Union League Club, Hunt insisted that his preliminary design drawings for their proposed club house be returned once the competition was over. The club, having chosen another architect’s design, paid Hunt a fee of one percent of the proposed cost and planned to retain his drawings. Hunt won his point when he protested that, just as a lawyer’s brief was his own property, so too were the drawings of an architect.⁴²

Although the testimony during *Hunt v. Parmley* had aptly defended the principal of the architect’s ownership of his drawings, challenges persisted. A case in point involved Trinity Church in Boston. Following the precedent of their earlier commission with Richard Upjohn, the Building Committee put out a request for competition designs on March 12, 1872 which included the stipulation that upon payment of a \$300 premium all drawings would become the

property of Trinity Church. This stipulation was quickly and quietly cancelled only after top-tier architects Henry Van Brunt, William Robert Ware, and Russell Sturgis refused to compete under this system.⁴³

The issue of the ownership of drawings continued to be hotly contested throughout the nineteenth century as evidenced by a June 15, 1878 article in *The American Architect and Building News* entitled “The Custody of An Architect’s Drawings.” Reacting to a recommendation by Sir Edmund Becket that plans and documents become the property of the client, the article states that,

As a matter of fact there is in actual practice no such question, the ordinary and recognized usage being uniform—that the architect’s drawings and record are not only in his keeping, but his property.

The article quotes the position of the AIA that drawings, “as instruments of service, are the property of the architect.”⁴⁴

Even though architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) did not address this same issue in his “Circular for Intending Clients,” he did use an embossed stamp on the majority of his architectural plans which instructed that the drawing was “TO BE RETURNED TO H. H. RICHARDSON.”⁴⁵

Samuel Sloan (1815-1884) was one of the first to invoke *Hunt v. Parmley* as a legal precedent for the ownership of architectural drawings. Having provided an architectural design for the Lycoming County Courthouse in Williamsport, Pennsylvania in 1861, Sloan was less than pleased to see the neighboring county of Northumberland erect a mirror image of his courthouse design. The contractor, D. S. Rissel, had been able to submit the lowest bid for the new courthouse by re-using Sloan’s design drawings without permission or remuneration to the architect. Neither the contractor nor the county commission saw any illegality with this procedure but Sloan disagreed, taking his suit to court and winning compensation for his idea while also defending his status as a professional.⁴⁶

The outcomes of later court cases defending the ownership of architectural plans provided mixed results. Cases in New England in 1896 and Michigan (Grand Rapids) in 1898



L to R: Lycoming County Courthouse, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1861. Samuel Sloan, architect. Northumberland County Courthouse, Sunbury, Pennsylvania. Samuel Sloan, architect.

asserted that the responsibility of an architect was essentially the same “as that which rests upon the lawyer to his client or upon the physician to his patient...”⁴⁷ The courts have also explored the rights of architects to the intellectual property embodied by their design drawings. In general, the courts have upheld the architect’s rights to their intellectual property embodied through design drawings but have differed on the interpretation of public dissemination or publication, an act that negates these rights.⁴⁸ Three cases, although taken from the twentieth century, serve to illustrate that the ideas about the ownership of professional plans first advocated in the nineteenth century are still being worked out in the courts today.

Wright v. Eisle

“Publication” of plans has been variously interpreted as filing a set of plans with a city building department or opening the house as a model home for potential purchasers—and results vary between jurisdictions. A case in point is *Wright v. Eisle* (1903), 86 App. Div. 356 [83 N. Y. S. 887] in New York. Mr. Eisle initially contacted Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) with the intention of commissioning the architect to design a family residence. Mr. Eisle subsequently decided that Mr. Wright’s quoted fee was too high and instead chose to build a house copied exactly from a residence designed by Wright and constructed only a few blocks away. When Wright sued for compensation the Court ruled that filing a set of plans with the city building department constituted sufficient publication and thus negated the architect’s property right.⁴⁹

Kurfiss v. Cowherd

In *Kurfiss v. Cowherd* (1938), 233 Mo. App. 397 [121 S. W. 2^d 282] the Court held that the common law property rights given to the creator of a “unique intellectual production” were based on the established principle which entitles each person to the benefits of their own intellectual and physical labor and which protects such property from unauthorized invasion, appropriation, or conversion. However, while upholding the rights of architects through common law copyright, the courts also ruled that the publishing of plans negated these rights.⁵⁰

Smith v. Paul

The issue of sufficient or general publication has been interpreted differently by various state courts. California differs markedly from New York’s interpretation of the law. In *Smith v. Paul* (1959), (Cal.) 345 P 2nd 546, the Court held that since the filing of plans with the local building department was a necessary requirement for obtaining a building permit, the act did not constitute publication.⁵¹

Copyright Law in the Service of Architects

Architects have also explored the avenue of copyright as a method of protecting the ownership of architectural design drawings. Copyright law in the United States is modeled on the 1710 English Statute of Anne (8 Anne, ch. 19) and is designed to protect only the expressions of ideas, not the ideas themselves.⁵² The writers of the Constitution assigned the right to legislate copyright and patent to the Federal government with Article I, Section 8, Clause 8 which states that “The Congress shall have Power...To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries.”⁵³ The first federal

copyright act was passed in 1790 and was first revised in 1909. Copyright was extended specifically to “pictorial, graphic, and sculptural works” only with the passage of the Copyright Act of 1976 which established six broad categories allowable for copyright.⁵⁴ In order to adhere to the 1989 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, section 102 of the 1976 Act was amended to specifically include “architectural works.”⁵⁵ While this act is specific to architecture, it is not limited to registered architects, rather providing copyright protection to creators of an architectural work without regard to professional training or state licensing requirements.⁵⁶ Thus even today, an architect’s best protection for his design drawings is to band together with professional colleagues to set standards of practice and to educate clients about these principles.



Top to bottom: *The Athenaeum of Philadelphia*, 1845. Courtesy The Athenaeum of Philadelphia. The Athenaeum, c. 1940. Courtesy Library of Congress. John Notman, architect.

One of the first American architects to take this approach was John Notman (1810-1865), whose early contributions to the professionalism of architecture were recognized by his fellow architects when in 1857 he was one of only two Philadelphia architects invited to join the newly formed American Institute of Architects.⁵⁷ Notman came to the United States in 1831, at a time when Americans had little idea of the role of a professional architect. Although possibly possessing some training in architecture from his apprenticeship in

Scotland, Notman initially described himself as a carpenter. By the 1840s he transitioned into the role of architect and had begun to earnestly educate his clients on proper professional procedures. One of the issues most important to Notman was the retention of his architectural plans, particularly in the case of competitions. When submitting his entry for a new Masonic Hall for the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia in 1853, Notman advised the committee that,

I therefore do not adhere to the terms of the competition as to payment and as retaining the plans as in your letter of October 5th, but prefer the immediate return of the drawings, without remuneration should they not be adopted for construction by the Committee which is respectfully submitted.⁵⁸

With the exception of his entry of a design for the Smithsonian, Notman made a point of requesting the return of all competition drawings even if that return meant the forfeiture of prize money.⁵⁹

In the United States during the nineteenth century, architects entering competitions generally forfeited the right to the return of their drawings, whether or not a premium was paid to the designer. It was not unheard of for the owner to pick out aspects of a second or third place entry and ask the winning architect to incorporate these ideas into his final design. Additionally, owners were sometimes known to award a small premium to the winning architects before turning over the design drawings to a builder who would oversee construction for a smaller fee.⁶⁰ These practices were difficult for architects to combat individually. During the preliminary design of the Masonic Hall in Philadelphia, John Notman's outspoken defense of professional protocol concerning competitions, employment agreements, and compensation for services led to a heated dispute which became public enough to be of interest to the Philadelphia newspapers and eventually damaged Notman's ability to attract new commissions.⁶¹

The best avenue for competition reform lay in the establishment of new methods of practice endorsed by professional organizations such as the AIA. Since many architects, including prominent practitioners such as Henry Hobson Richardson, used competitions as a way to secure important commissions, the issue of reform was hotly debated. Richard Upjohn strongly felt that the typical structure of competitions grossly undercut the dignity and standing of the profession of architecture.⁶² After the formation of the AIA, he lost no time in laying his case before his peers. In his address as president to the First Annual Convention of the Institute, Upjohn spoke of general competition as "a sorry subject for architects" and a "species of infatuation" before making his suggestions for a series of reforms of the current system.⁶³ Upjohn's grandson and biographer likened the process to "asking a group of lawyers to prepare separate briefs for a certain case, with the expectation of selecting only the most promising."⁶⁴ The ownership of the architect's design ideas as embodied by their architectural drawings was once again at the center of the quest for professionalism, this time in negotiations for fair and proper competitions.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the profession of architecture had undergone a radical change. In the ancient world, architecture was not separated from the labor of building as illustrated by the Greek word *architekto* that was initially interpreted as master-carpenter.⁶⁵ The work of an

architect was fluid as architects were expected to be proficient in architecture, engineering (military and civil), and city-planning. Not until the Italian Renaissance was the idea of a separation between the conception of a design and the implementation of that design introduced.⁶⁶ Writers such as Leon Battista Alberti and Philibert Delorme (1510-1570) envisioned architects as specialists conceiving ideas separate from the toil of building.⁶⁷ A shift in the relationship between labor, craftsman, and professional had begun but would not reach fruition until the nineteenth century.

Under the old system, ownership of architectural drawings and models did not play a major role. As long as the architect was present on the job site on a daily basis, participating in the act of building, detailed drawings played a less important role. In addition, much of the built works designed under the auspices of an architect were special projects such as cathedrals and palaces.⁶⁸ The question of ownership of ideas would not have arisen since the architect worked solely at the discretion of his powerful patron. The men fulfilling the role of architect were drawn from a far-ranging variety of occupations, with their key credentials being an idea and the trust of their patron. Imhotep was a scribe and a healer, Daedalus an inventor, Brunelleschi a goldsmith, Inigo Jones a designer of court masques, and Christopher Wren an astronomer.

These traditional patterns of architectural practice began to change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Until the Industrial Revolution, virtually every portion of a building was custom made.⁶⁹ The nineteenth century saw the introduction of new methods of construction and novel building types such as railway stations, factories, and office buildings. Materials such as cast iron, Portland cement, and "Coade Stone" coupled with advances in services offered additional possibilities for design while requiring increased technical skill and structural techniques.⁷⁰ Britain and the United States experienced dramatic increases in population during the nineteenth century, leading to requirements for additional housing as well as an increase in speculative building.⁷¹ Architects in both Great Britain and the United States were forced to examine their role in the building process as the general contractor entered into the traditional relationship between owner, designer, and craftsman.⁷²

Philosophically architects claimed possession of the artistic component of design while at the same time taking steps to promote architecture as a profession. Following in the vein of Alberti, architects argued that their drawings were the representation of their design ideas rather than the end product. In the United States, architects began educating clients and inserting contract clauses which gave ownership of architectural drawings to the architect. In addition, architects used professional organizations to set standards of professional practice and to assert the rights of architects participating in design competitions. Retaining control of the design drawings allowed the architect to control the creative process while effectively distancing the profession from the craft of building and separating craftsmen from the decision-making portion of the design process.

In order to survive, architecture has adapted and must continue to adjust along the continuum between craftsmanship or artistry and professionalism. Architects in America have made great strides in establishing themselves as members of the professional community. The rights to their

ideas as embodied through their drawings were an integral part of this quest for professional standing. During the early days of American architecture, possession of original drawings protected the designer against responsibility for unwarranted changes and was evidence of authorship of the design. As conditions continue to evolve through the innovations of digital technology, the representation of design ideas through the medium of drawing continues to be relevant.



Notes

1. Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 218-220. Goodman defines this as autographic (handmade by their authors) and allographic (scripted by their authors) and notes that an architect's papers are a "curious mixture" of these "insofar as its notational language has not yet acquired full authority to divorce identity of work in all cases from particular production."
2. Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 3. Alberti also wrote, "For to build is a matter of necessity; to build conveniently is the product of both necessity and utility; but to build something praised by the magnificent, yet not rejected by the frugal, is the providence only of an artist of experience, wisdom, and thorough deliberation." Alberti. 315.
3. Mario Carpo, *The Alphabet and The Algorithm*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: MIT Press, 2011), 77.
4. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 183.
5. *Ibid*, 193.
6. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 41 and 146. When Benjamin Latrobe left England for America, he would have been able to observe in London the designs of established architects such as Sir William Chambers (1723-1796), Robert Adam (1728-1792), and George Dance the younger (1741-1825). Arriving in America, Latrobe encountered a system of builder design with the entrenched idea that "design costs nothing" and that the architect, if such existed, had little or no say over the execution of a project.
7. Pollio Vitruvius, Ingrid D. Rowland, Thomas Noble Howe, and Michael Dewar, *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21. "Thus architects who strove to obtain practical manual skills but lacked an education have never been able to achieve an influence entirely in theory and in writings seem to have chased after a shadow, not something real. But those who have fully mastered both skills, armed, if you will, in full panoply, those architects have reached their goal more quickly and influentially."
8. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 2, 239. 1986. (Letter written to Robert Mills from Washington on July 12, 1806.)
9. Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), 13. Designs by Bulfinch during this period include the Hollis Street Church in Boston (1787-1788), the Congregational Church in Pittsfield, M. A. (1790-1792), the Congregational Church in Taunton, M. A. (1790-1793), the State House in Hartford, C. T., the Washington Arch temporarily erected in 1789, the Beacon Hill Memorial Column in Boston (1790-1791), and the Boston Theatre (1793-1794).
10. Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1983), 74. Tontine Crescent (1793-1794) was on Franklin Street in Boston.
11. Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch*, 15. During this period, he also worked as the chairman of Boston's Board of Selectman and Superintendent of Police before his eventual appointment by President Monroe in 1817 as the Architect of the Capitol in Washington D. C.
12. Mary N. Wood, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 6.
13. James Gallier, *Autobiography of James Gallier: Architect*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973) (reprint of 1864 edition), "On my arrival at New York on the 14th of April, 1832, I considered a large city as the most likely place to expect employment in my profession, but here I found that the majority of people could with difficulty be made to understand what was meant by a professional architect; the builders, that is, the carpenters and bricklayers, all call themselves architects and were at that time the persons to whom owners of property applied when they required plans for building; the builder hired some poor draftsman, of whom there were some half a dozen in New York at that time, to make the plans, paying him a mere trifle for his services."
14. *Ibid*. 9-17. Among the jobs listed in Gallier's Autobiography are building a cotton mill in Manchester, constructing a water-wheel for a spade foundry at Ravensdale, planning and superintending a small country-house at Claret, contracting for joinery and construction work, and finally working for architects in London as superintendent or clerk of works.
15. *Ibid*. 18.
16. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 2, 680. 1986. On November 20, 1808 he (Latrobe) wrote to Henry Ormond: "I believe I am the first who, in our own Country has endeavored and partly succeeded to place the profession of Architect and civil Engineer on that footing of respectability which it occupies in Europe. But I have not so far succeeded as to make it an eligible profession for one who has the education and feelings of a Gentleman."
17. Barrington Kaye, "Early Architectural Societies and the Foundation of the R. I. B. A." *Journal of the Royal Institute of*

- British Architects*, 62 (1955). 497. The Architects' Club was established by James Wyatt, Henry Holland, George Dance, and Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Only Academicians or Associates of the Royal Academy in London, holders of the Academy's Gold Medal for Composition in Architecture, and members of distinguished foreign institutions were eligible for membership. Smeaton, the first Englishman to call himself a civil engineer, formed the Society of Civil Engineers in 1771 to "discuss theory, practice, and professional ethics." Cockerell was one of the founders of the select 1791 Architects' Club, one of the first architectural societies in England.
18. Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). 4.
 19. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 6. As the son of a prominent Moravian minister in England, Latrobe would have grown up with an understanding of the English concept of profession.
 20. Mary N. Wood, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 6. The university trained clergymen, barristers and physicians received a broad-based degree supplemented by specific training in a "professed" body of knowledge that did not involve manual labor. In contrast, deacons, solicitors, surgeons, and apothecaries received focused technical instruction and were considered to be neither gentlemen nor professionals.
 21. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 2, 779. 1986. Letter written from Washington November 12, 1809 to William Du Bourg.
 22. Mary N. Wood, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 6-7.
 23. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 214.
 24. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 2, 242-244. 1986. Advice written to Robert Mills from Washington on July 12, 1806. In his summary of professional rights and responsibilities, Latrobe also emphasized to Mills to "do nothing gratuitously," to ensure that plans were "perfectly understood" by the client, and that the architect should supervise all construction as well as authorize all payments.
 25. Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 418. Also: Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 1, 61-63. 1986. On February 23, 1799, Latrobe wrote a letter of complaint from Philadelphia to James Wood and The Council of State of Virginia. Among other issues he declared that "more serious injury arises to the public from the declaration of the Superintendent to the Brickmaker, and the Mechanics employed at the Penitentiary house, that I have no authority to direct in any instance and that I have only been appointed to assist him in setting out the Site of the Building." Further details of Latrobe's difficulties with the Virginia State Penitentiary project are detailed by Jeffrey A. Cohen and Charles E. Brownell, in *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1994), part I, 101.
 26. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John C. Van Horne, and Lee W. Formwalt, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), vol. 1, 129-135. 1986. The document from 26 February 1799 is an "Agreement for Executing the Marble Work of the Bank of Pennsylvania" and states "That the Contractors shall in every respect, both in working and setting the marble, Strictly conform to the Designs, Directions, Drawings and moulds which shall be delivered to them by the Architect..."
 27. Angela Mace and Robert Thorne, 1986, *The Royal Institute of British Architects: A Guide to its Archive and History*, London: Mansell Pub. xvi. J.A. Gotch, "The first half-century of the R. I. B. A.," *The Builder*, v. 122, May, 19, 1922, 754. The word "Royal" was added to the name of the institute in 1866.
 28. George Champlin Mason, "Professional Ancestry of the Philadelphia Chapter," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, v. I, No. 9, September 1913, 380-381. Thomas U. Walter was elected Secretary. Those present at the initial meeting on December 6, 1836 included Alexander J. Davis, Isaiah Rogers, Charles F. Reichard, William C. Cramp, F. Schmid, Thomas Thomas, Thomas Thomas Jr., Thomas U. Walter, William Strickland, John Haviland, and Richard Bond. Thomas Ustick Walter was recording secretary. Letters of support were received from Ithuel Towne, Minard Lafever, Asher Benjamin, Alexander Parris, William Sparrel, John C. Trautwine, Robert C. Long, Amie B. Young, and James H. Dakin.
 29. Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch*, 6.
 30. Agnes Addison Gilchrist, *William Strickland: Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 27. The original twenty-one members and two associates of the American Institution of Architects were all from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia with the exception of Ammi B. Young from Montpelier, Vermont and James H. Dakin from New Orleans. Another member, John C. Trautwine, had recently moved to Athens, Tennessee as part of a railroad construction project
 31. *Constitution and By-Laws of The American Institute of Architects*, 1857. New York: John W. Amerman, Printer. Article II states that "The object of this Institute is to promote the scientific and practical perfection of its members, and to elevate the standing of the profession."
 32. Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 192. The architects founding the AIA were the third generation of American professionals. One of the founders, Thomas U. Walter, demonstrates this professional lineage. Walter was trained by Benjamin Latrobe's pupil and assistant, William Strickland.
 33. "Annual Address of The President", *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of The American Institute of Architects, Held in New York, November 16th and 17th, 1869*. (Committee on Library and Publications of the American Institute of Architects, 1869), 5-7. Richard Upjohn was the current AIA president.
 34. Everard Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 31. Everard Upjohn notes this quote from Richard Upjohn was recalled by James Upjohn.
 35. *Ibid.*, 59. The quote is from a Memorandum from The Building Committee of Trinity Church dated 29 September 1840.
 36. *Ibid.*, 153.
 37. *Ibid.*, 165.
 38. *Ibid.*, 145.
 39. Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1980), 85. Henry Dudley, Detlef Lienau, Jacob Wrey Mould, and Frederick Peterson were also called to testify.

40. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, 334.
41. James F. O’Gorman and H. H. Richardson, *H. H. Richardson and His Office, A Centennial of His Move to Boston, 1874*: selected drawings: (exhibition organized by the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, October 23-December 8, 1974, Albany Institute of History and Art, January 7-February 23, 1975, Renwick Gallery, Washington, D. C., The National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, March 21-June 22, 1975: catalogue), (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Dept. of Print and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1974), 14.
42. Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt*, 142. Hunt drew up the plans in 1867.
43. *Ibid.*, 16. O’Gorman notes that the relevant documentation is in Trinity Church Archives.
44. *The American Architect and Building News* (1876-1908), June 15, 1878; 3, 129. American Periodicals. 206. Grimthorpe, Edmund Beckett, Baron. 1876. *Book on Building: Civil and Ecclesiastical with The Theory or Domes, and of The Great Pyramid; And A Catalogue of Sizes of Churches And Other Large Buildings*. London: Crosby Lockwood And Co. 23, 27. Grimthorpe’s reference on page 25 to the R. I. B. A. as a ‘highly respectable trades union’ is indicative of the tenor of his writing.
45. James F. O’Gorman and H. H. Richardson, *H. H. Richardson and His Office, A Centennial of His Move to Boston, 1874*, 16. In a letter to his wife, dated 30 July 1885, Richardson reported on a meeting with the Building Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati which resulted in the stipulation that his drawings would remain his property.
46. Harold N. Cooledge, Jr., *Samuel Sloan: Architect of Philadelphia 1815-1884*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 79-81. The court record for this case is missing but the fact of a settlement was recorded in a History of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, published in 1891.
47. Morris Lapidus, *Architecture: A Profession and A Business*, (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1967), 175.
48. law.justia.com/cases/california/calapp2d/239/504.html. (accessed 3 January 2012). Additional cases include *Read v. Turner* 239 Cal. App. 2d 504::Volume 239::Cal. App. 2d::California Case Law. Accessed 1/5/2012. Similar cases included *Shanahan v. Macco Constr. Co.*, 224 Cal. App. 2d 327, 333-334 [36 511] (345 P. 2d 546, 77 A.L.R.2d 1036); *Werckmeister v. American Lithographic Co.*, 134 F. 321 323-326 (69 C. C. A. 553, 68 L. R. A. 591); *Edgar H. Wood Associates, Inc. v. Skene*, 347 Mass. 351 (197 N.E.2d 886, 889)
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, 179.
51. 174.123.24.242/leagle/xmlResult.aspx?xmldoc=19599. (accessed 19 January 2012). See also: Morris Lapidus, 179. The California court considered the previous rulings on *Kurfiss v. Cowherd* and *Wright v. Eisle* before making their decision.
52. Craig Joyce, *Copyright Law*, (Newark, New Jersey: LexisNexis, 2003), 16 and 118.
53. www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html (accessed on 5 January 2012).
54. Craig Joyce, *Copyright Law*, 21-22.
55. Craig Joyce, *Copyright Law*, 136. Public Law 101-650 101st Congress, 2nd Session, 104 Stat. 5089 was signed into law by President George W. Bush on December 1, 1990 and added to Section 102 of the 1976 Act. Architectural works are considered at the conclusion of 3.02 infra.; Statutory References: 1976 Act: 101 102(a)(8), 120, 301(b)(4).
56. Craig Joyce, *Copyright Law*, 210.
57. Henry H. Saylor, 1957. *The AIA’s First Hundred Years*, Washington: Octagon. 4-5. According to Saylor, invitations were also sent to Calvert Vaux, Fred C. Withers, Edward Cabot, John Davis Hatch, Fred Diaper, Thomas U. Walter, Alex J. Davis, John W. Ritch, Joseph Sands, George Snell, and Ammi B. Young. Thomas Ustick Walter was the other invitee from Philadelphia.
58. Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect: 1810-1865*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 181. Quoting November 1, 1852 letter from *Minutes of the Grand Lodge, III, 1849 to 1854*. Philadelphia (1903); Philadelphia Public Ledger (Minutes, 18 Apr. 1853: 322)
59. Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect: 1810-1865*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 41.
60. Mary N. Wood, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 37-38.
61. Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect: 1810-1865*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 35-36, 42.
62. Everard Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman*, 136.
63. “President’s Address”, *Proceedings of The Annual Convention of The American Institute of Architects, Held in New York, October 22nd and 23rd, 1867*, 8. (New York: Raymond & Caulon, Printers: 1867). The President of the AIA was Richard Upjohn. He also provided suggestions for a better system of competitions if they deemed necessary.
64. Upjohn. 137. “Even now the public hardly realizes the expense of making a set of drawings and the uselessness of these same drawings if the building for which they are intended is not built.”
65. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 11.
66. *Ibid.* 93.
67. Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 315. Philibert de L’Orme, *Le Premier Tome de L’architectre De Philibert L’Orme*, (Paris: F. Morel, 1567), First Volume, First Book, Preface. (sites.google.com/site/delormearchitecture/contents)
68. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3.
69. *Ibid.* 142
70. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 438-440.
71. Michael R. Haines, “The Population of the United States, 1790-1920” (June 1994), NBER Working Paper No. h0056. Available at SSRN: ssrn.com/abstract=190393. Between 1790 and 1920, the population of the United States, based on the federal census, increased from about 4 million men to almost 107 million persons.
72. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 193. Between 1800 and 1830, Britain increased in population from nine to fourteen million.

Preservation Diary

Greene and Greene's Robert Pitcairn, Jr. House, Pasadena

Anne E. Mallek

During my twelve year tenure as curator of the Gamble House Museum in Pasadena, I had the pleasure to become acquainted with the extraordinary Greene and Greene preservation work that was being designed and directed by architect Kelley Sutherlin McLeod. Upon the completion of her major restoration of the landmark Pitcairn House in 2014, I recommended the Victorian Society in America consider the house for a preservation award. This is the story of that project.

In the August 1912 issue of Gustav Stickley's *The Craftsman* magazine, the significance of the work of California architects Charles and Henry Greene was profiled in an article entitled "California's Contribution to a National Architecture." The author explained:

The type of home that abounds today in California...is a vital product of the time, place and people, with roots deep in geographical and human needs. It has a definite relation to the kind of climate and soil, the habits of the people and their ways of looking at civilization and nature...the main virtue of those Western homes lies in their essential fitness for democratic American life.

After a generation of obscurity, the Greenes' work would be celebrated for these very virtues forty years later by The American Institute of Architects. They had designed homes for doctors and small business owners as well as lumber barons and oil heiresses. The bungalow style that they helped both to define and make popular was essentially democratic—as livable at 900 square feet as at over 2000.

The house they designed for Robert Pitcairn, Jr., in Pasadena in 1906 was no exception, and it came at a pivotal point in the evolution of the Greenes' architectural style, before the grander bungalows like the Gamble House. The commission introduced many signature features that would appear in these later works, from a shingled exterior and low-pitched roof with deep overhanging eaves, to balconies and sleeping porches that capitalized on the milder climate, as well as an honest expression of materials in the massing of wood members. In *The Craftsman* article, Henry Greene summed up the brothers' ethos: "...there was a reason for every detail. The idea was to eliminate everything unnecessary, to make the whole as direct and simple as possible, but always with the beautiful in mind as the final goal."

History of a House: Part 1

A powerful Pennsylvania family, the Pitcairns' fortunes were mostly self-made, variously through the Pennsylvania



L to R: Charles Greene, Henry Mather Greene, c.1910. University of Southern California.

Railroad, natural oil and gas industries, and the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company (now known as PPG Industries). Robert Pitcairn, Sr., emigrated with his parents from Scotland in 1846, beginning work in the Railroad when only 17. He had befriended a fellow Scot, Andrew Carnegie, while both were working for the Eastern Telegraph Company, and later replaced him (when Carnegie left to pursue his successful career in steel) as general agent and superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

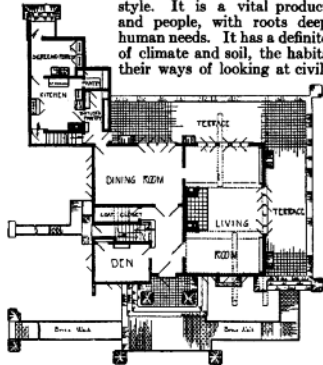
The Pitcairns had all been baptized in the New Church, which followed the teachings of Swedish scientist and theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). The premise of Swedenborgianism is personal responsibility in one's repentance, reformation and regeneration. While Robert Pitcairn ultimately broke with the New Church to join the Presbyterian denomination, his brother John established a more conservative faction of the New Church that became known as the General Church of New Jerusalem. He established the church headquarters at Bryn Athyn, a suburb of Philadelphia, where he built his own home, Cairnwood (Carrere and Hastings, 1892-95), and later Bryn Athyn Cathedral (Ralph Adams Cram and Raymond Pitcairn, 1914-29). John's son Raymond had been instrumental in completing the cathedral at Bryn Athyn before beginning his own home nearby, Glencairn (1928-39). In both projects he demonstrated a strong commitment to building "in the Gothic way"—employing local materials and craftsmen, seeking their input in the building, promoting the Ruskinian idea that designers and craftsmen should work in close concert, if not be one and the same person. He even went so far as to have

CALIFORNIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE: ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND BEAUTY AS SHOWN IN THE WORK OF GREENE AND GREENE, ARCHITECTS



THE value of Western architecture, locally and to the nation at large, and its widening influence upon home-building all over the country are facts not to be estimated lightly. Every day it is becoming more evident that America is writing her own architectural history, and writing it with no uncertain hand. The East, on the whole, has still a good deal to learn—and perhaps even more to unlearn—before it can achieve much practical or artistic significance in the construction of its homes; but the West has for some time been recording on the fair page of the Pacific Slope what promises to be an important chapter in the life of the people.

The significance, moreover, of this Western accomplishment arises chiefly from the sincerity of spirit in which it is being undertaken. The type of home that abounds today in California—a type in which practical comfort and art are skillfully wedded—is no architectural pose, no temporary of the time, place in geographical and relation to the kind of the people and ization and nature. It is equally rich in historic traditions and in provision for present needs. Based on the old Mission forms, which in their turn drew inspiration from the ideals of Spaniard and Moor, modern California architecture has nevertheless made those traditions servants, not masters. And while drawing from that romantic background both the sturdy spirit of the simple old pioneer



FIRST FLOOR PLAN FOR MR. PITCAIRN'S HOUSE: SEE PAGES 536 AND 537.

532



L to R: *The Craftsman*, August 1912, describes the home of Robert Pitcairn, Jr. as “a typical modern California house with its opportunities for open-air living, its long roof line, well-related building materials and general air of comfort.” Greene & Greene, architects.

workshops for stone, metal, wood and stained glass built on the site.

Raymond's cousin, Robert Pitcairn, Jr., had graduated from Princeton with a degree in civil engineering. He subsequently worked for U. S. Steel, and was transferred to San Francisco in 1906 following the earthquake, to market steel for rebuilding the city. He and his wife Marion ultimately settled in Pasadena for the milder, drier climate that was attracting so many easterners and midwesterners to the west coast. One imagines they were drawn to the beautiful and functional aesthetic of Arts and Crafts buildings, represented in California by the Greenes' wooden bungalow style. They engaged the brothers to design them a home. The work was completed in 1906 and Robert and Marion Pitcairn would live there for the next forty years.

History of a House: Part 2

After various rounds of subsequent owners, the Pitcairn house was purchased by Westridge School for Girls in 1963, which then rented the house to a family whose children were attending the school. By 1973, the school had employed architects Roland E. Coate Jr. and Tim Anderson to remodel the interior of the house to make it more suitable for offices, classrooms, and event spaces. As the school's campus continued to grow, the Pitcairn house was further refurbished in 1996 and again in 2000, updating lighting, flooring, electrical, plumbing and HVAC systems.

Westridge School was founded in 1913 by Mary L. Ranney, a former teacher and perhaps most intriguingly a former draftsman in the Greenes' architectural office. Indeed, it is likely she was working in the office at the time of the design of the Pitcairn house. To be a woman draftsman at this time might have been striking enough, but Mary Ranney also

designed her own house while working for the Greenes, who allowed her to sign her own name to the design as well. The house, designed in 1907, is located in the Arroyo Terrace neighborhood, itself a collection of Greene & Greene houses, including the home of Charles Greene. All were within walking distance of the famed Gamble House. Ranney's house bears many signature Greene & Greene elements, and it is perhaps a testament to her architectural background that the Westridge campus would eventually include a number of architecturally significant buildings. Unfortunately, Ms. Ranney did not live long enough to know about their acquisition. She died in 1939 at the age of 68.



Ceremony at the Pitcairn House, purchased by Westridge School for Girls, c. 1963.

Preservation of a House

In 2013, Westridge School celebrated its 100th anniversary, and in part to commemorate the occasion the school turned its attention to the overdue preservation of its most important landmark building, the Pitcairn house. Funding was secured philanthropically, representing a partnership between the



Above: Robert Pitcairn, Jr. house, as it stands today and prior to restoration (right).

school, individuals and foundations. There were many issues to address, given decades of deferred maintenance, failing previous repairs, wear from use, age, and severe deterioration due to exposure. Existing conditions included badly decayed rafter tails and beam ends, deteriorated shingles, weakened balcony structure with failed deck finish and flashings, and also poorly executed attempts at prior repairs, many of which were flatly destructive (e. g. choosing to sever rotten rafter tails and add new wood “extensions,” which deteriorated faster and more severely than the original old growth redwood).

Kelly Sutherlin McLeod Architecture, Inc, and Griswold Conservation Associates, LLC were key members of the project team, having also worked together on the exterior restoration of the Gamble House in 2003-04. In both projects, the team strove to retain as much of the historic material as possible. This meant that of the 120 decayed and poorly patched rafter tails, only six were replaced, and those were carefully sourced high-quality, extremely dense wood. The balcony railing was carefully dismantled before installing concealed vertical steel supports—in reassembling, the team maintained all original timbers and mortise-and-tenon construction. As with the Gamble House, it was also determined not to remove older coats of exterior paint, given the potential for damaging the surface and integrity of the



wood shingles. At the Gamble House, a transparent wood preservative called TWP was employed as a final coating. For the Pitcairn project, they applied a two-step painted finish to imitate the original stained finish. The benefit of this latter treatment was also to disguise the extensive patching required for the rafter tails and other wood elements.

The Pitcairn house restoration was completed in 2014, on time, and within the original proposed budget. It was variously honored in 2015 with preservation awards from the City of Pasadena, the State of California, and California Preservation Foundation. In 2016, the year that marks the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act, the Pitcairn project was a recipient of the Victorian Society in America’s Preservation Award, during the Society’s annual meeting in Pasadena.

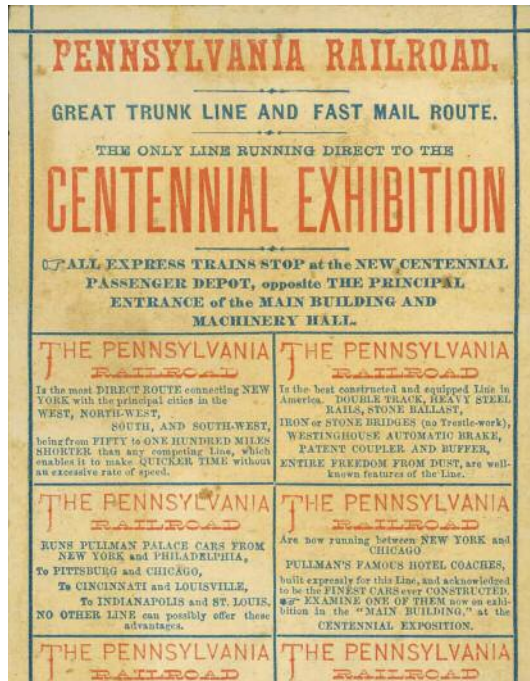
Kelly McLeod has helped to restore and preserve many other historic homes in the area, as has John Griswold. Since the completion of the Pitcairn project, McLeod, Griswold, and Gamble House director Ted Bosley have been working together on an initiative to collect data on surviving original finishes and fixtures in extant Greene & Greene houses. All documentation will go to the University of Southern California-owned Greene & Greene archives. Thus far, seven houses have been surveyed. The information will contribute not only to our understanding of the Greenes’ intentions and building techniques, but also to the establishment of best practices for preserving and maintaining these homes for the future.



Journeys

Young Busler Goes to the Fair

Jeanne Solensky



L to R: Poster for the Pennsylvania Railroad, advertising service to the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. "Visitors Passing Through the Turnstiles," from *Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exhibition*, 1876. Courtesy Winterthur Library.

Late in his life, William Sherwood Busler recorded reminiscences to share with family and friends, copies of which have been deposited in the Winterthur Library to now be enjoyed by a wider audience. His seemingly ordinary life offers remarkable insights into changes, inventions, and even a historic event he experienced in his 89 years.¹ Born in 1858, Busler grew up in rural Hughesville, Pennsylvania working odd jobs in his youth before choosing the carriage painting trade, a decision that forever changed the course of his life. He left home in the spring of 1876 at the age of 18 for his apprenticeship in J. F. & C. Gohl's carriage manufactory firm in Williamsport, 16 miles away. Shortly after beginning employment, he contracted typhoid fever causing him to miss several weeks of work and to despair of attending the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia until Christian Gohl, his paint shop boss, suggested Busler work overtime to recoup lost earnings and accompany him in the fall. In the early morning hours of September 25, Busler with Gohl boarded a crowded train in Williamsport en route to Philadelphia. He was finally going to the fair.

The fair's official name was the rather cumbersome International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Products of the Soil and Mine, but was more commonly known as the

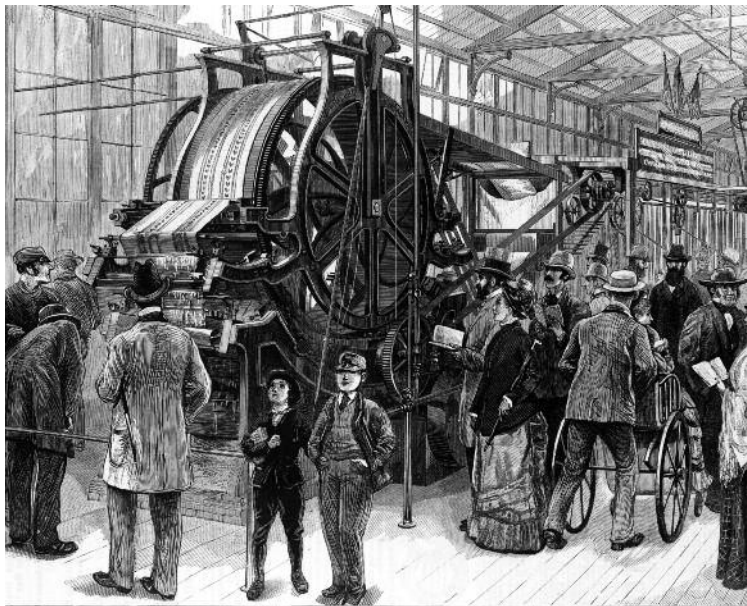
Centennial Exhibition to honor the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in the historic city of Philadelphia. City officials and businessmen labored for years to achieve the fair's lofty goals to celebrate "...a nation so rapidly risen from struggling infancy to a position of power and prosperity, as at once to command the respect of all Governments and the admiration of the world,"² and rival previous European world's fairs. The Centennial Exhibition officially opened at 9 a.m. on May 10, 1876 and welcomed over 100,000 visitors to see President Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil kick off festivities. The forward-thinking emperor, the only reigning monarch to attend the Centennial, had purposefully included the fair on his extended American tour to witness new technologies in action. While Opening Day was a great success and generated extensive press coverage, attendance soon after did not reach anticipated numbers for various reasons. Closed after 6 p.m. and on Sundays, the fair's hours weren't conducive for attracting people who worked six days a week. Although no other admission fee was charged once inside, another possible deterrent was the 50 cent admission price which was hotly debated until the introduction of half-price days late in the summer.³ The weather also proved uncooperative gripping the city in a

terrible heat wave during the early summer. The tide began to turn mid-point through the fair's run as positive newspaper and magazine coverage, and especially encouraging word-of-mouth reports from fairgoers convinced those indecisive but curious to travel to the Centennial. Busler himself had heard such reports, noting that "many persons had ambitions to visit the Great Show and many were coming and going and bringing alluring accounts of its wonders."⁴ Despite waiting until late September to make the journey, his timing proved fortuitous coinciding with cooler weather in the early fall weeks, reduced train fare, and the record-setting Pennsylvania Day, all factors resulting in an extremely crowded week at the Centennial. This young man's life-changing adventure was about to begin.

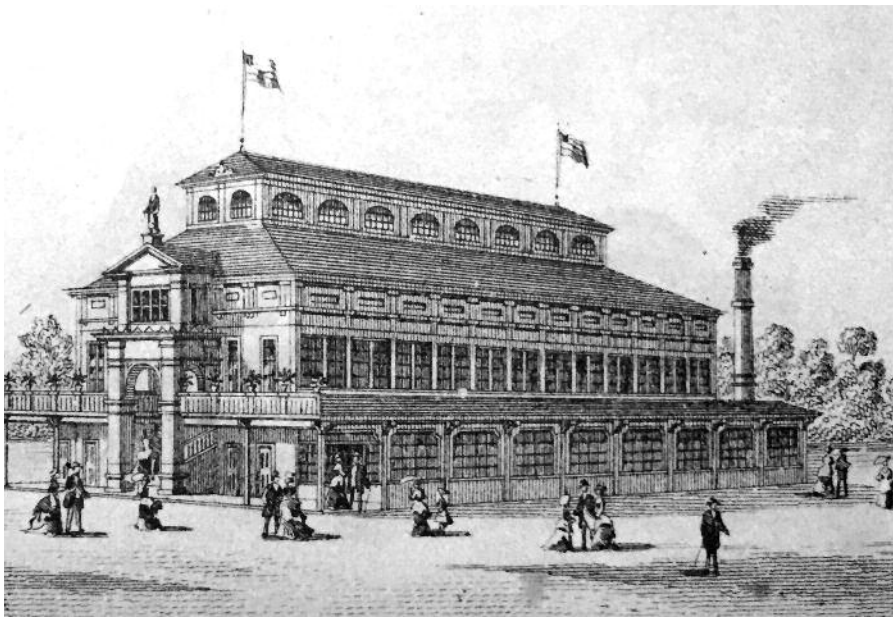
After changing trains in Harrisburg, Busler and Gohl arrived over seven hours later at 10:30 a.m. at the Pennsylvania Railroad's Centennial Depot outside the fair's main entrance in Fairmount Park.⁵ Instead of disembarking to immediately enter the grounds, they proceeded to a West Philadelphia station where they switched to a street car heading downtown and navigated their way to Mrs. Vansciver's house at 825 Race Street.⁶ They shared a room in her boardinghouse for the daily rate of \$1.50 including breakfast, a cheaper rate than most hotels' better suited for Busler's limited funds of less than \$25 that he managed to save on his \$2 a month salary and additional overtime. The two men soon departed for local sightseeing including the zoo, the Fairmount Water Works, the Old State House and Congressional Hall before turning in early in anticipation of their first day at the fair.

Bright and early on Tuesday morning, the pair paid the seven cent fare on a horse-drawn street car that was "very much crowded, requiring extra horses on the up-grades,"⁸ to make the hour long journey to the Centennial six miles away.⁹ The street car deposited them at the main entrance, one of many situated around the grounds to accommodate travelers by all transportation methods and routes and to prevent a bottleneck in any one area. Busler dropped his 50 cent note into the collections box, passed through the self-registering turnstile mechanically keeping track of admissions, and stepped into another world, where "the whole universe was concentrated."¹⁰

Careful planning by the Centennial organizers paid off in the well-designed layout of nearly 200 buildings sporting flags of different colors designating United States government, state, foreign, and administrative buildings and the many services and conveniences awaiting visitors. Fairgoers could send telegraphs, buy railroad tickets, post letters, and handle banking business at various sites, while guides and messengers answered questions and delivered notes and packages. Food and refreshment were never far away with restaurants in the five main buildings and scattered around the grounds, as were soda fountains, popcorn stands, and cigar pavilions. The aptly-named Department of Public Comfort welcomed people looking for a place to relieve and rest themselves, have their hair styled and their shoes shined, eat lunch, store baggage, and buy newspapers and umbrellas. Visitors' safety was attended to by 600 Centennial Guards, or policemen, patrolling the grounds and 175 firemen monitoring numerous alarm boxes. A hospital tended to illnesses and



Top to Bottom: Wallpaper machine in Machinery Hall, *Harper's Weekly*. Library of Congress; Corliss Engine, Centennial Photographic Co, 1876. Courtesy Winterthur Library; *Machinery Hall, Sunset view*, Brett Lithographing Co. New York, c 1875. Library of Congress.



L to R: Campbell Press Building, as seen in the *Memorial of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876*. Published by Thomas Hunter, 1877. Library of Congress; George Washington's carriage, Centennial Photographic Co., 1876. Courtesy Winterthur Library.

ailments, and a separate water system pumping around six million gallons of water daily decreased the risk of epidemics.

Busler didn't immediately absorb the extent of this world for the men quickly entered the Main Building conveniently located to the right of the main entrance. At 1,880 feet in length covering more than 20 acres it was the largest building of the fair and housed over 13,000 exhibits from nearly 30 countries. Armed with a notebook, Busler was eager to fill pages and pages of it with the fantastic sights—large elephant tusks from the Orange Free State of South Africa, stuffed birds and ostrich eggs from Africa, diamonds from China, minerals from California, Russian swords, Peruvian mummies, olive woodwork from Jerusalem, Japanese porcelain, and many other rarities. Busler and Gohl briefly stopped at noon for a bowl of oyster stew, and again at 3 p.m., when only half-way through the building, to ascend the winding stairs to the roof for a spectacular view of the grounds and the city of Philadelphia in the distance. At 5:30 p.m., their senses sated, they departed on a street car for downtown and dined at a beer garden while watching a vaudeville show before ending the day.

Wednesday, September 27, started as a repeat of the previous day with Busler and Gohl again visiting the Main Building for one last view. They then ventured across the way past a large fountain filled with goldfishes to Machinery Hall, the second largest building covering around 14 acres, where the industries of America shone brightly.

The display of machinery is greatly in excess of anything at previous exhibitions, and the United States is far ahead of any other country...most remarkable exhibit, full of new ideas, refined in mechanism, and most encouraging for the future.¹¹

The 40 foot Corliss Engine, the symbol of the fair, was quite an attraction of its own, even Busler could "hardly keep away from that gigantic machine"¹² powering all the others in the building: steam blowers, saws, pumps, lathes, drills, planers, looms and sewing machines, and engines of all kinds busy at

work. Busler witnessed machines making wallpaper, printing pictures of the Centennial buildings, weaving handkerchiefs and carpets, popping corn, and mixing and grinding paint, and saw such novelties as a typewriter. The men next toured two manufacturing sites outside Machinery Hall, the Campbell Press Building with its newspaper office, press room, and job office and the Fuller, Warren & Company's Stove and Range Building before backtracking along the Avenue of the Republic in front of Machinery Hall and the Main Building to the Carriage Building, naturally of interest. With closing time fast approaching, they merely glanced in to see George Washington's carriage, "painted white, and of course appearing old."¹³ The day concluded with a relaxing ride on the open cars of the popular narrow gauge railway, a five-cent twenty minute ride looping around the grounds. The two then "pressed our way through the crowd to the street cars. There was a great rush. Cars would be filled to overflowing in a jiffy, and we must wait; finally managing to push in and stand up for part of the way at least."¹⁴

Busler and Gohl arrived on Thursday to even larger crowds for September 28 was Pennsylvania Day, one in a series of special days honoring different states featuring orations, ceremonies, parades, and fireworks beginning in late August in an effort to attract more visitors. Pennsylvania residents benefited from the legal holiday designated by Governor John Frederick Hartranft, and everyone enjoyed the reduced 25 cent admission. Busler reported the attendance at 251,000; the actual number totaled 274,919¹⁵ setting a record for the busiest day at the Centennial and a world's fair to date.¹⁶ They navigated their way through the crowd to revisit the Carriage Building and examine the displays more carefully than the day before, and after concluding again that the products of the United States were superior to its foreign counterparts, went next door to the Memorial Hall and its Art Annex. Here, America took a backseat to European art, with Italian statuary and British paintings being most remarkable to spectators. So numerous were the works of art that Busler estimated that he needed 80 years to spend five minutes at each exhibit.

Unfortunately, more buildings awaited and they left this congested area to walk across the ravine past the Singer Sewing Machine without entering for they had already seen the company's exhibit in Machinery Hall. The goal was to reach Horticultural Hall with its exhibits of exotic and tropical trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruits like Cuban poppies, Abyssinian bananas, Egyptian paper plants, and Brazilian ferns and palms. Once inside and up in the gallery, he "looked down on the whole interior and imagined that we were in the Hawaiian Islands."¹⁷

The last stop of the day was the popular Women's Pavilion featuring handicrafts made by women of many countries. After denied separate space in the Main Building, a group of women raised enough money from private donations for their own building, a first of its kind at any world's fair. As eye-opening as the foreign exhibits were, Busler found the women's exhibits equally impressive: "We always knew that they could do it, but we did not know that they had done it."¹⁸ The two men decided not to stay for the evening fireworks, leaving at 5 p.m. to avoid the usual rush for street cars.

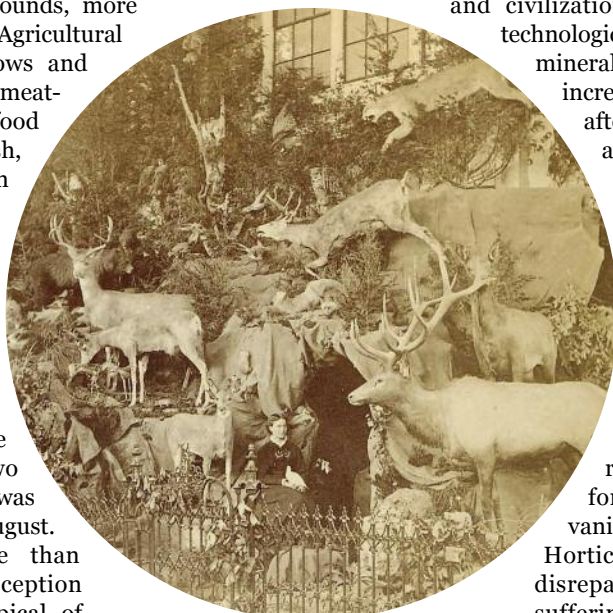
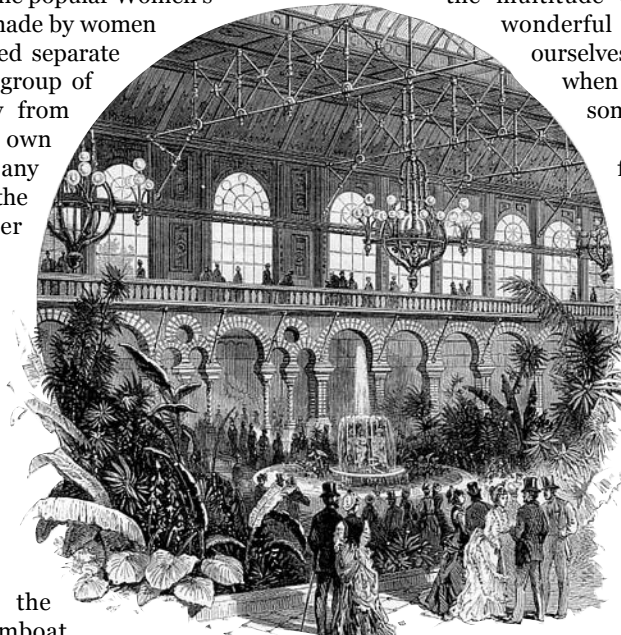
On Friday Busler and Gohl traveled to the fair via a new route—first by street car to Fairmount Park and up the Schuylkill River on a steamboat, landing further north on the grounds, more conveniently located for visiting Agricultural Hall. The displays included plows and reapers, cider and saw mills, and meat-packing machinery, alongside food products like canned meats and fish, spices, and wines and grain from all over the world. The American department, occupying two-thirds of the space, included a mammoth grape vine and bark from California, a hog weighing over a ton from New Hampshire, and a plow made by Daniel Webster in 1837. Just to the south was the Kansas and Colorado State Building, housing the only two states to share space as Colorado was not admitted to the Union until August. The two states offered more than administrative offices and reception rooms for visiting residents typical of most state buildings turning it into a destination for such delights as Kansas's displays of Kit Carson's coat and a Liberty Bell created from native grains, "well imitated, crack and all."¹⁹ In the Colorado wing, Mrs. Maxwell exhibited stuffed animals and birds from her Rocky Mountain Museum, many of which she killed and prepared herself, arranged in a natural

habitat setting. The pair proceeded across Belmont Avenue to observe the functions and resources from the Agricultural Bureau, the Interior Department, the Smithsonian Institution, the Army, the Navy, the Post Office, and the Treasury all located in the United States Government Exhibit Building.

Winding their way back to the main entrance, Busler and Gohl quickly stopped into the Pennsylvania State Building and Machinery Hall once again for Busler to buy Centennial views as a memento of his adventure. Their visit over, they boarded a 6 p.m. train for home, with Busler marveling to Gohl about the multitude of curiosities they saw and "the wonderful inventions of that age, and felt ourselves fortunate in having lived at a period when we could see and enjoy the uses of some of them."²⁰

The Centennial closed with much fanfare on November 10. During the 159 days the fair was open, the turnstiles admitted a grand total of 9,910,966 with 8,004,274 paying admission for a total of \$3,813,724.49.²¹ While the sum was not sufficient to deem the fair a financial success, the indirect economic gain was enormous for not only did Americans gain knowledge of other cultures, they also saw new manufacturing techniques which were immediately embraced to stimulate domestic industries. Foreign nations now viewed the United States as a land of progress

and civilization and were impressed with its technological and engineering prowess and mineral wealth, directly translating into an increase in domestic exports the year after. With this rise in global trade and a new perception of the young country, it was clear America was becoming a force to be reckoned with on the international scene. More visible transformations occurred with the fair's physical landscape when exhibits were removed by December 31 and most buildings either dismantled and moved to another location or demolished. A few buildings remained, some housing businesses for a short time until they too vanished. Although intended to last, Horticultural Hall slowly fell into disrepair and was razed a year after suffering damage in 1954's Hurricane Hazel. Extant buildings are the Ohio State Building, constructed from stone from its quarries standing as "an ornament to the Park"²² and a few public comfort stations. The Centennial Exhibition's crown jewel built for permanence, Memorial Hall has been repurposed many times and is currently home to the Please Touch Museum.²³



Top to bottom: "Interior of Horticultural Hall," *Harper's Weekly*, 1876. Library of Congress; Mrs. Maxwell's Exhibit in the Kansas and Colorado Building, 1876. Courtesy Winterthur Library.

And what of William Sherwood Busler? He returned to Williamsport, his round trip no more than 350 miles, but one in which he visited new worlds. Following a second trip to Philadelphia three years later, he decided to relocate there for better opportunities in sign and carriage painting and easily found work with several companies, one located in an old Centennial Exhibition building, before striking out on his own. Still maintaining close ties to his family and friends back home, he married his first boss Mr. Gohl's sister-in-law in 1886 and raised three children. Years later in 1921, he sold his two houses in Philadelphia and retired to nearby Lansdowne. Sixty-six years after visiting the fair, Busler transcribed his scribbblings from the small notebook he had carried with him on a typewriter, "banging away"²⁴ on the "rather complicated gadget"²⁵ he first saw at the Centennial Exhibition.



William Sherwood Busler, c. 1940. Private Collection.

Notes

1. William Sherwood Busler, *Autobiography and The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*. Typescript copies. Document 1253, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Delaware. Busler (1858-1947) recorded his Autobiography in 1938 and his Centennial memories in 1942. This article is based on these two documents, both donated to the library by Busler's granddaughter Enora Berry.
2. *Authorized Visitor's Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876), 3.
3. "The Centennial," *Harper's Weekly*, (June 3, 1876): 450. Stated fares were prohibitive, argued for a lower fee for children and repeat visitors, and an elimination of the exact change rule. Package tickets were issued a later date. See also the periodical published for 12 weeks during the fair *The Centennial Eagle* (August 1, 1876): 96 for news that children were now charged 25 cents. *The Centennial Eagle* (September 5, 1876): 196 noted the success of the 25 cent day experiment leading to a reduced fare on certain days.
4. Busler, *The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*, 1.
5. Headquartered in Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Railroad controlled most of the passenger traffic to the fair. In preparation, it built this station, repaired and added tracks, and built new cars. For the duration of the fair, more trains ran and schedules made convenient for passengers. See *Pennsylvania Railroad, The Centennial Exhibition and the Pennsylvania Railroad: 1776-1876* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1876), 11-12.
6. Isaac Costa, compiler, *Gopsill's Philadelphia City Directory for 1876* (Philadelphia: James Gopsill, 1876), 1528. Elizabeth Vansciver is listed as keeping a boardinghouse at this address.
7. Hotels advertised rates of \$1-5 per night in many guidebooks and advertising for the fair. See *Authorized Visitor's Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia*, 35; *What is the Centennial? and How to See It*, 106-109; and "The Centennial," *Harper's Weekly* (May 20, 1876): 414.
8. Busler, *The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*, 1.
9. *Authorized Visitor's Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia*, 33. Speed and distance for street cars noted.
10. "The Centennial," *Harper's Weekly* (May 13, 1876): 394.
11. Joseph M. Wilson, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition Illustrated, Volume III, History, Mechanics, Science* (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Barrie, 1876-1878), clxxxiii.
12. Busler, *The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*, 26.
13. *Ibid.*, 28.
14. *Ibid.*, 29.
15. United States Centennial Commission, *International Exhibition, 1876. Report of the Director-General, Including the Reports of the Bureaus of Administration. Vol. 1*, 352.
16. *What is the Centennial? and How to See It*, 88. Reported that the largest attendance at any European world's fair was 128,000, less than half of Pennsylvania Day.
17. Busler, *The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*, 35.
18. *Ibid.*, 36.
19. *Ibid.*, 41.
20. *Ibid.*, 43.
21. United States Centennial Commission, *International Exhibition, 1876. Report of the Director-General, Including the Reports of the Bureaus of Administration, Vol. 1*, 438. While admissions were counted for the 159 days, it's impossible to know how many repeat visitors there were.
22. "Ohio," *The Centennial Eagle* (September 12, 1876): 210.
23. The building was a 2010 recipient of a Victorian Society in America Preservation Award.
24. Busler's granddaughter shared her memories of him with the author in 2005.
25. Busler, *The Great Centennial Exhibition of 1876*, 27.

The Bibliophile

Thomas Cole: Artist as Architect

Exhibition catalog by Annette Blaugrund with contributions by Franklin Kelly, Barbara Novak and Elizabeth Jacks. Monacelli Press, 2016. Exhibition organized by the Thomas Cole National Historic Site, Catskill, N. Y. On view May 1–October 30, 2016. Travelling to the Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, O. H., November 18, 2016–February 12, 2017.

To stand in the brand-new building where *Thomas Cole: Artist as Architect* is on view at the Thomas Cole National Historic Site in Catskill, New York is to take in the splendor of a soaring ceiling and rich red walls, replete with a visual feast of drawings, paintings, architectural renderings and books, all of which explore Cole's lifelong interest in architecture. It is rare that the building that houses an exhibition must also be considered an object within the exhibition, but such is the case here. This year the museum opened the faithful recreation of Thomas Cole's crowning architectural achievement—the 1846 studio he designed and executed for himself on the property at Cedar Grove—demolished more than forty years ago. Now that the replica building is complete, a monument to the artistic soul who originally created it has been reborn.

The result is that we cannot separate this small but elegant building from the exhibition housed within—it is the *raison d'être*, felt upon arrival, and the very bedrock of the whole enterprise. In the exhibition you are aware of being surrounded by examples of the impulses that led to the manifestation of the studio, both Cole's original and this present reconstruction. It is moving, especially for those who remember when long-term preservation of the ensemble of buildings and grounds that now constitute the museum was tenuous. If experiencing these artworks within this architecture is a culmination, then longtime Cole House collaborator, exhibition curator and primary essayist, Dr. Annette Blaugrund's carefully-crafted catalogue about Cole's interest in and knowledge about architecture is the path which leads us there. She begins as every good scholar does, with a question: "Why would this renowned painter...advertise himself as an architect?"

Blaugrund proceeds to answer this question by carefully plotting Cole's enduring and serious interest in architectural practice through examination of his various artistic pursuits through lens of architecture. The essay accomplishes many things, at once breaking new ground through research and scholarship, while simultaneously synthesizing earlier explorations by other colleagues into a more cohesive discourse. Her inquiry and conclusions are arranged in a loose chronology of interdisciplinary topics; she shifts between Cole's representations of architecture in his paintings, his rigorous pursuit of knowledge about building theory, practice and historical modes through reading published sources of the period, and his ultimate foray into several architectural design projects including his concept for the Washington Monument. Throughout she conveys Cole's passion, as best expressed by his biographer Louis LeGrand Noble: "Architecture to him was also a very expressive language."

A great strength of the essay is that by alternating discussions between paintings and buildings, Blaugrund reminds the reader that they are not disparate—that for the

artist/designer the relationship between the arts is more interconnected. It is equally refreshing that Blaugrund does not restrict herself to building projects that were realized. We are equally enriched by her discussion of the villa Cole never executed and of St. Luke's Church in Catskill, which was completed in 1840. This writing approach shows artistic process as a flow of ideas—often as an equally compelling and joyful experience for the artist as the execution of those ideas.

Those of us who study Cole are aware of his varied artistic interests—he was also a poet and a musician—but Blaugrund makes it clear that architecture was more than a hobbyist pursuit. It is a daunting task to critically examine this beloved artist's merits in yet another artistic discipline, but the author has done so through thoughtful contemplation and rigorous research. She convincingly traces his ever-expanding comprehension of architectural modes throughout his career, identifying a seminal moments during his trips abroad. Her essay also places Cole's architectural ambitions within the contexts of larger narratives, giving us both art and architectural history lessons which include: the eclectic nature of architecture in America in the period; the rise of the professional architect; and Cole's intersection with leading architects of his era, whom he encountered, in part, as he mentored his nephew, William H. Bayless, an aspiring architect.

She further illustrates his deep knowledge by deconstructing several major paintings, including *The Architect's Dream*, and two series: *The Course of Empire* and *The Voyage of Life*. By doing so she demonstrates Cole's lifelong study of buildings, and introduces these well-known paintings to the reader in new ways. And through a detailed discussion of Cole's prolonged engagement with his most ambitious endeavor, the competition for the Ohio State House, with all its complex twists and turns, Blaugrund deftly reminds the reader of the politics of patronage and business of making art, which conflate in the reality of building projects.

Interwoven throughout, the author liberally uses Cole's own words from letters and diaries, even pulling from his *Treatise on Architecture*, allowing the reader to experience firsthand his passion and knowledge, while using these sources to securely underpin her own conclusions. Cole's words and Blaugrund's insights ultimately take us on a journey through the evolution of his architectural interests, finding resolution in his last built project—his studio at Cedar Grove.

Blaugrund is complemented by a shorter essay by Franklin Kelly, Deputy Director and Chief Curator of the National Gallery (Washington, D.C.) and noted Hudson River School painting scholar. He picks up where she leaves off, at the death of Cole and the paintings which remained in the studio. Kelly examines these serial works which often reflect the passage of

time through related narrative canvases. Blaugrund's earlier discussions showed that Cole's faithfully-depicted panorama of Florence proved his capability for accuracy in architectural perspective and topographical rendering. Her critical examinations provide substance to Kelly's own assertions that Cole's later paintings, which Kelly deems "imaginative," were a creative act of choice, and not due to inabilities for pure transcription. Both authors also discuss what Blaugrund identifies as a tension in Cole's works: "Yet the inclusion of architecture also revealed Cole's concerns for the preservation of nature versus the intrusion of civilization."

The catalogue reads easily, but does assume some fundamental knowledge of Cole and the Hudson River School. It includes fifty-seven full-color images woven throughout the various essays. Discussion of the works on exhibition is comprehensive and indeed goes well beyond them. The publication concludes with both an illustration and full transcription of a letter written by Cole devotee Jasper Cropsey in July 1850, writing home to his wife from Cedar Grove several years after Cole's death. This poignant primary-source document poetically describes the studio and its contents in great detail, a goldmine of material for scholars. More importantly it provides a touchstone back to the legacy of Cole's home and studio as an enduring place of pilgrimage, and directly to the importance of having recreated the building on the campus of the museum for future generations of Cole-lovers to engage with—the inaugural exhibition marking the exciting start of those efforts.

The catalogue covers great deal of new ground in a reasonable amount of text, and likewise the exhibition successfully includes a lot of work in a compact space—for all its soaring height the footprint of the studio/gallery is not large. The exhibition, like the catalogue, includes a variety of works from different disciplines. There are Cole landscape paintings, architectural drawings, and models as well as books which Cole would have consulted. There are also three depictions of Cedar Grove by other artists, executed after Cole's death; these informed the rebuilding. There is even portrait of Thomas Cole by his friend and fellow painter Asher B. Durand. It reminds us that all that surrounds us was the brainchild of Cole, coming together in this arresting physical space.

Blaugrund and the organizing staff at the Cole House, Director Elizabeth Jacks and Curator Kate Menconeri, are to be commended for the breadth of impressive loans obtained for this show including works from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Albany Institute of History & Art, the Berkshire Museum, and nearby Olana. The tour de force in the gallery is *The Architect's Dream*, 1840 (on loan from the Toledo Museum of Art), Cole's sweeping homage to man's continuous fascination with his built environment. It is

stirring to stand in front of this large painting, the magnum opus expressing Cole's lifelong interest in architecture, while being physically enveloped by the space which is a faithful replica of his crowning achievement in architectural practice. With this energetic joint display—painting and building—one feels that both have come full-circle, back to the site of their creation and where they long remained (the painting was not sold until 1949 and the studio survived, in a dilapidated state, until the 1970s). The sense of history and locus geni is palpable and achieved without resorting to a recreated vignette of Cole's studio as he left it at his death in 1848. The studio is reinvigorated; an intellectual nod back to the Cole's legacy coupled with a strong assertion of what vibrant presentations are possible in the future within this space. Above all it is celebratory: of Cole; of what the site has achieved as a public museum; and of its current ethos as an active place for creative expression and intellectual conversation.

As a curator at Olana, the home of Cole's student Frederic Church, I am deeply aware of the prolonged impact Cole's tutelage had on Church's painting and his personal life. Yet, this catalogue and exhibition have made me reexamine the mentor's influence in unexpected ways. While studying with Cole in the mid-1840s, it was a teenage Church who would have been surrounded by the books, plans, and paintings referenced here. He would have been privy to Cole's exuberant discourse on architecture and enthusiastic desires to design and build. I now recognize that Church's fearlessness regarding his ability to build his own deeply-personal environment was likely instilled by those informative years under Cole. Through Cole, the initial seed would have been planted that these projects were indeed possible for the painter to dream, and within his grasp to realize. In some measure, the result of that seed is the greatest and most personal artistic masterpiece of Church's own life—Olana. This singular realization reinforces insightful declarations made by Barbara Novak in her foreword; that the scholarly discourse brought forth in both exhibition and catalogue paves the way for deeper inquiry into Cole, a complex artist and man, who we all feel we know, but about whom we have so much more to discover.

After its close at the Thomas Cole National Historic Site on October 30, 2016, the exhibition will travel to the Columbus Museum of Art, the state linked both to Cole's boyhood and his most ambitious architectural exercise, his submission for the Ohio Statehouse. The Columbus venue will offer seven additional drawings and renderings and will remain open through February 12, 2017.

Reviewed by Valerie A. Balint

Women's Views: The Narrative Stereograph in Nineteenth-Century America

Melody Davis. University of New Hampshire Press, 2015.

The stereoscope, a forerunner of the baby-boomer's View-Master and the millennial generation's virtual-reality headset, was the premier parlor accoutrement of the Victorian home. Between 1870 and 1900 nearly every home had one. Just like

the verbose language of a Victorian novel with its detailed description, the stereoscope card with its lavish "story pictures" required patient reading. Moreover, stereoscope companies referred to themselves as publishers, and the picture cards

(stereographs) as titles. The subject matter of the stereograph was quite varied, ranging from exotic lands to natural wonders to romantic scenes. This book focuses on the domestic world, covering the concepts of marriage, family, children and the perils of bachelorhood.

Beginning with an in-depth explanation of how the stereoscope worked, the author presents a thorough explanation of just how stereopsis occurs in the human eye. It was considered a scientific wonder that the human eye could look at a flat picture on a card and then see a three-dimensional scene. Any instrument to produce this effect was indeed a wonder to behold!

Since the lady of the house was the primary purchaser of the stereograph cards, (a. k. a. the views), publishers directed their energies to titles that would appeal to female culture. Usually found in the parlor, the stereographs thus rested in the metaphorical heart of the home. Using sentiment and comedy they promoted an ideal middle-class domestic world. Praising all the domestic virtues, the stereograph gave the Victorian woman a chance to see herself as she would wish to be seen.

Throughout its lifetime the stereograph cards were helpful in defining what it meant to be a good wife, mother and citizen. In other words, it showed women as the banner-carriers of civilization. Clearly the views concretized Victorian emotions and ideals with respect to the female. In particular, the bridal views urged women to that ultimate Victorian female glory: Wife and Mother. The views of children depicted them either as

charming cherubs or as delightful little rogues. All that was needed to form them into upstanding citizens was the guiding hand of Mother. Sentiments expressed by the views allowed women to feel respected as well as part of a larger cultured and educated society.

In contrast, husbands, bachelors and the New Woman were often portrayed as comical and bumbling. The men were presented as clumsy oafs severely in need of the steady and improving influence of a Wife. New Women were shown as lacking in all the feminine qualities. The author describes one title called "The Reversal." In this view the husband is bent over the wash-tub doing dishes while his wife preens before the looking glass as she prepares to depart for the lecture hall.

The cost of a stereoscope and its stereographs was never exorbitant, and it declined over time. In the 1870s the cost of each view was approximately 25 cents each or \$3 per dozen. By 1890 nearly every home could purchase a stereograph card for as little as 7 cents each from Sears. In 1898 they were just 1 cent each.

The author describes the stereograph as "a wide-angle lens on the culture of this transformational time." Indeed this book is a fascinating look at the world of the stereograph. It is a well-researched treasure chest of information on this rare topic. The illustrations are marvelous on their own, but when viewed using the stereoscopic glasses provided, they are spectacular!

Reviewd by Anne-Taylor Cahill

Violet Oakley: An Artist's Life

Bailey Van Hook

Newark: University of Delaware Press, co-published by the Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2016.

While several contemporary authors have written about aspects of Violet Oakley's (1874-1961) life and work, Bailey Van Hook's comprehensive biography is the first full study to mine the extensive resources available on the artist. Van Hook's volume expands Oakley's current reputation as a "local" Philadelphia and Pennsylvania-based artist primarily known for her murals and illustration work. Her biography demonstrates both the accuracy of this description but also its woeful inadequacy. First, as an artist from a family of artists, Oakley is not from Philadelphia—she was born in Jersey City, N.J., was raised in South Orange, N. J., and traveled extensively throughout her youth to visit family living in England, France, and Tangiers. Nor is the range of her creative production limited to the categories listed above—she also produced portraits, designed stained glass windows, authored books, illuminated manuscripts, directed pageants, and painted altarpiece triptychs for the use of military chaplains during WWII. Moreover, throughout her career she worked as a teacher, a gifted speaker, an organizer of exhibitions, and a member of arts committees. Her vast artistic output was driven by both paid commissions and projects she initiated herself, such as the portraits she created of delegates at the League of Nations in Geneva in 1928-29 and at the United Nations in New York City in 1946, ventures that brought together her skills as a portraitist and her lifelong promotion of world peace and democratic freedom.

Van Hook demonstrates that many factors contributed to Oakley's ability to make a life for herself as a professional artist, and then to create such a prodigious body of artwork. The artistic accomplishments of previous generations of her family predisposed both her and her older sister to consider an artist's life; Violet became a visual artist and Hester became a writer. While Hester later married and re-focused her life on her new family, Violet, with just a high school education, and a smattering of American and European art training—the most significant at Philadelphia's Drexel University with the renowned illustrator Howard Pyle—launched her career first as an illustrator and then, by the turn of the century, as one of the few woman muralist active in the United States. She fulfilled commissions in the American Renaissance style for newly erected Beaux Arts buildings of government agencies, colleges and universities, libraries and churches, and prominent families. Such "City Beautiful" projects were typically given to older male muralists with more established reputations.

In addition to the Oakley family's felicitous attitude toward a life as a working artist, there were two other factors that bolstered Violet's incentive to develop an art career. The first was her father's emotional breakdown in 1894 and his inability to continue as the family breadwinner; and the second was the publishing industry's ever growing need for qualified illustrators, a demand that women could meet as they could do the work in the feminine domestic sphere of the home or

private studio. Oakley began working as an illustrator in the 1890s, at the apex of the “Golden Age of Illustration,” when new printing technologies made the illustrated periodicals the most popular form of communication and entertainment for middle-class America. Her training with Pyle not only introduced her to the medium of illustration, but it also provided her with valuable industry connections and an important network of other women illustrators.

The financial distress experienced by Violet’s family as a result of Arthur Oakley’s breakdown—“Philadelphia poverty” was how those years were described—had a profound and lasting impact on how Violet structured her life and how she managed her own money. After a comfortable and secure childhood, when she and her sister were closely protected, the family’s financial misfortunes forced both sisters, when they were in their early twenties, to become wage-earners. Arthur Oakley died in 1900, and from that time forward Violet’s mother Cornelia lived with and was supported by Violet. Through her illustration work she met two of Pyle’s students, Jesse Wilcox Smith and Elizabeth Shippen Green, with whom, by 1902, she was sharing a home and studio, all managed by another artist friend, Henrietta Cozens. They took up residence in an old building known as the Red Rose Inn, in Villanova, and the group became known as the Red Rose Girls. Both Oakley’s mother and Green’s parents were a part of the extended Red Rose household, assisting with daily chores and leaving the artists free to focus on commissions and careers. A few years later the group moved to Philadelphia’s Mount Airy neighborhood, to a home they built and named Cogslea, after the first letters of each of the four artists’ names. After her mother died in 1917 Oakley formed another supportive arrangement when she invited her student, Edith Emerson, to work as her studio assistant. Their relationship blossomed, and Emerson became a Christian Scientist (Oakley had converted in 1900 and a few years later credited her “miraculous” healing from chronic asthma to her belief). The two women lived as companions for the rest of Oakley’s life, with Emerson perpetually in the role of devoted adviser. Van Hook addresses the nature of their relationship, describing it with the “musty term ‘Boston marriage’...a close, intimate, probably not physical, but nonetheless romantic, friendship.” Oakley’s communal living situations permitted her to construct a professional persona as a wealthy, eminent, and genteel artist, a public face often in conflict with reality. She lived well beyond her means, and despite the lucrative sums earned from her commissions Oakley was routinely in financial straits with endless dunning notices from creditors.

Violet Oakley—as a woman and an artist—is best understood through the artwork she produced. Given the financial reverses suffered by her family Oakley realized that hers would be a hard-working life and in response developed “a perfect dragon of ambition.” Her illustrations and portraits were “bread and butter” commissions that demonstrate skill and awareness of popular late nineteenth and early twentieth century styles. As Van Hook notes, some of her illustrations reflect tonal realism, a style with subtle shading made possible by the halftone printing process; others are done in a busy Pre-Raphaelite style with heavily detailed borders reminiscent of medieval manuscript illumination and of the graphic work of Albrecht Durer, Walter Crane, and Aubrey Beardsley; and still others are in a linear style with crisp outlines, rich patterns, rhythmic harmonies, and dense composition that recall the work of her teacher, Howard Pyle. The dark outlines evident in some of her portrait drawings were a vestige to her exposure to European

modernism, a form of expression she also learned from Pyle. The wide range of stylistic approaches seen in her illustrations and portrait drawings foreshadow her subsequent creations.

An 1899 commission from the New York City-based Church Glass and Decorating Co. for a stained glass window for All Angels Church on West End Avenue and 81st Street took Oakley’s career in a new direction. The strong decorative elements and powerful design of her now lost *The Epiphany* (or *Adoration of the Magi*) not only demonstrates her debt to Pyle but also offers a glimpse of the type of subject matter—religious and historical—that came to predominate her best-known work. Three years later, in 1902, Oakley received her first mural commission for the Governor’s Reception Room in the Pennsylvania State Capitol in Harrisburg, an assignment that found her researching William Penn’s utopian vision for his Pennsylvania commonwealth. *Penn’s Vision* (1906) gave her an appreciation of Quakerism and its advocacy of equality and pacifism. Ten years later, in 1912, while in London completing research for her even larger commission to decorate the Senate and Supreme Court Chambers in the Pennsylvania State Capitol, she experienced a revelation when she saw a fourteenth-century painting by the Roman Catholic Italian artist Orcagna. This biblical painting of a New Testament subject led her to consider “That art was not for time, not for an age but for all time.” The inspiration defined her way forward, and Oakley devoted herself to creating artwork that expressed her own moral and spiritual ideals. She began making murals, stained glass windows, altarpieces, and portraits that represented her unwavering beliefs in world peace, universality, and equality (concepts she knew from her study of Quakerism, Christian Science, and the writings of Mary Baker Eddy). Van Hook notes she prepared for her new work by reading the Bible, Dante, and Shakespeare, and by educating herself on the history of law. Her artwork became populated with spiritually-symbolic figures arranged in symmetrical compositions, flattened figures, and bright colors akin to manuscript illumination. Oakley viewed her work as prophetic—paralleling efforts for world peace before, during, and after the First and Second World Wars—and regarded her creative role as sacred. Her approach worked well for Beaux Arts buildings of the early twentieth century, but her style and subject matter were out of fashion when she died in 1961. A renewed interest in her work can be attributed to twenty-first century feminism and post-modernism, and in the Beaux Arts style.

The subject matter of Van Hook’s previous books—women and art, American Renaissance arts and decorative arts, and Beaux Arts mural paintings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—provided a fertile training-ground for tackling the life and work of Violet Oakley; Van Hook spent fifteen years researching and writing this book. It is unfortunate that her comprehensive research and beautiful writing has been presented so poorly by the publisher. In addition to careless copy-editing, the grade of paper is not of a quality for black and white illustrations or color plates. Nearly all the images are dark and muddy, and the eight color plates—placed two on a page, are so small the details are lost completely. To get a sense of the brilliance of Oakley’s colors, and the magnitude of her murals, this reviewer did an internet search and found many Pinterest boards filled with exquisite color images of artwork by Violet Oakley.

Reviewed by Tara Leigh Tappert

Editorial

Hello Posterity!

In my opinion, the most radical designers of the nineteenth century were the members of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming. Known to most as the Shakers, this group of religious zealots were fiercely interested in new technologies. Their agriculture, their manufacturing, and their living were bound up in maximizing production and yield in order to have more time for their core principals of prayer and devotion.

While our goals are more temporal, we are pleased to announce that *Nineteenth Century* is pursuing the latest technology to increase our yield. By publication time, our past 8 issues will be available and searchable on the world wide web. In each issue, we publish articles with information of great value to scholars and non-scholars. These will now be accessible to all.

We have joined with the not-for-profit Internet Archive which is a publication cataloging site. This site is accessible to the public and committed to sustaining itself for the long term. Starting now, from any computer, one can go to archive.org, type in '19th Century', and find complete issues of our journal going back to 2011 with completely searchable content.

In addition, we have partnered with EBSCO Information Services (which stands for Elton B. Stephens Co.) to allow our individual articles to be cataloged and made available through subscribed library search engines, world wide. EBSCO is a highly respected scholarly journal aggregator. Through them our past articles will also be searchable by hundreds of keywords.

Here at *Nineteenth Century* we are zealots about producing a magazine printed on paper, that one can hold in one's hands. We shall continue to do so until the last press is underwater. But this does not stop us from taking advantage of the newest technology to help disseminate our author's work. We say "Hello" to posterity.

Warren Ashworth



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Errata

Vol. 36, No. 1:

p. 12, "The articles on Van Antwerp's work end around 1915, and only a few Van Antwerp houses have been identified from the post-war period.

p. 13, Footnote 37, "A. F. Norris's wife, Julia Coffin Norris, was the sister of Charles F. Coffin, husband of Alice Fenn Coffin (**who was the sister of Hilda Fenn Van Antwerp**), as has been pieced together from obituary notices. **Thus Dudley Van Antwerp and A. F. Norris were related through their spouses.**

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Milestones

“The 40 Elephants” Rampage London

Anne-Taylor Cahill

During the Victorian and Edwardian years a ruthless girl gang ruled the London crime scene. Their grasp was tenacious; they were called “The 40 Elephants.” Reigned over by a designated “queen,” The 40 Elephants were a well oiled organization of female shoplifters whose activities centered on London’s high end shops. First mentioned in newspapers in 1853, they were described “handsome women about 6 feet tall.” Some papers called them Amazons. Dressed in specially made clothing with large inner pockets and extra roomy knickers these ladies entered a shop slim and svelte and departed much larger in girth, hence their moniker, elephants.

Their methods were varied: rush in, grab items and run. Or they would employ a more sophisticated method whereby several gang members would enter a shop with one as lookout and another as a ‘distracter’ and a third pretending to be interested in a very expensive item which she would steal when the distracter got the proprietor's attention. This latter method worked quite well in jewelry stores. In larger stores such as Selfridges or Debenhams, they would descend en masse, take what they wanted and each depart through different store exits, much to the chagrin of store security. This required some advance planning to scope out store exits ahead of time.

Another tactic was to stage simultaneous robberies all over London. The police could barely cope with the calls for help. Should one of the gang be caught, a fistful of diamond rings directed to a policeman’s face often solved the problem.

Rarely did the ladies keep their ill-gotten gains. They preferred to fence their stolen items; then buy fine clothing, furs and jewels of their own particular taste. The Elephants lived the high life. It was said they gave the “liveliest of parties and spend lavishly on pubs, clubs and restaurants.” The rich had nothing on them.

Shoplifting and theft were not their only games. Blackmail was also part of their repertoire. Branching out from shoplifting, they entrapped wealthy men into illicit liaisons and blackmailed them for exorbitant sums. Canvassing *The Lady* magazine for work in upper class homes and providing

false references, The Elephants would gain access to wealthy households. Once established in the home they would literally clean the house of valuables. Should anyone be caught, a reserve fund for bail and lawyers was always available.

The Elephants did not shy away from violence. Non-gang members who shoplifted in Elephant territory were intimidated into giving up percentages of their ill-gotten gains. Failure to comply meant a beating or even kidnapping until the percentage was paid.

The most famous of the Elephant “queens” was Alice Diamond who, with her henchwoman “Baby Face Maggie” (Margaret Hughes), ran the criminal operation for some years. Queen Alice kept razors and blackjacks on her person to be used not only on police but also rivals. The reign of Queen Alice did not last. She and her colleagues were brought down by fellow gang member Marie Britten. Marie fell in love with a “civilian” from the law abiding world; this was strictly against the rules. At home one day, the traitorous Marie’s house was stormed by Alice, Baby Face Maggie and their minions, throwing rocks, bottles, cans, bricks and anything else they could find. The police were called. Alice, Maggie and their co-conspirators were charged and jailed. Once out of jail Alice and Maggie

teamed up again but things were never the same. The Elephants rampaged no more.



Top to bottom: Florrie Holmes and Margaret “Baby Face Maggie” Hughes, members of *The 40 Elephants* gang.



For further reading:

John Capstick
Given in Evidence (London: John Long, 1960), chapter 9.

Brian McDonald
Alice Diamond and The 40 Elephants
(London, Milo Books, 2015).

Gangs of London (London: Milo Books, 2010).

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Submissions should be from 2,000 to 6,000 words in length, with illustrations and end notes as necessary. Submissions should be in a Microsoft Word document. Illustrations should be formatted as .jpg, .tiff, .eps or .pdf, 300 dpi or greater, and submitted by **January 1** for publication in the Spring issue, and **July 1** for publication in the Fall issue. Manuscripts shall conform to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. It shall be the responsibility of the author to secure the rights to publish all images. The Victorian Society in America and the editors assume no responsibility for the loss or damage of any material.

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Christopher Alexander quote is from his superb book, *A Timeless Way of Building*, 1979, p. 8. Alexander has written a number of other excellent books including, with Ishikawa and Silverstein, *A Pattern Language*, 1977.

