The Writings of Louisa Tuthill:
Cultivating Architectural Taste in Nineteenth-Century America

by

Sarah Allaback
A.B. Princeton University, 1988

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation discusses the architectural writings of Louisa Tuthill (1798-1879), a little known nineteenth-century American author. Tuthill has been acknowledged for her History of Architecture From the Earliest Times (1848), the first history of architecture published in the United States. However, her numerous other books dealing with architecture have been largely ignored. As early as 1830, Tuthill published Ancient Architecture, a concise history of architectural origins for young readers. This volume was followed by three fictional works for juveniles describing the adventures of model Americans--an architect, an artist and a landscape architect. Tuthill also edited The True and the Beautiful, the first American collection of selections from Ruskin's work (reprinted twenty-three times). Like her famous contemporaries, Downing and Ruskin, Tuthill associates architectural principles with moral qualities. Her educational books move beyond the sophisticated architectural and social theory of such authorities by presenting aesthetic ideas in popular literary forms for the common reader.

While a tradition of male architectural writers addressed eager builders and wealthy patrons, Tuthill wrote for the American public of all classes and ages. In contrast to the tradition of builders' guides and stylebooks, Tuthill contributed histories, advice books, children's stories and edited collections. When the History is placed within the context of Tuthill's other writings, it becomes part of a larger plan for elevating national morals, a plan requiring education in architecture history.

Dissertation Supervisor: Stanford Anderson
Head of the Department

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1822 Mary Esther Tuthill (daughter) born

1824 Sarah Schoonmaker Tuthill (daughter) born

1825 Cornelius Tuthill dies

1830 "Ancient Architecture" published

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Preface

This study examines the architectural writings of Louisa Caroline Tuthill (1798-1879), author of the first history of architecture published in America. Tuthill wrote four types of books with architectural themes--juvenile fiction, "life-advice" books, histories and edited collections. Throughout these works, Tuthill communicates a simple thesis: education in aesthetics results in societal improvement. Early in her career, Tuthill identified architecture as the most socially powerful of all the arts; she deliberately chose to concentrate on the elevation of architectural taste.

Publishing books on architecture was the most active form of participation in architecture available for a nineteenth-century woman. Tuthill's audience reflects her exclusion from the "professional" discipline. Unlike male writers who addressed particular groups of potential clients, builders and architects, Tuthill wrote for the average American; this category included women and children. Tuthill was particularly interested in engaging the attention of young readers, a group without money or skills. The young reader would determine the future of American society, Tuthill believed, and to influence him or her was to shape national aesthetics.

My study is also based on a simple thesis: Louisa Tuthill offers a different perspective of architecture from that of her male contemporaries. Although she shares many of their concerns, Tuthill's position outside the profession causes her to investigate issues of less value to those involved in design and building. Tuthill was most interested in increasing architectural awareness and popularizing "tasteful" principles. Although her History lists buildings as examples of American progress, it does not

attempt to include every significant structure. Plans and sections are not examined. Major historical monuments--such as the great pyramids and St. Peters, and the most impressive recent American buildings--are "specimens" illustrating aesthetic principles. For Tuthill, as for Ruskin and other nineteenth-century critics, reading exteriors (which reflect national characteristics) is more profitable than reading plans. As she notes in her preface, facades are available for all to judge and admire. Tuthill's "democratic" presentation not only addresses the needs of an uneducated audience, but also the national image she hopes to improve.

The Introduction to this study, "Re-writing A Woman's Life," considers issues that have influenced the reception of Louisa Tuthill's work. Because of her unique perspective and her interest in children's literature, Tuthill has not been taken seriously as an architectural writer. A primary purpose of my dissertation is to show how a close examination of Tuthill's writings, considered in context, results in a new understanding of her architectural contribution.

The next three parts of this study discuss themes Tuthill found particularly important, both in aesthetics and in social life. "The Importance of Education," Part One of this study, is emphasized throughout Tuthill's architectural plan; she hopes to create tasteful judges by starting with the young, those without preconceived notions of artistic judgement. Education is also essential in Tuthill's effort to describe and promote a uniquely American aesthetic which will provide the foundation for national progress in the arts. Part Two of this study, "Architectural History Writing in America," places Tuthill's architectural histories within the context of contemporary scholarship on the subject. Part Three of this

study, "General Principles" (a term Tuthill frequently employs), describes her aesthetic theory and methodology--the basic principles of good taste and moral living she promotes throughout her work. "Sentiments," Part Four of this study, shows how Tuthill associates moral ideals with specific building styles. Because Tuthill reads architectural facades as she does human exteriors, her built environment becomes a reflection of human history and progress.

Louisa Tuthill was a writer with an interest in architecture. She was not an architectural historian, but then neither were any early nineteenth-century Americans. Tuthill was not an architect, nor were any American women. In order to learn about early nineteenth-century women and their perspective on architecture, we must look beyond the categories that excluded them. The fact that Tuthill ventured to examine a male-dominated profession--at a time when it was rapidly becoming more professional--is reason enough to consider her work worth reading.

Because Tuthill addresses current events in the lives of contemporary readers, the modern scholar is left with many unanswered questions. Some of the problems academics have had with the text are a result of their own unrealistic demands, the requirements of a history written for the twentieth century. They want a first history to provide descriptive, chronological accounts of buildings and to include an objective estimation of Colonial architecture while maintaining the appropriate critical distance in judging the buildings of other cultures. Although Tuthill's work does not satisfy such requirements, her history was recognized as the first in the field; it should be considered as such on its own terms.

Tuthill would have been the first to assert that her book is not "original" in the modern sense. Complimentary contemporary estimations of her work praise its extensive use of "learned" sources and its potential as an educational text for the common reader. Part of Tuthill's instructive purpose involves introducing "authorities" who might otherwise have remained unfamiliar to this "average" audience. As she states in her introductions to Ruskin's work, Tuthill was interested in presenting difficult theorists to the American public. The simplicity of her texts, particularly Architecture, reflects a sensitivity to her readers' needs that must be considered deliberate.

Why should modern architectural historians study Tuthill's work? By itself, the History provides a great deal of information about the variety of architectural sources available to contemporary writers. As part of Tuthill's architectural plan, the History manifests her effort to improve American aesthetics. In focusing on education, Tuthill chose the field most accepting of women, one in which they were able to earn a "professional" living. The dedication of Tuthill's History, "to the Ladies of the United States of America, the Acknowledged Arbiters of Taste," implies that women were already accepted aesthetic critics. Although the influence of women as architectural patrons was acknowledged, particularly by early nineteenth-century English critics, Louisa Tuthill's writings suggest that architectural education was more than a gentile refinement for the accomplished lady; it provided an opportunity for women to "influence" public life.

Louisa Tuthill was not an average American woman; neither was she an ardent feminist nor a brilliant philosopher. Though one of a circle of

financially secure female literary figures, she seems to have been a fairly conventional victorian "lady." Rather than diminish her value as an architectural writer, Tuthill's ordinariness suggests that she represents the perspective of other upper class American women. If Tuthill does not offer entirely new ideas about architecture, she does broaden the audience of those considering the field. As this study will show, contemporary stylebook authors like Downing and Ranlett were hardly original. Ruskin cannot claim to have invented the "associationism" for which he is so famous. Unlike her male contemporaries, Tuthill presented architectural ideas in new formats--as histories and juvenile literature. In this she was original.

The architectural writings of Louisa Tuthill introduce new categories for studying architectural history writing. Like her contemporaries, Tuthill associated morals with taste and taste with architectural aesthetics; education resulted in the elevation of character, which could also be expressed in architecture. As Tuthill's work illustrates, historians of nineteenth-century architecture need to pay closer attention to forms of writing outside the accepted genres labeled history, stylebook, builder's guide, etc. Work like Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck's "Essay on Architecture" and Eliza Buckminster Lee's "sketches" of buildings, offer insight into the urban, public world.[1] While these forms of writing were not directed toward the growing architectural profession, they did discuss architectural issues. And, like Tuthill's books, they reached women and children, groups ignored by the established profession. Throughout this

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[1] See descriptions of the meeting-house, the parsonage, "old fashioned houses" and other buildings in Lee's Sketches of a New-England Village (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1838).

study, I comment on the lack of discrimination between "good" literature and ephemeral writing in the early nineteenth century. When placed in the context of a developing literature with very different standards of quality, modern categories are no longer useful. Louisa Tuthill's appropriation of different genres to encourage new audiences in the study of architecture took place within the "mainstream" literary profession. Her juvenile books are listed in publishers' advertisements alongside future American classics. Although Tuthill wrote for audiences of women and children, her aesthetic message extended beyond these groups and joined those calling for American contributions in all the arts.

In order to evaluate Tuthill's effort in context, we must imagine the life of a New Haven widow, the mother of four children; imagine daily rituals requiring calling-cards, male escorts and heavy hoop skirts; imagine the welcome market for the "domestic" fiction Tuthill could easily produce and the difficulty--both social and practical--of obtaining the architectural texts necessary to write a history. From her position as an elite woman writer, Tuthill became convinced that architecture provided the means for social change. Whether or not her books helped to affect such change, they offer an unprecedented view of a woman on the edge of the architectural profession.

Almost one hundred and fifty years ago, Louisa Tuthill mentioned ladies who had written about architecture before her. She reminded young readers that "there are numerous examples for the encouragement of female artists, from Angelica Kaufmann down to the lady miniature painters whose beautiful pictures ornament our exhibition rooms."[2] Advertisements for

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[2] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home (New Haven: S. Babcock, 1839), 83.

Tuthill's work were placed amid the names and titles of numerous other women who wrote on a variety of topics from landscape architecture to domestic furnishings. Today, it is commonly assumed that few nineteenth-century women participated in the arts. Louisa Tuthill shows us that twentieth-century scholars have only begun to look.

Introduction: Re-writing A Woman's Life

> My daughter's books were all anonymous:-
> Mine have my name;
> Mrs. L.C. Tuthill;
> which I have not changed since May 26th 1817!
> The initials being the same, (my daughter's and mine,)
> no doubt the mistake has frequently been made.
>
> Have I cleared up the dense mystery?[3]

Louisa Caroline Tuthill's literary career, extending from the 1820s through the 1870s, is surrounded by the kind of mysteries that obscure most nineteenth-century women's lives. Looking back on her work at the age of eighty, Tuthill commented that her books were often confused with those of her daughter, Cornelia. Thirty years before, she had corrected her Boston publishers, Crosby and Nichols, who frequently committed the same error. Tuthill's contributions to her husband's literary magazine and her early books were published anonymously. During the 1840s and 50s, Tuthill's most prolific years as a writer, she began to share an identity with Cornelia.

Any scholar dealing with early nineteenth-century women and their work is faced with gaps in otherwise scant records. Particularly before 1840, when city directories were either non-existent or sporadic, women are often hidden under husbands' names and pseudonyms. For most of the twentieth century, nineteenth-century books by women, many of which

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[3] Tuthill to Mr. Fiske, 17 June 1878, glued inside the cover of Tuthill's anthology of John Ruskin's writings, The True and the Beautiful in Nature, Art, Morals and Religion (1858; reprint, New York: Wiley and Halsted, n.d.) Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. She is referring to the "dense mystery" surrounding Cornelia Louisa Tuthill's authorship of Wreaths and Branches for the Church (Boston, 1842).

were contemporary bestsellers, have remained excluded from the academic "canon." Before feminist historians and literary scholars began studying women writers, much of the work of popular nineteenth-century women authors was judged against the accepted tradition of male authorship. In the effort to discover and re-examine women's achievements, many modern scholars have developed new ways of evaluating the work of women writers.[4] Traditionally, books like Susanna Haswell Rowson's Charlotte, A Tale of Truth (1794) and Susan Warner's The Wide, Wide World (1850), novels encouraging moral virtue and self-sacrifice, were either labeled "sentimental" or criticized for reinforcing conventional domestic roles. More careful examination of these books and others like them has revealed subtle methods of subverting social stereotypes, often through satire and humor. Recent scholarship analyzing women's writing has expanded our perception of nineteenth-century authorship; however, the enthusiasm of some scholars to group women writers within a tradition paralleling that of their male contemporaries occasionally results in misleading assertions. One modern image of Louisa Tuthill is based on her domestic writings. Rather than note the existence of Tuthill's architectural histories, unprecedented contributions to a public forum, historians such as Barbara Leslie Epstein and Nina Baym use Tuthill as an example of the typical nineteenth-century woman fully engaged in the cult of domesticity.[5]

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[4] For a discussion of women's contributions to early American fiction and selections of their work see Lucy M. Freibert and Barbara A. White, eds., Hidden Hands An Anthology of American Women Writers, 1790-1870 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

[5] Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), 78-9. Epstein quotes the following passage from The Young Lady's Home (Boston, 1847): "It is the Obedient daughter who will make the obedient wife. Obedient! How antiquated!

Most studies of women in the nineteenth century emphasize the cult of domesticity, the notion of a separate sphere for women centered around the home and home-instilled virtues. Reinforced by local ministers inspired by the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening (1797-1840), and Whig politicians who realized the popular movement served their conservative ends, the cult of domesticity or "true womanhood," produced an influx of texts by both men and women promoting the ideals of hearth and home.[6] These books were so common that a hypothetical title suggested by historian Nancy Cott, The Young Lady's Home, corresponds to a book actually written by Tuthill in 1839 and re-issued by a different publisher several years later. Over the last three decades, historians have

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True; almost as old as the creation . . . If strength and courage are given to man, he must be foremost in action and danger. If feebleness and timidity claim from him support and protection, what is due in return but love and obedience?" In Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels By and About Women in America, 1820-1870 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 79-81, Baym uses Tuthill as an example of the typical literary woman profiting from domestic oppression. According to Baym, "the writer of this time whose work probably most approximates the stereotype of the liberated woman author scourging other women back within limits is Louisa Caroline Tuthill (1799-1878)." In sharp contrast to her more recent work, Baym unquestioningly adopts the "life" written by past biographers; her critique of three Tuthill novels demonstrates the misinterpretations resulting from a partial study of the author's writings. She devotes a paragraph to The Belle, the Blue and the Bigot; or Three Fields of Women's Influence (Providence, 1844), a book written by Cornelia, not Louisa, Tuthill.

[6] See Barbara Welter's pioneering article "The Cult of True Womanhood," American Quarterly 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74. The article is reprinted with other relevant essays in Welter, Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976): 21-41. For background on the political situation in early nineteenth-century America see Harry L. Watson, Liberty and Power, The Politics of Jacksonian America (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990). Watson comments directly on female participation in the conservative politics of the cult of domesticity and discusses the Whig use of "cult rhetoric" to define appropriate roles for both sexes (220-2).

participated in extensive critical discourse involving the cult of domesticity and its accompanying category, "woman's sphere." In her book, The Bonds of Womanhood, Cott provides a classic definition of various critical interpretations, which she divides into three groups based on their ideological difference. According to Cott, modern interpretations of woman's sphere began by viewing "women as victims or prisoners . . . [of a masculine] . . . view of social utility and order." The revisionist approach to this notion "observed that women made use of the ideology of domesticity for their own purposes." In response to these critics, a third group, the only utilizing women's personal writings, "viewed women's sphere as the basis for a subculture among women that formed a source of strength and identity." Cott positions herself outside these categories by attempting, rightly, to adopt a nineteenth-century perspective to judge nineteenth-century domesticity.[7]

Portrayals of Catharine Beecher, the only early nineteenth-century woman thoroughly studied as an architectural writer, have been influenced by Cott's interpretation of domestic cult and woman's sphere. Working from the Catharine Beecher introduced in Kathryn Kish Sklar's A Study in American Domesticity, Dolores Hayden emphasizes this exceptional woman's

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[7] Nancy Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven: Yale University, 1977), 197-99. The classic text on this topic, Cott's book is quoted by virtually every author dealing with nineteenth-century women. A rare disagreement with Cott's thesis is voiced by Barbara Leslie Epstein. Though Epstein does not challenge the existence of "separate spheres," she disagrees with Cott's opinion that the cult of domesticity's creation of separate domains for men and women promoted female "bonding." Epstein sees the division between masculine and feminine roles in economic terms and claims that the division of labor resulted in a loss of economic power for women. Her main purpose is to note that feminism grew from this "inequality," which was not strengthened by the shared domestic experience Cott describes.

contribution to home design.[8] Hayden uses Beecher to introduce the "material feminists," as Hayden calls them, the first feminists in the United States "to identify the economic exploitation of women's domestic labor by men as the most basic cause of women's inequality."[9] Though Beecher did not advocate suffrage or other basic rights for women, the "material feminist" label allows Hayden to place her within a tradition of women working to change living conditions. Hayden's work heightens our understanding of how a particular group of nineteenth-century women literally shaped their sphere. Unfortunately, the label "material feminists" does not adequately describe those women who also held politically radical feminist views. The new category cannot contain the range of ideologies or explain the contradictions expressed in Tuthill's writing.

Linda Kerber provides the most useful model for analyzing the history behind modern constructions of early American women.[10] Rather than contribute to the extensive literature discussing cults, spheres and realms, Kerber analyzes how these concepts evolved into an accepted body

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[8] Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973). Sklar comments on the common impression that domestic writers like Beecher called for the limitation of women's power. A crusader for women's education, Beecher taught women to take a "subordinate" position for the "general good of the society." Like Tuthill and Sarah Hale, Beecher directed her agenda outside of petty spheres and embraced the entire nation. Sklar's thesis appears in Nina Baym's later articles on Lydia Sigourney and Sarah Josepha Hale. An important difference is that Baym's format allows her to maintain a critical distance from her subject, while Sklar creates a traditional, cohesive narrative.

[9] Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 3.

[10] Linda D. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History, 75 (1988): 9-39.

of criticism. "The metaphor of the 'sphere' is the trope on which historians came to rely when they described women's part in American culture."[11] In her review of the literature on domesticity, Kerber discusses the different "stages" of criticism and their use of the separate "sphere" metaphor. After the concept was identified in the sixties, scholars such as Cott offered "revisionist" interpretations that built a foundation for new critical positions in the eighties. The confusion historians created for themselves is the basis for Kerber's exploration of the current perspective. "When they used the metaphor of separate spheres, historians referred, often interchangeably, to an ideology imposed on women, a culture created by women, a set of boundaries expected to be observed by women."[12] According to Kerber, some scholars are beginning to escape from the boundaries of the separate sphere by understanding the complex, cross-cultural patterns of gender division evident throughout women's history. Within the last decade, this escape from the restrictive "trope" has also been approached from another direction, as feminist historians explore the literal expression of gendered spaces in homes, office buildings and cities.[13] By illustrating the extent to which gender division has been

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[11] Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 10.

[12] Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 17.

[13] In Felicitous Space: the Imaginative Structures of Edith Wharton and Willa Cather (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), Judith Freyer looks at literary descriptions of space in the context of American architectural history. Leslie Kanes Weisman's Discrimination by Design, A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) analyzes historical and contemporary examples of architectural sexism and suggests methods for creating more equal environments. Daphne Spain's recent book studies cross-cultural patterns of spatial definition to illustrate the relationship between social and architectural forms of oppression. See Gendered Spaces (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

built into our social fabric, such studies question the value of temporally limited categories. As previous treatment of Louisa Tuthill illustrates, the uncritical use of restrictive tropes obscures the subtleties and contradictions of life and work.

Although the cult of domesticity and its various re-interpretations provide one model for the re-examination of women's writing during this period, scholars using this model tend to overlook contributions that do not fit the domestic mold. The confining labels leave little room for authors such as Tuthill, who move between categories, writing books that place women within the domestic sphere and then stepping outside those boundaries with books of a different sort. The mixture of books constituting the early nineteenth-century literary market is suggested by publishers' advertisements, which list novels by Richard Henry Dana and Catharine Sedgwick alongside children's books and foreign histories. In one representative advertisement, Tuthill's The Merchant appears between Lives of Celebrated Female Sovereigns by Mrs. (Anna) Jameson and Washington Irving's The Sketch-Book.[14] Both the lines between literary genres and the criteria determining critical judgments were loosely defined within the marketplace. At the same time, divisions between the sexes were more strictly maintained and social codes of etiquette more firmly inscribed.

Modern historians examining the impact of the Romantic movement in promoting architectural periodicals and stylebooks move towards a re-evaluation of the cult of domesticity as described in literary studies.

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[14] Tuthill, Success in Life. The Artist (Cincinnati: Henry W. Derby. New York: James C. Derby, 1854), advertisement.

Susan Phinney Conrad's Perish the Thought explores how the Romantic movement influenced intellectual women who were not necessarily feminists. "The historicist impulse generated by romanticism--that passion to investigate and unveil the unique spirit of each and every culture, ancient and modern--encouraged women historians to unearth the essence of that mysterious and invisible essence, woman herself, and to collect all possible data, no matter how obscure, and to wrest from that material the essence of female experience."[15] Conrad sees the Romantic movement as freeing women from the classical tradition of scholarship and therefore promoting a redefinition of American womanhood.

Approaching the Romantic movement in America from their respective fields of social history and architectural history, Clifford Clark and Dell Upton reach similar conclusions about the importance of romanticism in the changing appearance of nineteenth-century American architecture. Although Clark studies the impact of religion through the writing and preaching of Horace Bushnell, he does not examine the reflection of such ministering in women's writing or document the widespread increase in such writing during this period. The nineteenth-century women historians whom Cott and Baym cite to define the cult of domesticity are not included in Clark's analysis. Upton compares Beecher's influence to Downing's, but she gets only one paragraph of commentary and Downing several pages. By considering the social and architectural context of the time in their examination of domesticity, Clark and Upton approach a more thorough analysis of how the home and home concepts were presented in books and

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[15] Susan Phinney Conrad, Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America, 1830-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 96.

translated into buildings. However, their neglect of women's writing--because it did not appear in stylebook form--results in an incomplete view of the impact and reception of these architectural books. If, as Tuthill and women's magazines proclaim, women were the acknowledged arbiters of taste in nineteenth-century America, their judgment was certainly a factor in domestic matters. Despite this oversight, Clark and Upton do provide a view of architecture and architectural writing useful for the historian dealing with the "literary" cult of domesticity. Women who wrote about the home inherited an American version of English and Scottish associationism independent of the cult of domesticity as defined by most literary scholars. The intersection of Cott's cult of domesticity, focusing on women's fiction, and Clark's cult, centered around architectural publications, suggests one method for placing Tuthill's work within a broader critical framework.[16]

Modern architectural historians assessing Tuthill's writings on architecture have not been interested in looking for clues to what she termed the "dense mystery" of her identity. Though her History of Architecture has been cited by Talbot Hamlin, Alan Gowans, James Early and others, Tuthill's work has never been given serious scholarly treatment. Each author's brief mention of her "first history" clearly reflects a personal theoretical viewpoint. Talbot Hamlin's positive evaluation of the text reinforces his claim that drawings of Greek Revival buildings were circulating in early nineteenth-century America.

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[16] Clifford E. Clark, Jr., "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 7 (Summer 1976): 33-56; Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism, Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," Winterthur Portfolio 19 (Summer and Autumn 1984): 107-50.

> In 1848 the United States produced its first own native complete history of architecture, Mrs. L(ouisa) C(aroline Huggins) Tuthill's History of Architecture, from the Earliest Times; Its Present Condition in Europe and the United States . . . , remarkable for its sane, commonsense, and forward-looking criticism. Thus it is unlikely that the changes American architects made in the Greek forms were made in ignorance.[17]

In his three references to Tuthill, Alan Gowans uses a single quotation from her chapter "Architecture in the United States" as a critique of her opinion throughout his book.

> There are many ways of looking at architecture and furniture, past and present, in the United States. One is the antiquarian's, the way of people fascinated with old things as such--Mrs. Louisa Caroline Huggins Tuthill, first historian of American architecture, going "in 'search of the picturesque' through the beautiful villages of New England" more than a century ago.[18]

Ironically, Gowans undermines this critique in his next mention of Tuthill's work.

> Mrs. Louisa Caroline Huggins Tuthill, writing of American building in the 1840s in her History of Architecture (1848), was delighted to see how fast the "wooden enormities" of 17th century America were disappearing: "Happily they were all of such perishable materials that they will not much longer remain to annoy travelers in `search of the picturesque' throughout the beautiful villages of New England."[19]

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[17] Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 342.

[18] Alan Gowans, Images of American Living (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1964), xiii. Tuthill's comments refer to her criticism of New England meetinghouses in the previous paragraph. She writes: "Court-houses and academies were built in the same uncouth style. Happily, they were all of such perishable materials, that they will not much longer remain to annoy travellers, in `search of the picturesque,' thorough the beautiful villages of New England." History, 243.

[19] Gowans, Images, 275.

According to Gowans, the antiquarian obsessed with things old is now a progressive intent on destroying her Colonial heritage. Gowans continues to dwell on this quotation in his discussion of the "High Victorian Age."

> And it was in this setting, too, that the old houses which only a quarter-century earlier Mrs. Tuthill had described as "happily . . . all of such perishable materials that they will not much longer remain to annoy travelers in 'search of the picturesque' through the beautiful villages of New England" suddenly became eminently "picturesque" themselves, ideal evocations of a wistfully remembered past.[20]

Consumed by his own bias towards Colonial architecture, Gowans does not place Tuthill's statement in context. As her chapter on materials indicates, Tuthill is particularly concerned with building in brick, a traditional material representative of established culture. Her negative opinion of Colonial architecture, an attitude characteristic of her time, has more to do with cultivating a "taste" comparable to European tradition than with a hatred of things old.[21]

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[20] Gowans, Images, 352.

[21] Fiske Kimball also mentions Tuthill's comment on Colonial building in his study of early American domestic architecture. He writes: "The first historical account of American buildings, included by Mrs. Tuthill of Philadelphia in her now almost forgotten History of Architecture (1848), speaks of the old New England meeting-houses as 'outrageous deformities to the eye of taste,' and of the houses as 'wooden enormities'!" Kimball does not comment on the context of Tuthill's evaluation or on the content of "the first historical account." Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), xvii. In his dissertation, "The Colonial Revival," William Rhoads points out another famous architectural historian who chose to mis-represent Tuthill's quotation on Colonial building. Vincent Scully writes that her opinion of Colonial farmhouses was a typical contemporary assessment of early American building. Though Rhoads' argument is similar, he notes that Tuthill was concerned with "courthouses and academies," not farmhouses. See Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), 4; Vincent Scully, The Shingle Style (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 23.

A more theoretical misunderstanding is apparent in James Early's otherwise informative Romanticism and American Architecture:

> This horror vacui deprived picturesque architecture of sufficient emphasis to give it completely satisfactory unity or order. Typical was the advice given to wealthy builders of Elizabethan houses by Mrs. L.C. Tuthill who suggested that the more prominent portions of a design must not be finished in a way that "would have attracted the eye by itself without being placed in a conspicuous situation" lest the united attraction of form and detail draw the attention entirely to the emphasized parts.[22]

Far from suffering from "horror vacui," Tuthill advocates a variety of romantic styles, both elaborate and more restrained. She insists on the classical principles of symmetry, proportion and fitness put forth in a range of texts from Vitruvius to Reynolds to Downing. Her advice to builders concerns consistency of style and design, a balance of appropriate ornamentation. Thus, in quoting Tuthill out of context, architectural historians have neglected an important primary source for understanding architecture in nineteenth-century America.[23]

The twentieth-century entry by Agnes Addison Gilchrist in Notable American Women, which demonstrates the typical treatment of nineteenth-century women writers, provided much of the "historical" background for succeeding accounts. By relying on earlier biographical entries for factual

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[22] James Early, Romanticism and American Architecture (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1965), 80.

[23] An exception is Elizabeth Blair Macdougall's complimentary and contextual treatment of Tuthill's History in her short article on the origins of architectural history writing in America. Unfortunately, the article is little more than an annotated version of Henry Russell Hitchcock's bibliography. Because she is only interested in proving that Americans were writing about art and architecture before the turn of the century, Macdougall is content to place the History "in a class by itself" and provide a few quotations. See "Before 1870: Founding Fathers and Amateur Historians," Elizabeth Blair Macdougall, ed., The Architectural Historian in America (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 15-19.

information, Gilchrist is able to avoid close analysis of primary sources. Though Gilchrist records much of Tuthill's personal statistical information, such as her dates and place of burial, she does not seem to value her work. The History is "in content little more than a catalogue of buildings with brief descriptions" but considered "notable" as the first history of architecture.[24] Like succeeding biographers, Gilchrist mentions Tuthill's access to Ithiel Town's library and her reference to Milizia and Loudon.[25] Her anthologies of Ruskin's work are said to emphasize his "moralistic side." Gilchrist contributes to the dense mystery by moving Tuthill to New York at midcentury, when in fact she was securely established in Princeton, N.J. It was Tuthill's daughter Cornelia who lived in New York with her husband, John Pierson.

The two scholars who have treated Tuthill more seriously, Lamia Doumato and Lisa Koenigsberg, approach her from the fields of library research and American Studies. Lamia Doumato's bibliography of women in architecture mentions "Ancient Architecture" and History of Architecture, along with some basic biographical sources. Her introduction to the reprint of the history provides important information about Louisa Tuthill's life and

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[24] Agnes Addison Gilchrist, Notable American Women, 1607-1950, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971), 487-8.

[25] The reference to Town, Milizia and Loudon is taken from a letter Tuthill wrote to the Philadelphia publishers Carey and Hart. As this is a "cover letter" promoting her unpublished manuscript "Architecture, Ancient and Modern: The past and present condition of the Art in the United States, with plans for its improvement," the source is highly subjective. The two letters in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's manuscript collection, this and one addressed to the New York publishers D. Appleton and Co., are the only examples of Tuthill correspondence that have previously been cited in scholarly publications.

suggests some potential themes for further study.[26] The first chapter of Lisa Koenigsberg's dissertation, "Professionalizing Domesticity: A Tradition of American Women Writers on Architecture, 1848-1913," is devoted to "Mrs. Tuthill; Arbiter of Taste."[27] Koeningsberg's definition of tradition demonstrates the propensity to classify women writers in traditional, linear sequences and to create relationships where none exist. "The women who are the subject of this dissertation form a tradition not because each self-consciously followed in the others' steps, but because they fulfilled the same role and occupied the same position with respect to their readers and to the professional architectural establishment."[28] To suggest that Louisa Tuthill, writing at a time when architecture was a new profession and women could not get a college education, related to her audience in the same way as did Edith Wharton or Mary Northend, diminishes the accomplishments of all involved. While Doumato and Koenigsberg further our knowledge of women in architecture, both place Tuthill within a tradition constructed to prove a pre-determined thesis. Their goal, like that of many historians, is to document women's achievements by labeling them valuable--within both a patriarchal version

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[26] Lamia Doumato, introduction, Louisa Tuthill, History of Architecture from the Earliest Times (1848; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988). A slightly altered version of this essay appears as "Louisa Tuthill's Unique Achievement, First History of Architecture in the U.S.," in Ellen Perry Berkeley, ed., Architecture: A Place for Women (WA: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1989), 5-13.

[27] Lisa M. Koenigsberg, "Professionalizing Domesticity: A Tradition of American Women Writers on Architecture," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987). Koenigsberg's chapter on Tuthill, with some revisions, was published as "Arbiter of taste: Mrs. L.C. Tuthill and a tradition of American women writers on architecture, 1848-1913," in Women's Studies 14 (1988): 339-366.

[28] Koenigsberg, "Professionalizing Domesticity," 3.

of history and a parallel (but suppressed) women's history. Such documentation is a requirement for integrating women's contributions into the field of architectural history. However, the development of an artificial "heritage" often obscures the actual writings themselves--preventing these texts from receiving critical attention. Those scholars who have grouped women together in a tradition--mirroring the established patriarchal tradition--sacrifice the individual woman's achievement.[29]

In their analysis of Tuthill's work, both Doumato and Koenigsberg disproportionately emphasize the domestic aspect of the History, because such an interpretation places it in a tradition of women writers. By associating Tuthill with domesticity, no matter how "professional," Koeningsburg avoids the range of issues addressed throughout the text. The History does not spend an unusual amount of time inside the home. Considering the vast number of domestic publications written by men in the early nineteenth century, Tuthill's work is a rare attempt at writing a comprehensive history.[30] Though she shares the enthusiasm for a native American aesthetic, Tuthill considers residential architecture in the

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[29] In the effort to place their subject within such a tradition, scholars often neglect important primary sources. Both contemporary studies of Tuthill give her birth date as 1799, a mistake carried over from Agnes Gilchrist's biographical account. Tuthill was born July 6, 1798. She died June 3, 1879, at the age of eighty-one. See Cobb, G., ed., "Trinity Church Parish Records," 3 vols., 1834-1946," vol. I, "Deaths."

[30] Ironically, the first history of women in architecture quotes from Tuthill's little-known The Young Lady's Home without mentioning her history of architecture. Doris Cole's chapter, "Early American Period: the Domestic Domain," uses Tuthill's earlier book as a representative nineteenth-century text encouraging women to become involved in aesthetic pursuits. Though Cole does suggest that the work of Tuthill, Sigourney and others influenced public taste, she overlooks the most important (and least domestic) example--Tuthill's History. See Doris Cole, From Tipi to Skyscraper, A History of Women in Architecture (Boston: i Press Incorporated, 1973), 28-51.

context of both contemporary public "specimens" and the history of world architecture. The authors of domestic architectural stylebooks were trapped in their own cult of domesticity, from which they attempted to convince the "common man" of his need for individual self-expression. Except for occasional introductory comments, these books generally neglected historical background. Realizing that the individual reader had most control over his own home, writers like A. J. Downing and William Ranlett adapted the romantic treatises of J. C. Loudon and other foreign writers to American needs. Even Downing's popular Cottage Residences (1842) is more concerned with selling styles than with discussing their historical origins.

Nina Baym's recent work discusses the need to re-examine nineteenth-century women's writing. Her article "Re-inventing Lydia Sigourney" assumes that the misinterpretation of "facts" resulted in a fictionalized version of Sigourney.[31] Historians, who focused on a limited selection of Sigourney's poetry and virtually ignored her work on American Indians, created a sentimental Victorian poetess obsessed with death. The myth of Lydia Sigourney was derived from the culture around her, not from her own written work. Baym understands the unique problems of writing about women whose buried "factual" identities shift according to contemporary and modern cultural stereotypes. In "Onward Christian Women: Sarah J. Hale's History of the World," Baym shows how careful textual analysis results in a new interpretation of Hale's idea of women's

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[31] Nina Baym, "Reinventing Lydia Sigourney," American Literature 62 (September 1990): 385-404.

sphere.[32] Rather than accepting the common impression that Hale demanded the limitation of women's power, Baym describes how the popular author's work actually extended women's sphere to include celestial regions. These examples of scholarship dealing with the lives and writings of women in Tuthill's circle demonstrate the need for re-inventing our "tradition" of women authors. In the same way that Baym's scrutiny of Sigourney and Hale results in the discovery of new subjects, a closer look at Louisa Tuthill's life and work reveals a different author from the domestic writer previously described.

As Baym's articles suggest, the evaluation of Tuthill's "achievement" offered in the last two decades reflects increased academic specialization. Modern architectural historians value her History of Architecture by noting that it was the first such history published in America. Literary scholars and social historians devalue her fiction and life-advice books, which do not fit neatly into a feminist agenda. Because they consider limited examples of Tuthill's work, these scholars create very different images of the author. The two historians who have examined a broader sampling of Tuthill's writings are also influenced by the pressure to conform to a discipline and to establish a tradition. The production of scholarship for academic audiences eager to elevate women's achievements colors their interpretation of Tuthill's work. And the facts of Tuthill's life are still confused with those of her daughter.

Louisa Tuthill's architectural writings challenge the historian to examine the work of "professional" nineteenth-century women authors more

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[32] Nina Baym, "Onward Christian Women: Sarah J. Hale's History of the World," The New England Quarterly 63 (June 1990): 249-70.

closely, particularly in the field of aesthetic education. Rather than view Tuthill and her contemporaries as part of a tradition extending to the present day, historians might look across disciplines and examine the similarities between nineteenth-century women authors. Catharine Beecher, Sarah Josepha Hale and Louisa Tuthill were all concerned with education, morals and aesthetics. Though none were feminists in the modern sense of the term, or considered radical for their time, all were concerned with the welfare of women. Though all told other women to be satisfied with what they had, none lived the idealized life they prescribed. An extensive comparative analysis exploring the shared experience of such early nineteenth-century writers is much needed but impossible without further research into the life and work of authors like Louisa Tuthill. A close analysis of Tuthill's books--one that has been misattributed, one that has been ignored, and some that have been reprinted into many editions--will contribute to the background necessary for a more general study of nineteenth-century women and architecture. The biographical accounts of Tuthill's life written in the fifties begin to describe an insightful businesswoman with a serious social mission and provide the foundation for re-writing a woman's life.

The Nineteenth-Century Louisa Tuthill

Louisa Tuthill's identity was first revealed to the public in a biographical account appearing in John Hart's Female Prose Writers of America (1852). Two years before, however, Tuthill responded to John

Neal's request for biographical information.[33] She enclosed a "sketch . . . written by a partial friend," and left Neal "the trouble of picking out the dates, `a la Jack Horner, from the spice, sweetening, and puff-paste in which my friend has encrusted them."[34] She then proceeded to correct several errors in her list of works--the absence of The Nursery Book for Young Mothers and the misattribution of several volumes written by her daughters. Having set the record straight, Tuthill also gives her motivation for concern: "I mention these facts, that I may neither receive credit which does not belong to me nor have more literary sins laid upon me than I deserve."[35] A letter written the next year to Professor Hart in reference to his future book, Female Prose Writers of America, demonstrates the part Tuthill played in the nineteenth-century construction of her life.

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[33] John Neal, the author of over fifteen novels and numerous articles, wrote on a variety of subjects including women's rights and aesthetics. He encouraged the literary careers of Elizabeth Oakes Smith and Ann Stephens. Neal was a well-known figure in New York art circles, a friend of Rembrandt Peale and a frequent reviewer of gallery exhibits. He may have been the author of the Brother Jonathan series on architecture, which appeared from May through December, 1843, while he was a contributor to the magazine. See Donald A. Sears, John Neal (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 111-21. For a more extensive list of periodical contributions see Neal's autobiography, Wandering Reflections of A Somewhat Busy Life (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1869), 351-52.

[34] Tuthill to John Neal, 15 October 1850, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[35] Tuthill bestows these additional "literary sins" upon her children. She writes: "The Boy of Spirit, When Are We Happiest, and Hurra' for New England were written by my daughter Cornelia, who also wrote Wreaths and Branches for the Church, Christian Ornaments, and The Belle, the Blue, and the Bigot. My youngest daughter, Sarah, wrote My Little Geography, and The Children's Christian Year." The Boston publishers, Crosby and Nichols, frequently included these titles under Tuthill's name. For a complete list of Tuthill's works see Appendix II.

> A friend of mine writes that I am expected to "contribute" to a work to be published by E.H. Butler and Co., and edited by yourself.
>
> Within a few months past I have been called upon for information, data, etc., by Mr. Neal of Portland, and Mrs. S. J. Hale. I am not sure that you, Sir, require similar facts, and extracts from published books; "-contribute," may mean something more.[36]

As both the Neal and Hart letters indicate, Tuthill was aware of her reputation with the reading public and partially responsible for her biographical identity.

In a letter to a Mr. Fiske, written in her eightieth year, Tuthill gives the modern biographer some help picking out dates from puffpaste. She refers to "authorities" he has named in reference to her life and work and assures him that they "are all correct and so are John Neale [sic], Professor John S. Hart and Appleton's Encyclopaedia."[37] Though Tuthill's letters suggest the existence of several earlier contemporary accounts of her life, Hart's is the earliest published example. The entry on Tuthill in Female Prose Writers begins with the patriotic statement, "Americans have excelled in the preparation of books for the young." After a few lines of praise for Tuthill's "national" achievement, Hart describes her upbringing. Tuthill was "descended, on both sides, from the early colonists of New Haven, Connecticut, one of her ancestors, on the father's side, being Theophilus Eaton, the first Governor of the colony." Her elite social status as "the youngest child of a wealthy and retired merchant," was refined by a private education in New Haven and

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[36] Tuthill to John S. Hart, 1 February 1851, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, Boston Public Library.

[37] Tuthill to Mr. Fiske, 17 June 1878, Widener Library.

Litchfield.[38] Hart's description of Tuthill's marriage to Cornelius Tuthill in 1817 and her association with his literary friends flows into a discussion of her work.[39]

According to Hart, Tuthill began writing "as a solace under affliction" after the death of her husband. Left to support three daughters and a son, Tuthill wrote "for the pleasure of mental occupation." Hart is effusive in his praise for her first signed books, The Young Lady's Reader and The Young Lady's Home, and her "admirable series of small volumes for boys and girls." Pausing briefly in his account, Hart remarks that "had Mrs. Tuthill written nothing but these attractive and useful volumes, she would have entitled herself an honourable place in any work which professed to treat of the prose literature of the country." At this point, he lists her works directed toward mature readers, My Wife, The Nursery Book, The Mirror of Life and the History of Architecture. In a final paragraph, he records Tuthill's travels from New Haven to Hartford where she lived for four years before continuing on to Roxbury. For family reasons, she moved to Philadelphia in 1846, finally settling down in New Jersey two years later. Without singling out the history, except to call it a

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[38] John S. Hart, Female Prose Writers of America (Philadelphia: E.H. Butler and Co., 1852), 100-4.

[39] Cornelius Tuthill (1795-1825) graduated from Yale in 1814 and entered Litchfield Law School. While a student at Litchfield, Tuthill began training for the ministry. Shortly after his marriage to Louisa Huggins in 1817, Tuthill "was licensed to preach by the New Haven Association of ministers." Serious illness ended his preaching career, however, and he became involved in literary pursuits. Tuthill edited two New Haven journals--The Microscope, a bi-weekly publication (1820) and The Christian Spectator, a monthly periodical (1822-3). At the time of his death, he had resumed a law practice and was involved in local politics. See Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College. Vol. VI., 1805-1815 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912), 713-16.

"splendid octavo volume," Hart demonstrates its importance with a two-page extract following his account. Appropriately, he chooses "Domestic Architecture in the United States," a chapter that looks towards American origins to develop a suitable national style.

Perhaps the "sugary" friend's account mentioned in her letter to John Neal was a version of the sketch appearing in Sarah Josepha Hale's Woman's Record.[40] Her essay, which focuses on Tuthill's "life advice" books and The Young Lady's Home, and from which Hale quotes extensively, mentions Tuthill's own tendency to sweeten the "facts."[41] "Mrs. Tuthill is a pleasant writer; her cheerful spirit and hopeful philosophy give an attractive charm even to good advice; which, like medicine, requires often to be sugared before it is willingly taken."[42] Unlike the other biographers, all of whom were male, Hale emphasizes the religious aspect of Tuthill's writings. She is considered well-read and knowledgeable, characteristics that do not detract from the "current of pious feeling" running throughout her work.[43]

In 1855 the Cyclopaedia of American Literature briefly mentions Tuthill's work. A chronicle of all American authors (not women

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[40] Sarah Josepha Hale, Woman's Record; or Sketches of all Distinguished Women (New York: Harper and Bros., 1855), 803-5. For a brief biography of Hale (1788-1879), a friend and correspondent of Tuthill, see DAB, s.v. "Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell."

[41] Tuthill's letter to Professor Hart suggests that she may have been responsible for "contributing" the extensive quotations from The Young Lady's Home published in this account. Perhaps she felt that such an example of her work was appropriate for Hale and her audience, while excerpts from History of Architecture were more suitable for Hart and his literary circle.

[42] Hale, Woman's Record, 804.

[43] Hale, Woman's Record, 804.

exclusively), the Cyclopaedia was "intended not as a college text, but as an exhibit to demonstrate that there was indeed a native tradition in letters."[44] Like Female Prose Writers, the Cyclopaedia notes that Tuthill was born into "an old New England family" and that her husband was the editor of a literary magazine, The Microscope.[45] Both accounts remark that the local poet James Gates Percival was first published in this magazine.[46] Adding little to the information on Tuthill's family life, the Cyclopedia presents the author in a more professional manner. Her writings "are admirably adapted for the class to whom they are addressed and have met with success. They are sensible and practical in their aims, and written in an agreeable style."[47] At this point Tuthill is still a resident of New Jersey.

Hart included a shortened version of his earlier account in A Manual of American Literature (1872). Here Hart uses Tuthill's status as a juvenile fiction writer to critique the genre. "Her stories are marked by sobriety and good sense, and are entirely free from the extravagance and sensationalism which disfigure too many of the books now written for

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[44] Lewis Leary, American Literature, A Study and Research Guide (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 5.

[45] Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, Cyclopaedia of American Literature, vol. II (New York: Charles Scribner, 1855), 676.

[46] The poetry of James Gates Percival (1795-1856) was first published in Cornelius Tuthill's literary magazine, The Microscope. His "Spenserian 'Prometheus' (1821) was acclaimed the equal of Byron's Childe Harold, and his poetic gifts hailed as the most classical in America." Percival was considered "the ranking American poet until the appearance of Bryant's Poems (1832)." From 1827-8, Percival used his linguistic training to work with Noah Webster on An American Dictionary (1828). He became state geologist of Connecticut in 1835, and of Wisconsin in 1854. DAB, s.v. "Percival, James Gates."

[47] Duyckinck, Cyclopaedia, 676.

juvenile readers."[48] He adds little to Tuthill's life but does list books by "one of Mrs. Tuthill's daughters, who declines giving her name to the public." Hart believes that Sarah Tuthill's "Sunday-school books" are the best available.

Much of the entry on Tuthill in Phoebe Hanaford's Daughters of America (1883) is taken from Hart's earlier essay.[49] Her list of works, which neglects to mention Ancient Architecture, concludes with Hale's remark on sugared advice. The next year Oscar Fay Adams included Tuthill among other brief accounts of male and female literary figures in his Handbook of American Authors (1884). The first to provide Tuthill's dates, 1798-1879, Adams calls her "a once popular writer of moral tales for young people."[50] His incomplete list of her works cites Ancient Architecture but omits the History. Four years later, Edward Atwater included Tuthill under "contributions to literature" in his History of the City of New Haven. Of the three women selected, Tuthill is the only one judged on her own literary merit; the other two women are introduced through famous male relatives. Atwater praises her juvenile books, "admirably adapted to their purpose," and remarks on their large circulation, "two of them having reached the fortieth edition." He also mentions Tuthill's later work, including three volumes of selections taken

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[48] John Seely Hart, A Manual of American Literature (1872; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1969), 310.

[49] Phoebe A. Hanaford, Daughters of America or Women of the Century (Boston: Russell, 1883), 238.

[50] Oscar Fay Adams, A Dictionary of American Authors (1884; 5th ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1904), 392.

from Ruskin and a similar volume of selections from De Quincey.[51] She is given credit for naming New Haven "The City of Elms." After her death in Princeton she was buried in New Haven.

As Tuthill's insight into the "factual" construction of her own life and work has shown, moral and national qualities were viewed as more important than accurate lists of published books or correct biographical facts. Unlike the modern accounts of Tuthill's life, which judge the content of her work, contemporary biographical accounts emphasize the number and moral influence of her writings. Nineteenth-century biographers measure Tuthill's success in volumes published and re-printed.[52] The moral purpose of her texts is seen as a reflection of her character. Following the example of Tuthill and her contemporaries, this study assumes the equal importance of "life and work" in the analysis of an historical figure. Tuthill's architectural writings describe a national architecture that depends on education in practical, moral and aesthetic subjects. A better understanding of Tuthill's work, so closely linked with

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[51] This is a reference to the Romantic poet, Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859). An anthology of his work, Beauties, Selected from the writings of Thomas De Quincey (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862) includes an "Introductory Notice of De Quincey's Life and Writings" attributed to Tuthill by Allibone's Dictionary of Authors (1871), Atwater's History of New Haven (1887), and Appleton's Cyclopaedia (1889). The book was reprinted by Ticknor in 1868. Another Boston firm, Osgood and Co., printed it in 1873 and 1879. The New York and Boston publishers Hurd and Huntington brought out editions in 1873, 1877-79 and 1887. The final printing was produced at the turn of the century by Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston.

[52] See accounts of Louisa Tuthill in S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1871), 2485; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, vol. 6 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1889), 189.

her life experience and educational philosophy, will result from a balanced examination of biography and critical analysis.

Part I. The Importance of Education

In her letter to John Neal discussing the biographical sketch and correcting the misattributed works, Tuthill reminds her correspondent of the "biographical" motivation behind her books: "The fact is, I have had private and personal reasons for writing almost every book which has appeared with my name."[53] Throughout her life, Tuthill made a series of private and personal efforts to influence American education, particularly in the field of aesthetics; her letters and published writings indicate that education was the reason behind her authorship of over forty books and articles for children, young readers and adults. An examination of Tuthill's early education and her efforts to improve the education of young people begins to re-write Tuthill's architectural contribution by placing it within a broader effort to influence American society.

Approaching architecture from the only field in which women were accepted "professionals," Tuthill made instruction in the arts the basis for a national style. The principles introduced throughout her architectural writings--taste, associationism, imitation and adaptation--represent an educational system, rather than a group of singular abstract qualities. For Tuthill, the educational process mirrors the creative process in a very literal sense; as the individual is morally improved through education in taste, he or she both improves the social body and becomes capable of improving the physical environment. Education in social and architectural history (which are indistinguishable in Tuthill's view) provides the

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[53] Tuthill to Neal, 15 October 1850, Houghton Library.

necessary base for "adaptation," the national aspect of design. Tuthill emphasizes the need for a successful American architecture to "imitate" the past. She does not hide the fact that her principles can be traced to classical philosophers and contemporary historians; rather, she calls attention to her own "imitation" by noting such authorities before adapting their theories to American conditions. A brief examination of Tuthill's personal education and the educational context of the time explores the field Tuthill found most relevant to the growth and improvement of American architecture. The re-writing of her life begins with the search for the private and personal combination of life and work.

The Education of Louisa Tuthill

Louisa Caroline Huggins was born July 6, 1798, in New Haven, the youngest child of Mary Dickerman (1758-1837) and Ebenezer Huggins (1748-1825). The family included two sisters, Mary (22) and Esther (21), and three brothers, Ebenezer (18), Stephen (15) and Henry (12). A sixth sibling, Nancy, died in childhood. The written history of the family dates back to the Revolutionary War, when Louisa's father was "taken prisoner, as bearing arms against the King of England," for protecting his house, wife and two infant daughters.[54] Mary and the children were alone in the house "when a cannon-ball passed through the room where she was sitting." This legendary account, dated July 5, 1779, suggests the elite status of both parents; the British Commander freed Ebenezer and Mary

[54] Edward and George Dickerman, Dickerman Genealogy (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Press, 1922), 471.

was protected "by order of General Garth," a British officer. At this time, the Huggins family lived on lower Crown Street.[55]

As a "merchant," Ebenezer was able to keep his large family comfortably situated. A trace of his success is gleaned from the records of the Timothy Bishop House, 32 Elm Street. On February 7, 1815, Huggins sold Timothy Bishop "a piece of land situate in sd. New Haven . . . ".[56] This plot had once served as the garden of Reverend John Davenport and stood across from the home of governor Theophilus Eaton; both men were founders of New Haven and the latter is said to be related to the Huggins family. Timothy Bishop was the husband of Ebenezer's second daughter, Esther. The year after he purchased the land from his father-in-law, Bishop built an impressive home, possibly designed by local "carpenter-architect" David Hoadley.[57] Louisa Tuthill must have visited the "five-bay frame house of the Federal mansion style."[58]

The social status of the Huggins family is further indicated by Louisa's enrollment, at the age of six, in the Union School. New Haven's educational tradition of private schools for girls dates back to 1783, when

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[55] Dickerman, Genealogy, 471.

[56] New Haven Architecture, Selections from the Historic American Building Survey, number nine (WA: HABS, National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of Interior, 1970), 1.

[57] According to the DAB account of David Hoadley (1774-1839), "'the self-taught architect'" is "credited by J. Frederick Kelly with designing the Huggins house, 32 Elm St . . .". The "carpenter-architect" of many houses and churches in the New Haven area, Hoadley is best known for North Church on the Green (1814-15).

[58] New Haven Architecture, 1-3. For a photograph and short description of the house see Elizabeth Mills Brown, New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 116.

Jedediah Morse began to instruct "young misses" in "Reading, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Composition and the different branches of needlework."[59] More informal courses were offered by Yale students like William Woodbridge, who taught "grammar, composition, rhetoric and geography" in 1780.[60] Home education continued to be the most common method of instructing females, though more and more opportunities were offered outside the student's own residence. Sally Pierce's famous Litchfield Academy evolved from a "home school" of one pupil in 1792 to an incorporated academy with between 1500 and 2000 graduates by 1827.[61]

In 1799, the year after Louisa Huggins' birth, a "joint-stock" company was organized to establish a school on Little Orange Street for the formal education of New Haven children. "The building was of two stories; and probably the boys and the girls were in different apartments."[62] The November 1804 "Catalogue of the Members of Union School in New Haven" separates the sexes, which are then divided into four classes. "Louisa Huggins, New Haven" is one of "the misses instructed by Miss Eunice Hall" in the fourth class.[63] Though the majority of students were local, Louisa's class included one girl from Savannah and another from Troy,

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[59] Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York: The Science Press, 1929), 339. For a contemporary description of New Haven educational opportunities before 1811 see Timothy Dwight, A Statistical Account of the Towns and Parishes in the State of Connecticut (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 1811), 46-54.

[60] Woody, A History of Women's Education, 340.

[61] Woody, A History of Women's Education, 340.

[62] Atwater, History of the City of New Haven, 160.

[63] Atwater, History of the City of New Haven, 161.

N.Y. After her graduation from the "first" class at Union School, Louisa may have entered the Rev. Claudius Herrick's newly established school for young ladies. This institution, in operation from 1806-1831, represents the female seminary "equivalent to Yale" of the type John Hart mentioned. Though her name does not appear in the school's incomplete records, Louisa may have finished her education at the Litchfield Female Academy; many New Haven merchants sent their daughters to the Academy, which was certainly the most famous of its day and needed only to be identified by place.[64]

Catalogs of the New Haven Female Seminary from 1824 and 1825 offer an idea of female education about a decade after Louisa would have finished her formal schooling. The boarding school, established in 1819, advertises "a regular continued system of Academic Studies, embracing all the scientific and ornamental branches necessary to complete the female education."[65] These included "modern geography, natural history, use of the globes, Tytler's history, Evidences of Christianity, Chemistry, Botany and Mineralogy, Latin, French or Greek; perspective; drawing; landscape, figure, flower, and velvet painting" among others.[66] The 1825 catalog describes the generous patronage of the seminary and lists several

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[64] Cornelius Tuthill, Louisa Huggins' future husband, attended Litchfield law school in 1815. The two may have met while Louisa was also a student in Litchfield.

[65] "Catalogue of the Members of the New Haven Female Seminary for the year ending November 1824," 13.

[66] Catalogue of the New Haven Seminary, 14.

gentlemen as references including Ithiel Town. Town's daughter, Etha, was an accomplished student at the school.[67]

By the early thirties, (and much earlier in England) female education had become a much debated issue, both in terms of content and intensity of instruction; nineteenth-century constructions of womanhood determined what was appropriate for girls. The growth of interest in women's education is implied by an advertisement for the Young Ladies Institute published in 1830. As if in response to the increasingly broad list of "accomplishments" considered requisite in the past, the Institute focuses on "thorough mental discipline."[68] According to the school's founders, "mental cultivation, so far from interfering from the successful pursuit of elegant accomplishments, is of the greatest assistance in facilitating their attainment."[69] Obviously, the Institute hoped to please all parties concerned. Another female equivalent of Yale, it guarantees both the "practical" and the "ornamental" in the "finished" product.

The Institute advertisement describes the lively cultural environment in New Haven during the early thirties. The school is placed in "the seat of literary institutions;" and "the moral character of its inhabitants" can

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[67] "Catalogue of the Members of the New Haven Female Seminary for the year ending November 1825," 15.

[68] "Catalogue of the Instructors and Pupils in the New Haven Young Ladies' Institute During Its First Year," November 1830, 5. An article in The American Journal indicates that some seminaries were offering lectures on architecture in the early thirties. Daniel Wadsworth's comments, prepared for a principle "of a very respectable female Seminary," were considered sophisticated enough for inclusion in the scientific journal. See Daniel Wadsworth, "Architecture," The American Journal of Science and Arts, 24 (July 1833): 257-63.

[69] "Catalogue of the New Haven Institute," 5.

hardly be doubted.[70] Beginning in 1829, the Connecticut Journal reports on the growing interest in the Lyceum, "an institution designed to promote knowledge through significant lectures."[71] Such interest in public educational programs led to the establishment of the Franklin Institute, a course of talks presented by Yale faculty and other learned men. The institute, founded by David Daggett and Professor Benjamin Silliman, occupied a building at the corner of Church and Crown Streets equipped with a lecture hall for three hundred people; minerals, shells and other objects were on exhibit. In his first chemistry lecture, Silliman optimistically announced that "the institute will educate all adults in New Haven."[72]

Louisa Tuthill must have been impressed with Silliman and the other Franklin Institute speakers, at least in the field of "Natural Science." Her 1834 letter to Miss (Mary Lucas) Hillhouse included a "circular" advertising a "French and English School, For Young Ladies."[73] Tuthill writes

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[70] "Catalogue of the New Haven Institute," 9.

[71] Rollin G. Osterweis, Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 231.

[72] Osterweis, Three Centuries, 231.

[73] The printed "circular" reads as follows: FRENCH AND ENGLISH SCHOOL, FOR YOUNG LADIES. A Select School, limited to twelve boarders, and the same number of day scholars, will be opened at the house of Mrs. Pynchon, Temple-street, New Haven, on the second (Tuthill has hand written "or third") Monday of May.

All the branches of a polite and useful education will be taught, and particular attention paid to the health, manners, and morals, of the pupils.

A well qualified French governess resides in the family, and the French language will be daily studied and employed in conversation.

Natural Science will be pursued in connection with the lectures of Professors Silliman and Olmsted, of Yale College, at Franklin Hall, for which lectures, the young ladies will be furnished with tickets.

Vacations,--from the second Monday in April to the second Monday in May, and the Christmas Holidays.

> I take the liberty to send you the above circular. It needs explanation. Mrs. Pynchon has taken my house in Temple Street and it is my intention to board with her. I have long wished to give my children an opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of the French language. To effect this object, I have obtained a well educated Parisienne to reside in Mrs. Pynchon's family. Finding it would be more convenient to have their whole course of instruction under the same roof, another teacher was procured--a Miss Russell, who is remarkably well-qualified for the situation.[74]

The type of situation Tuthill describes is a slightly more elaborate version of the common "home schools" for women. By combining the school with the Franklin Institute lectures, Tuthill added science to her curriculum. At the time of her writing, she was a widow responsible for the education of four children--Charles Henry (16), Cornelia Louisa (14), Mary Esther (12) and Sarah Schoonmaker (10).[75] However, she was also interested in educating other young ladies, even to the point of offering "maternal care" equivalent to that bestowed upon her own children. Her "earnest desire"

Boarding and Tuition, $75, per quarter. This includes every expense, excepting for Music, which, with the use of the Piano, will be $16 per quarter.

For the names and qualifications of the teachers, and other particulars, reference is given to Rev. Dr. Croswell, Rector of Trinity Church, Dr. Hubbard, Hon. Nathan Smith, and Professor Silliman, New-Haven, Conn.--Rev. Professor Turner, Episcopal Theological Seminary, New York.--Rev. John S. Stone, Rector of St. Paul's Church, and Rev. William Croswell, Christ's Church, Boston.

[74] Tuthill to Hillhouse, 2 April 1834, Hillhouse Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Library, Yale University. For brief biographical mention of Mary Lucas Hillhouse (1783-1871) See Osterweis, Three Centuries of New Haven, 265. Ellen Bartlett's essay, "Hillhouse Avenue" describes the Hillhouse family and their social circle. Bartlett, Historical Sketches of New Haven (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor, 1897), 56-76.

[75] Perhaps accompanied by her sisters, Sarah Schoonmaker Tuthill attended the Hartford Seminary, established by Catharine Beecher in 1828, and Patapsco Female Institute, Almira Phelps' school in Ellicotts Mills, MD. See Dorothy R. Davis, ed., The Carolyn Sherwin Bailey Historical Collection of Children's Books: A Catalogue (CT: Southern Connecticut State College, 1966), 33.

for all involved was education "for usefulness."[76] Besides describing the combined moral and intellectual life Tuthill viewed as appropriate, this letter relates an important life-changing experience in her own "education." "I know, my dear friend, that I am assuming great responsibility, but He upon whom I lean is Almighty. He has spared my life, and it must be devoted to His service. You Know, perhaps that I have been dangerously ill. The chastening of the Lord, I humbly hope, not been altogether in vain."[77] When considering the moral tone of Tuthill's work, this religious experience must be considered significant. Tuthill's personal experience with a life-threatening illness seems to have motivated her to achieve a "use" beyond that of simple Christian motherhood. Although her dedication to education in usefulness refers, at least in part, to her sense of Christian duty, Tuthill's letter suggests a mission beyond the tranquil domestic realm. Perhaps this sense of moral purpose was the "private and personal reason" behind her authorship of The Young Lady's Home (1839) and The Young Lady's Reader (1839) five years later.

The first writing under her own name, The Young Lady's Home and The Young Lady's Reader begin Tuthill's serious commitment to the life education of girls. By addressing this particular audience, female students at the difficult stage of education after formal schooling, Tuthill attempts to fill a need for higher education. Her Temple Street school is

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[76] Tuthill to Hillhouse, 2 April 1834, Hillhouse Family Papers.

[77] Tuthill to Hillhouse, 2 April 1834, Hillhouse Family Papers.

the model for the balanced course of study described in The Young Lady's Home.[78]

> Who can recall the eloquent and intensely interesting lectures on Geology, by Professor Silliman, of Yale College, without gratitude for the high enjoyment and the valuable information they communicated. The specimens necessary to illustrate these sciences are seldom within reach of the retired reader; lectures, however, should not be deemed sufficient; they should be followed by a course of reading and observation.[79]

The Young Lady's Home is about self-instruction, which is equivalent to moral discipline. Alternating narrative with advice, Tuthill illustrates and dictates the proper route towards becoming a refined lady. The "course" of study combines the cultivation of woman's "influence" with the reading of "Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful" and "Alison on Taste"; the study of

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[78] In the Romantic tradition, Tuthill imagines Temple Street as a model Gothic structure. Her observation of Gothic arches in elm trees is substantiated with the following footnote: "In Temple Street, New Haven, the high branches of weeping elms form a succession of beautiful arches, like the nave of a cathedral ornamented with light and graceful tracery by the pendant branches." History, 151. For more information on the theory of a Gothic architecture derived from trees see James Hall's Essay on the Origin, History, and Principles, of Gothic Architecture (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co., 1813), 89. Hall quotes Bishop William Warburton, who commented on Alexander Pope's description of a similar "alley of living trees" in Pope's Moral Essays, Epistle iv, V., 29. A more contemporary source for Tuthill's observation may have been William Cullen Bryant's poem "A Forest Hymn" (1824), which begins with the line "the groves were God's first temples." See Andrew James Symington, William Cullen Bryant. A Biographical Sketch with Selections . . . (New York: Harper and Bros., 1880), 83. Emerson makes a similar comparison, possibly influenced by Bryant, in his essay "History" (1835-7). Emerson writes: "The Gothic church plainly originated in a rude adaptation of the forest trees, with all their boughs, to a festal or solemn arcade;. . . No one can walk in a road cut through pine woods, without being struck with the architectural appearance of the grove, especially in winter, when the barrenness of all the other trees shows the low arch of the Saxons." See The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1903), 20-1.

[79] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 62.

science is related to Christian growth.[80] In her introduction and first chapter, Tuthill distinguishes between the education of men, which is directed towards a specific profession, and that of her "young countrywomen," who are left "without any special object in view."[81]

At a time when men were increasingly better trained for specific jobs--such as the professions of merchant, lawyer and artist described in Tuthill's books of the early fifties--upper class women were also better educated, but without a clear purpose. Tuthill addresses this problem by developing a disciplined course of study for women combining the accepted feminine roles of Christian moralist, educator and mother. She balances religious and secular education. As long as the pursuit of knowledge is linked to moral improvement (which almost always follows), no subject is unsuitable for the well-informed young woman. Tuthill advises her readers to continue studying science, architecture and mathematics--all subjects that will improve the performance of a dutiful Christian daughter, wife and mother. While Tuthill's advice assumes such traditional roles for women, it also provides a liberal education that suggests other possibilities. Without assigning women "professions," Tuthill implies that a limited number of talented women might be happier as artists, writers and teachers.

The same year Tuthill planned the young woman's course of study, she edited a book facilitating her student's pursuit of the self-instruction advocated in The Young Lady's Home. The Young Lady's Reader;

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[80] At the end of her ninth chapter, "Composition," Tuthill recommends Edmund Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757) and Archibald Alison's Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790). Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 77.

[81] See Part Three, "Imitating Models" for a comparison of male/female role models as described in Tuthill's fiction.

arranged for Examples in Rhetoric: for the Higher Classes in Seminaries, is designed to satisfy the need for female education beyond the private academy. In her introduction, Tuthill writes any of the examples are from American authors who have "already contributed so largely to English Classic Literature."[82] Americans represented include Washington Irving, Caroline Gilman, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, William Cullen Bryant and James Gates Percival. The selections are chosen with the intent that they will be read aloud in domestic circles as well as in higher seminaries. Achieving her purpose of promoting "usefulness," Tuthill also contributes to the knowledge and spread of American literature.

The Mirror of Life (1847) reflects Tuthill's personal interest in contributing to her country's growing tradition of arts and letters. Though The Mirror was still "under preparation" at the time, a publisher's advertisement in the February 20, 1847, issue of The Literary World calls the work "original."[83] That same month, Tuthill wrote to Professor Longfellow soliciting some verses on old age for the end of the book. She emphasizes that The Mirror is not an annual, "but an illustrated gift book" and adds that "the list of contributors will be such that you, sir, will not be unwilling to add your name . . .".[84] Tuthill also wrote to her friend James Gates Percival for the second time hoping to receive a last minute contribution. The book would be sent off to the publishers "within a

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[82] Louisa Tuthill, The Young Lady's Reader (New Haven: S. Babcock, 1839), iv.

[83] The Literary World, 1 (20 February 1847): 52.

[84] Tuthill to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1 February 1847, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

fortnight."[85] In the November and December issues of The Literary World, The Mirror of Life appears under "a popular and beautiful series of illustrated books, for the coming season." It is described as "An original work. The Literary Contents by eminent American authors, with eleven illustrations engraved from Designs made for the Book by American Artists. Edited by Mrs. L.C. Tuthill."[86] Longfellow and Percival did not contribute to The Mirror. Ministers such as Rev. G.W. Bethune and the popular female writers Lydia Sigourney, Sarah Hale and Catharine Sedgwick composed short "sketches" and poems. Anonymous contributions by Tuthill's daughters, Cornelia and Sarah, and various pieces by Tuthill herself, many of which are attributed to "the Editor," round out the list of American authors.[87] Most of the stories are about self-improvement, usually through the influence of religious women. Like the advertisements, the preface of the book makes its native origins a major issue.

> The matter is all original, and from the pens of favourite Authors of our own country. The plates are from pictures or designs by American artists, never before engraved; and with one exception, were prepared expressly for this Work. Presenting thus an array of talent, in the letterpress and the embellishments, rarely to be met, the publishers trust that the

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[85] Tuthill to James Gates Percival, 7 May 1847, Percival Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[86] The Literary World, 2 (20 November 1847): 370; 2 (4 December 1847): 422.

[87] Tuthill planned to edit a literary volume with selections by notable American authors. Her correspondence includes rejections from William Cullen Bryant, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Caroline Howard Gilman, among others. See the Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library Manuscript Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

public will find this purely American book well deserving of patronage.[88]

Regardless of the literary merit of the "matter," or perhaps because of it, both the publishers and Tuthill chose to stress the virtues of American artistic work. The book's value as a gift is based on this factor, not on reflections of life's moral stages.[89]

The Myth of the Self-Taught Artist

While literally encouraging American aesthetics as an editor, Tuthill also developed her own critical approach to the subject. During the fifties,

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[88] Louisa Tuthill, The Mirror of Life (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847), preface. The illustrations were engraved by John Sartain after designs by S.S. Osgood, T.P. Rossiter, P.F. Rothermel, M. Schmitz, Eichholtz and Rev. Dr. Morton.

[89] Tuthill clearly states her opinion of the popular "gift book" genre in The Young Lady's Home. She writes: "The hasty, indiscriminating perusal of the host of annuals, scrap-books, and pamphlets, that crowd the center-table, not only vitiates taste, but is destructive to attention. A literary souvenir may be taken up during a morning call, while your friend keeps you waiting half an hour or more, . . . an engraving, or a flower, may afford subjects for attention and reflection . . .". See Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 19. George W. Bethune, a contributor to The Mirror, agrees that such books contain little of literary merit and emphasizes the educational value of engravings. "The prolific family of Annuals, long after their feeble literature has ceased to attract, amuse and delight by their elegant embellishments the vacant hours of those, who have received those offerings of affection, and of the visitor, who awaits, beside their centre tables, the anxious toilet's slow delay." Like Tuthill, Bethune focuses on the importance of elevating national taste, which "can only be accomplished by reaching the mass of our people . . .". See Bethune, "The Prospects of Art in the United States," (Philadelphia: Printed for the Artists' Fund Society, 1840), 10-11. For a history of American annuals and gift books, including The Mirror, see Ralph Thompson, American Literary Annuals and Gift Books: 1825-1865. (1936; reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1967).

Tuthill wrote two books describing the lives, education and philosophy of American artists. Success in Life: The Artist (1854) and Reality; or the Millionaire's Daughter (1856) document the careers of real and imaginary "geniuses" who develop their natural talent through the laborious study of traditional masters. Tuthill is clearly responding to a popular misconception that native genius springs forth effortlessly, without the benefit of historical training or community support. Criticizing the mythical self-taught artist, Tuthill argues for a national institution that will cultivate the arts; she dispels the myth that architecture is an individual, "unteachable" art. Indirectly, Tuthill's theory opens up the architectural profession by making room for the creation (through education) of architects and arbiters. Tuthill's reliance on historical precedent seemingly contradicts her insistence on certain Yankee characteristics--self-reliance, "right onwardness," etc.--traits well-developed in the artists she describes; however, in contrast to the mythical self-taught genius, the American artist's distinctive social attributes (which make his work national) are determined by a disciplined course of education. The process through which Tuthill justifies her criticism of the self-taught genius, while championing a self-reliant, European-educated Yankee artist, will be discussed further in succeeding chapters.

Tuthill's effort to elevate the status of architects and the architectural profession is incorporated into the eighteenth chapter of her history. Genius is the first and most important qualification for an architect because it distinguishes him from the less gifted builder. According to Tuthill, the same "something more" assumed in the artist is equally important for the aspiring architect. Declaring that "genius is true

nobility," Tuthill contrasts the European hierarchy of wealth and class with America's system, based on talent and hard work.[90] Tuthill begins to describe "professional" differences between native artisans and trained professionals. She emphasizes the uselessness of genius without education. Just as the well-educated "imitator" can never be more than a competent builder, the ignorant genius will never design in the correct taste. According to Tuthill, "A complete Architect should be thoroughly educated with special reference to his art."[91] Specifically, this includes "a good knowledge of arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, trigonometry and algebra," as well as "the history of mankind and the history of the arts." Tuthill's extensive description of the future architect's training in practical business skills contributes to her portrait of a thoroughly disciplined professional.

In the tenth chapter of The Artist, "Study of the Best Models," Tuthill analyzes a characteristically American stumbling block to architectural achievement--the myth of the self-taught genius. This subject is particularly important to Tuthill, whose entire architectural theory depends on educating the architect in the use and adaptation of historical models. She begins her discussion of models with a quotation from Goethe, "The artist is born progressive, not complete. If, therefore, he feels no inclination to learn from the complete artists of the past and present time, that which he is in want of to become a proper artist, he will fall short of his own powers, in the false idea of guarding his

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[90] Tuthill, History, 219.

[91] Tuthill, History, 221.

originality."[92] As Tuthill continually emphasizes, true originality derives from the work of others. She immediately takes this advice literally by quoting Sir Joshua Reynolds's views on the benefits and dangers of imitation. According to Tuthill, Reynolds's advice prevents "servile imitation" by promoting "noble emulation." Several pages of this chapter are devoted to a critique of the self-taught genius which indirectly supports Tuthill's educational plan. After stating that "there is a great deal of twaddle about self-taught genius," she explains the need for a thorough knowledge of historical precedents.[93] Reynolds is the model of an educated artist, by no means "self-taught," who uses the past to create original works. Appropriately, in his Discourses, Reynolds proclaims the importance of education both to emphasize the ignorance of servile imitation and to illustrate the impossibility of self instruction.

Reality addresses the myth of the self-taught genius from the point of view of the public patrons, those Tuthill blames for its procreation. "Through ignorance and want of taste in the public, the most crude and unartistic performances have been thrust upon us as chefs d'oeuvre, and highly esteemed, because they were the work of self-taught artists."[94] Dispelling the myth of the self-taught genius, Tuthill recommends that

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[92] Tuthill, The Artist, 75.

[93] Tuthill, The Artist, 76. Tuthill elaborates on the importance of combining "interior" and "exterior" education. She writes, "Self-reliant, self-controlled a man may be, but not self-taught. Teaching, as everybody knows, implies instruction that comes from without. For a knowledge of one's own character and capabilities there must be close introspection; but, after all, the best way of determining both is by action. . . . Because a child learns his alphabet in one and the first lesson, does it prove that he has no need of books?"

[94] Tuthill, Reality, 229.

patrons provide prospective artists with "five thousand dollars to tarry at Rome or Florence."[95] Tuthill not only places the perception of artistic value in the hands of the public, but also the responsibility for educating the future artist. Her critique of the self-taught genius opens up the field of architecture and architectural criticism by making artistic education a civic (and democratic) responsibility. Of course, in advocating a broader role for female educators and arbiters, Tuthill was not exclusively community-minded. As a businesswoman determined to sell her books, Tuthill had personal reasons for encouraging the expansion of architectural education in America.

Tuthill's belief in the importance of educating an audience of common readers is incorporated into her list of "Qualifications." Although this chapter is devoted to the specific instruction of the individual architect in mensuration, geometry, etc., she includes the public in this important section of the History. Tuthill writes:

> In our higher schools and academies, some elementary instruction in art might be introduced with great advantage to pupils generally. In an enlightened and refined nation, every man and woman should know enough of the principles of architecture to enable them to order their houses to be built with due reference to comfort and good taste.[96]

Even when focusing on the individual artist, Tuthill never looses sight of her larger audience. By linking enlightenment and refinement with practical comfort, as well as with the highest standard--good taste--Tuthill suggests that aesthetic education will personally benefit all Americans. Her plan relies on establishing a basic level of public, aesthetic education,

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[95] Tuthill, Reality, 229.

[96] Tuthill, History, 225-6.

regardless of age or sex. The next section will briefly discuss the history behind a national art school and why Tuthill found it so important to the growth of American architecture.

A National School of Architecture

Tuthill concludes Chapter Eighteen of the History, "Qualifications for an Architect," with a plea for the establishment of national art schools. Her book introduces "the common reader" to the aesthetic principles that will create a demand for "scientific" architects. Presumably, these architects would receive instruction in national art schools. Tuthill's theory of education is directly related to the growth and development of the architectural profession.

The country's first efforts at architectural education were not aimed at creating a national architectural aesthetic. The Philadelphia Carpenter's Company, established in the seventeen twenties, was most concerned with maintaining local standards of production and payment. Members were instructed in the proper methods of drawing and measuring, the correct techniques of which were documented in the Carpenters' "Rule Book." Elsewhere in the country, prospective architects learned the trade from established "masters" such as James Hoban, who began to instruct students in his New York studio in 1790.[97] Ithiel Town is said to have received his early training at Asher Benjamin's Boston school between 1804 and 1810.[98]

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[97] Everard Upjohn, introduction, The Rudiments of Architecture, vii.

[98] For details of Town's early education see Roger Hail Newton, Town and Davis, Pioneers in Revivalist Architecture, 1812-1870 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 26-32. See also biographical accounts in

Local efforts at formal art and architectural education during the first decades of the nineteenth century represent a conscious effort to improve American aesthetic standards. Historian William Dunlap considered the history of "Academies (real and nominal) of the fine arts" an important indication of artistic progress.[99] Beginning with Charles Willson Peale's attempts to organize schools in Philadelphia, Dunlap traces the growth of several other "academies." The sketchy origins of the New York and Pennsylvania Academies, both founded in the first decade of the century, introduce a history of failed attempts at maintaining an adequate institution. In 1825, Samuel F. B. Morse recognized that the New York Academy was a forum for wealthy stockholders, not a school for training artists. His efforts to encourage serious instruction began with a "drawing association" that grew to become the National Academy of Design. Despite continued financial problems and frequent location changes, the National Academy was "the most encouraging proof of the progress of the fine arts in the country . . .".[100]

Though Dunlap may have been hopeful about the future of American art, his history discusses a series of political and organizational failures. A year after the publication of Dunlap's book, Ithiel Town responded to the lack of any adequate New York Academy of Art. Town's "The Outlines of A Plan for Establishing in New York An Academy and Institution of the Fine

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DAB, s.v. "Town, Ithiel;" "Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 1, "Town, Ithiel."

[99] Dunlap, History, 105-11.

[100] Dunlap, History, 58.

Arts" begins with an "Advertisement" explaining his "scheme."[101] According to Town, a group of wealthy gentlemen could easily accumulate money for investment in Europe and use the profits to establish a national school. Like Tuthill, Town appeals to the elite class in an effort to raise the artistic standards "of our own citizens of every class."[102] His advertisement emphasizes that the future of American arts and manufactures lies in general aesthetic education.[103]

Four years after Town wrote "The Outlines," the body of his text was reprinted in the Ladies Companion and Literary Expositor as part of the larger article, "Residence of Ithiel Town, Esq." The author was Lydia Sigourney, a close friend and correspondent of Louisa Tuthill, and a well-known Hartford literary figure. The first part of Sigourney's article provides the earliest contemporary description of Ithiel Town's famous library, possibly the largest in the country at the time.[104] As Sigourney

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[101] Ithiel Town, "The Outlines of A Plan For Establishing in New-York, an Academy and Institution of the Fine Arts . . ." (New York: George F. Hopkins and Son, 1835).

[102] Town, "Outlines," advertisement, n.p.

[103] In 1836 eleven architects gathered at the Astor House in New York to establish a professional organization. Alexander Davis attended the meeting, to which Town sent a letter acknowledging his support. The next year, William Strickland was elected president of an even larger group calling itself the American Institute of Architects. The institute held at least one more meeting before dissolving. This first attempt at a professional organization of architects is considered the inspiration behind the American Institute of Architects founded twenty years later (1857) and still in existence today. Roger Hale Newton, Town and Davis, 103-4. Newton is quoting George Champlin Mason's article, Journal of the American Institute of Architects 1 (1915), 371.

[104] A brief description and a plan and elevation of the library appear in Brother Jonathan magazine. The author is most interested in Town's method of fire-proofing his villa. See "The Architects and Architecture of New York," Brother Jonathan 5 (15 July 1843): 301-3. For historians' accounts of the library See Newton, Town and Davis, 67; Seymour, New

suggests, the library was also a kind of museum with displays of engravings and "curiosities." Tuthill visited Town's library and worked on the History close to the date of Sigourney's description.

> In the second story, is a spacious apartment, forty-five feet in length, twenty-three in breadth, and twenty-two in height, with two sky-lights, six feet square,--three windows at one end, and three sash-doors, opening upon the balcony. There, and in the lobbies, and study, are arranged, in Egyptian, Grecian and Gothic cases, of fine symmetry, between nine and ten thousand volumes. Many of these are rare, expensive and valuable. More than three fourths of these are folios and quartos. A great proportion are adorned with engravings. It is not easy to compute the number of these embellishments--though the proprietor supposes them to exceed two hundred thousand. There are also some twenty or twenty-five thousand separate engravings--some of them the splendid executions of the best masters, both ancient and modern. In these particulars, the library exceeds all others in our country. There are also one hundred and seventy oil paintings, besides mosaics, and other works of art, and objects of curiosity.[105]

As the article implies, the home and library of Ithiel Town represent his life and work; Sigourney moves from her architectural account of residence and library to a short biographical statement from the architect's "own pen." After relating a few facts of Town's self-motivated success, Sigourney encourages the traveller to visit his library.[106] The next three pages of her article are taken from "The Outlines."

Haven, 546-60.

[105] Lydia H. Sigourney, "Residence of Ithiel Town, Esq.," Ladies Companion and Literary Expositor 10 (1839), 123.

[106] In Success in Life. The Artist, Tuthill quotes William Dunlap's 1834 description of Town's "truly magnificent" library, which is "open to the inspection of the curious, and freely offered for the instruction of the student." Her footnote to Dunlap's remarks brings the reader up to date on the state of the library, since "sold and dispersed." She asks, "was there no Institution to purchase it?" The Artist, 86.

Town's plan is obviously a response to the series of failed academies and institutes enumerated in Dunlap's History. The urgency of Town's tone and his familiar writing style suggest that he is contributing to a current debate. "The Outlines" begins by emphasizing the heart of the problem, disagreements between artists and patrons. Town uses "all past experience," particularly, "Philadelphia and New York in their history of the fine arts . . ." "as proof of the position" that artists and "connoisseurs, amateurs, merchants and all other professions and trades" simply "cannot agree harmoniously, for any great length of time together . .".[107] He emphatically repeats this declaration before explaining his solution. According to Town, the only way to achieve a consensus is through a business with "transferable stock" that allows contributors to hold shares. While the facilities would be used by all, the government and property ownership would be divided into two separate bodies--an institute for the exhibition and patronage of art and an academy for actual art instruction. Though Town was particularly interested in the art school, he learned from past experience to establish "joint accommodation, without the possibility of rivalship, envy, or any other interference on the part of passion or interest."[108] The remainder of the article is devoted to a detailed discussion of property division, political offices and other regulations including the basic criteria for exhibitions. The comprehensiveness of Town's plan is illustrated by his description of possible branch institutions, regular annual conventions and an Artists' and Mechanics' Bank. Only a thorough commitment to the arts, such as

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[107] Town, "Residence," 123-4.

[108] Town, "Residence," 124.

that embodied in Town's extensive library, would sustain a National Academy.[109]

Members of elite New Haven society must have frequently discussed the requirements of a national art school. During his European trips, Town was accompanied by the artist Samuel F.B. Morse, founder of the National Academy of Design.[110] His portrait was painted by local artist Nathaniel Jocelyn, who, with his father Simeon, was responsible for the engraving of "Indra Subba" on the title page of Tuthill's Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture. Nathaniel Jocelyn also travelled with Morse in Europe. Nathaniel Chauncey, a contributor to Cornelius Tuthill's literary magazine, wrote a letter introducing Town to architect Henry Roberts.[111] New Haven's dynamic artistic community would have encouraged an aesthetic institution supporting its variety of interests--literature, art, architecture, travel and geology. Both Tuthill's text and Town's museum-library suggest the range of issues on the minds of local intellectuals.

As Benson Lossing's Outline History of the Fine Arts illustrates, the debate over an American art school had reached national proportions by the early forties. Though Lossing has little to say about American art, he

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[109] Town, "Residence," 124-6.

[110] "Mr. Town travelled in Europe in company with Samuel Finley Breese Morse and Nathaniel Jocelyn and examined works with a learned eye and judgement. His library of such works is truly magnificent and unrivalled by anything of its kind in America, perhaps no private library in Europe is its equal," Dunlap, Outline History, 69. See also R.W. Liscombe, "A `New Era in My Life': Ithiel Town Abroad," JSAH 50 (March 1991): 9; Newton, Town and Davis, 64; George Dudley Seymour, Researches of an Antiquary: Five Essays on Early American Architects (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), 10.

[111] Liscombe, "Ithiel Town," 6. The English architect Henry Roberts (1803-1876) was "a pioneer of working class housing." See "Roberts, Henry," Macmillian Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 3, 589-90.

devotes considerable thought to the history of art academies. The painting section of Outline History discusses the efforts of Mr. Peale, the origins of the American Academy and Samuel Morse's National Academy. Like Town, Lossing believes that better organization will lead to the development of an appropriate school. His solution, however, is a nationally funded institution.

> All of these academies have been and are the results of individual enterprise, and it needs but the powerful aid of government, to establish a School of Arts in this country more than equal in point of usefulness to the Royal Academy of London. We need a national nursery of this kind, and we trust but few years will elapse before the cultivated taste of the people will instruct their representatives in Congress to legislate upon a subject so closely connected with the morals of society and the glory of the Republic.[112]

Lossing's statement articulates an important connection introduced in Town's comments and pursued by Tuthill--the relationship between public taste and artistic and administrative progress. Despite their insistence on education "of all classes," Lossing and Town do not "outline" a procedure for general aesthetic instruction. Louisa Tuthill's architectural writings attempt to fill the need for basic education in the most basic design art. While supporting the nationally funded institutions described by Town and Lossing, Tuthill also contributes books providing actual education. Tuthill's histories are aimed at newly emerging readerships representative of the developing architectural profession. In acknowledging the power of women arbiters, Tuthill was describing the early organization of other specialized groups--architects, architectural critics, and female consumers. As the following survey of American architectural history writing illustrates, Tuthill's contribution to the genre is unique in its

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[112] Lossing, Outline History, 261.

serious concern for the education of those less involved in the professional aspects of architecture--women, children, and the "common" man.

Part II: Architectural History Writing in America

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the search for an American aesthetic had become a predominating theme of American art, literature and history-writing. This effort to produce a legitimate national expression required the investigation and celebration of American origins. The literature of early nineteenth-century architecture addresses the question of origins from several perspectives; some writers examine early technological innovations leading to the first shelter; others speculate on the development of an appropriate American architecture. Though Tuthill's books share aspects of builders' guides, travellers' accounts, stylebooks and architectural monographs, her histories are not modeled after these more specialized texts. Unlike other American authors who wrote about architecture, Tuthill places her "specimens" in historical context. She combines the progressive European art historical tradition with an American need to document native architectural achievements. Tuthill's Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture and her History of Architecture can only be evaluated in the context of nineteenth-century architectural writing.

Early Precedents

Eighteenth-century descriptions of cities in periodicals, guidebooks and novels suggest a growing interest in the urban environment. During the 1780s, the American Magazine (New York) and the American Museum (Philadelphia) reported on the architecture of Philadelphia; the Columbian

Magazine focused on significant buildings such as King's Chapel, Boston, and the federal building in New York.[113] The authors of such articles emphasize civic progress rather than specific architectural features, though style is sometimes mentioned as an index to cultural growth. Nineteenth-century descriptions of American cities by European travelers also discuss civic and domestic architecture, usually implying a comparison with London or Paris. After her trip to Philadelphia, Englishwoman Francis Wright wrote, "The public buildings are all remarkable for neatness and some for pure classic elegance. Another bank is about to be built on as simple a model as the Pennsylvania. I trust the citizens will never swerve from the pure style of architecture to which they seem at present to have attached themselves."[114] Other foreign visitors, such as Captain Basil Hall and Francis Trollope, also wrote for a general audience and "unconsciously" offered insights into architectural history.

Both Louisa Tuthill's Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture and her History of Architecture were influenced by the accounts of "amazed" travellers who brought back stories of their experiences in foreign countries. Though she cites the opinions of experts like William Jones and Giovanni Belzoni, Tuthill relies on "a Lady of New York" for information about ascending the great Pyramid of Cheops.[115] Numerous unidentified

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[113] For a list of periodical articles on early American architecture see Sarah H. J. Hamlin, "Some Articles of Architectural Interest Published in American Periodicals Prior to 1851," in Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 356-82.

[114] Francis Wright, Views of Society and Manners in America, (1821; reprint, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1963), 48.

[115] In a footnote, Tuthill quotes "Letters from the Old World, by a Lady of New York." History, 30-32.

modern travellers supplement the findings of "learned" men such as Mr. Smith and Mr. Erskine.[116] For impressions of American architecture, Tuthill consults Timothy Dwight and Thomas Hamilton, among others.[117] From the frequent mention of similar texts in "scientific" periodicals--Benjamin Silliman's The American Journal of Science and Arts, for example--it is clear that "travellers' accounts" were a valued source of architectural information in America.[118]

The first conscious efforts at explaining the origins of building conventions were made by the authors of early builders' guides who began to provide short architectural histories along with diagrams of architectural detailing, plans and sections. Originally designed as instruction manuals for builders, these guides grew more elaborate as the century progressed. The evolution of Asher Benjamin's work illustrates the development of these books from simple catalogs of images into more sophisticated architectural literature. Benjamin's guides also show, both textually and visually, the growth of American architecture from traditional neoclassicism to

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[116] Tuthill quotes a "Mr. Smith who wrote upon the subject [Irish architecture] a learned dissertation." History, 144-5. This is probably the Irish historian Charles Smith (1715-1762), author of The Ancient and Present State of the County of Down (1744) among other county histories. Mr. [David Steuart?] Erskine (1742-1829) comments on "the desolate religious city of Ellora." History, 52. Erskine founded the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

[117] Tuthill borrows Timothy Dwight's descriptions of early New Haven and Boston (270-1, 315, 322 in the History) from Travels in New England and New York (New Haven, CT: 1821-22), 132-3, 353-4. She cites Thomas Hamilton's comparison of Boston and New York in her chapter, "The State of Architecture in the United States" (History, 258-9). Hamilton, Men and Manners in America (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1833), 155, 159.

[118] "Notice of Peruvian Antiquities," appears alongside "Architecture in the United States," in The American Journal of Science and Arts, 17 (January 1830): 116.

historically conscious "revivalism." Benjamin points to the beginnings of the architectural profession when he identifies specific architects--himself and Charles Bulfinch--out of a previously undistinguished group of anonymous builders.[119]

Benjamin describes his first book, The Country Builder's Assistant (1797), as a "Collection of New Designs of Carpentry and Architecture."[120] Like its English counterparts, Abraham Swan's The British Architect (1775) and William Pain's The Practical Builder (1792), Benjamin's text presents illustrations of neoclassical architectural features for imitation and adaptation.[121] His next guide, The American Builder's Companion (1806) is similar, but The Rudiments of Architecture (1814) includes a chapter entitled "The Origin of Building." In this essay, Benjamin describes the very first attempts at shelter in America, the "wigwams" of Native American Indians. "That the primitive hut was of a conic figure, it is reasonable to conjecture; for of that form do the American Aborigines build their wigwams . . .".[122] Gradually this hut

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[119] John Harris comments on the "pattern" book's English origins. "Using the very roughest of statistics, during the century between 1660 and 1760 nearly 750 titles were published, probably more than in all of Europe for perhaps the preceding three centuries. The situation in America needs to be judged against this publishing boom." For a brief history of the English context see Harris' "The Pattern Book Phenomenon," Palladian Studies in America I. Building by the Book, Mario di Valmarana, ed. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986), 101-12.

[120] Asher Benjamin, The Country Builder's Assistant (1797; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), title page.

[121] These are the dates of the first American editions. The British Architect was originally published in 1745 (London: By the Author). The Practical Builder first appeared in 1774 (London: Printed for I. Taylor).

[122] Asher Benjamin, The Rudiments of Architecture (1814; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 33.

was improved to the point where it resembled Laugier's famous European model. Benjamin replaces the European embodiment of architectural origins with a native American building type, and, in so doing, establishes America's "ancient" architectural history.

In the prefaces for his books issued in the thirties, Benjamin articulates his awareness of the market's changing demands. He states that "since my last publication, the Roman school of architecture has been entirely changed for the Grecian."[123] The remainder of the essay explains the differences between the two styles. Benjamin seems most interested in raising the public level of aesthetic discrimination. He blames the tastelessness of contemporary architecture on the rapid progress of the profession, which has caused the uneducated citizen to assume the status of "architect." Part of Benjamin's motivation for defining himself as a professional is to elevate architecture to the level of "science." His books indicate that the distinction between client and architect was becoming increasingly apparent in the years before Tuthill wrote her History. Benjamin addresses the builder-turned-architect but his introductions begin to reflect the emergence of new categories of American readers--professionals, patrons, critics and dilettantes. By the late forties, Tuthill's readership included ladies, travelers, and other groups Benjamin could not have considered when the architectural profession was still in its earliest stages of development.

Though the most prolific of the authors of early builders' guides, Benjamin had plenty of competition from English writers as well as fellow

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[123] Asher Benjamin, The Practical House Carpenter (1830; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), preface.

Americans Owen Biddle and Minard Lafever. The books are similar in form and general content, differing only in choice and articulation of stylistic examples. English-born architect John Haviland introduced the Greek orders to America in The Builder's Assistant (1818). Biddle's guide caters to the student interested in perfecting drawing techniques. Lafever specialized in promoting the Greek revival, first in The Young Builder's General Instructor (1829) and later in The Beauties of Modern Architecture (1835). The popularity of more historical "guides" is indicated by the success of Edward Shaw's Civil Architecture; or A Complete Theoretical and Practical System of Building (1830), which came out in eleven editions. Beginning with the sixth edition, Shaw provided a "treatise on Gothic Architecture" to supplement his excerpts from Vitruvius, Stuart and Revett, Chambers and Nicholson. By 1830, when Tuthill published "Ancient Architecture," history had become a marketable topic; over the next few decades, the development of stylebooks would make historical explanations of some sort a requirement.[124]

Another form of architectural book, combining history with description, was also introduced in the years before Tuthill's first printing of "Ancient Architecture." The "architectural monograph" describes recent buildings and comments on current architectural issues. A Description of Haviland's Design for the New Penitentiary (1824),

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[124] For the history of "builders' guides, architects' portfolios and stylebooks" in America see Michael Tomlan, "Popular and Professional American Architectural Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell, 1983), 37-90. In reference to English sources, John Harris notes that "the only useful guides to the listing of pattern books are the bibliographic lists" in Howard Montagu Colvin's A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (1954) and Helen Park's A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution (1973).

Bulfinch's two works on penitentiaries and his Memorial of Charles Bulfinch on the subject of the Hall of the House of Representatives (1830) and A Description of the Tremont House (1830) address contemporary architectural achievements.[125] In Chapter Twenty-two of the History, Tuthill recommends A Description of the Tremont House, as an example of the kind of writing about buildings "that would essentially benefit the community."[126] More technological "monographs" such as Ithiel Town's Improvement in the Construction of Wood and Iron Bridges (1821), reprinted three times over the next twenty years, also contributed to a growing discourse on contemporary built form.[127]

The same year Tuthill published the first edition of her book on ancient architectural origins, The American Journal of Science and Arts published a series of articles on architecture in the United States.[128]

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[125] John Haviland, A Description of Haviland's Design for the New Penitentiary (Philadelphia: Robert Desilver, 1824); Charles Bulfinch, Report of Charles Bulfinch on the Subject of Penitentiaries (WA: Printed by Gales and Seaton, 1827) and A Concise Statement of Charles Bulfinch of the Construction and of the Physical and Moral Effects of Penitentiary Prisons on the Auburn Principle (WA: D. Green, 1829) and . . . On the House of Representatives (WA: 1830); William H. Eliot, A Description of the Tremont House (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1830).

[126] Tuthill, History, 257.

[127] These titles and those of the preceding paragraphs are cited in Henry Russell Hitchcock's American Architectural Books (1946; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1976).

[128] "Architecture in the United States," The American Journal of Science and Arts, 17 (January-June, 1830), 99-110, 249-273. The series continues in 18 (July-December, 1830), 11-26, 212-237. The Journal was founded in 1818 as "The American Journal of Science and Arts, More Especially of Mineralogy, Geology and the Other Branches of Natural History, Including Also Agriculture and the Ornamental as Well as Useful Arts." After the completion of its first series of fifty volumes in 1846, a second began with two additional editors, Silliman's son, Benjamin Jr. and James D. Dana. For a brief history of The Journal see Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. I, 1741-1850 (Cambridge: Harvard University

Beginning with an introduction discussing America's attitude toward the art, successive "numbers" on the theme describe the history of world architecture and the difference between the Greek and Gothic styles. The local journal considered architecture an important topic--a "scientific" index to cultural progress. Tuthill read The American Journal and was acquainted with the magazine's "conductor," Yale professor Benjamin Silliman. In an undated fragment of a letter to Julius H. Ward, Tuthill refers to a conversation with James Gates Percival in Silliman's home.[129] Tuthill spoke with Percival on the topic of "national music." She writes, "Professor Silliman persuaded him to emerge from his hermit-solitude . . . It was probably the last time the poet ever appeared at an evening party." Tuthill's acquaintance with Silliman indicates that she was part of an elite and intellectual social circle.[130] Though Tuthill probably did not see The

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Press, 1939), 302-5.

[129] Tuthill to J.H. Ward, no date, James Gates Percival Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[130] In another letter to Ward regarding Percival (8 June 1863), Tuthill describes her early association with local literary figures. She writes, "In the year 1820, three intimate friends at New Haven, desiring to cultivate a taste for literature among the young people of that city, established a semi-weekly paper, to be made up entirely of original articles of an aesthetic character." The Microscope was principally edited by Cornelius Tuthill, who was helped by Nathaniel Chauncey and Henry E. Dwight. Louisa Tuthill was the anonymous author of several articles in the journal. See Julius H. Ward, The Life and Letters of James Gates Percival (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), 68. In the early thirties, Tuthill corresponded with another famous American poet, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892). The three letters Whittier wrote to Tuthill--weekly from April 8, 1831, through April 24--suggest an intimate friendship. One letter comments on Tuthill's "love lyric" "To N.F.R," recently published in the pages of the New England Weekly Review, a Hartford newspaper edited by Whittier from July 19, 1830 through January 2, 1832. This poem, and "The Wife," an article mentioned in the same letter, have previously been attributed to Whittier. See John B. Pickard, ed., The Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier, vol. I, (Cambridge, MA: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), 53-59; Nelson F. Adkins, "Two Uncollected Prose Sketches of

American Journal's articles on architecture, issued at the same time as the first edition of her architectural book, Hezekiah Howe must have been aware of both texts.[131] In 1830 Howe published and sold The American Journal of Science and Arts. The next year, he did the same for Louisa Tuthill's Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture.

Her First History: "Ancient Architecture"

Tuthill's concern with national progress is a critical factor left out of all discussions of her life and work. The urge to begin building an American culture from "general principles" underlies her children's fiction and her work for mature readers. In both types of books, Tuthill explicitly states her educational purpose and provides models for emulation. As a writer for the young, she is committed to "shaping" the aesthetic ideals of the future generation. Her first book, James Somers the Pilgrim's Son (1827), presents a model early American. Mary's Visit to Boston (1828) articulates her theory of aesthetic education. "If any doubt the possibility of such sentiments at so early an age, they know not the powerful effects of education, in awakening sensibility and purifying the taste, or of the divine efficacy of that religion, which lifts the heart above

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Whittier," The New England Quarterly 6 (June 1933): 364-371.

[131] Tuthill cites The Journal as a source on Grecian architecture, noting that "in some things, we take the liberty to differ from the very able writer." History, 298. Earlier, in her chapter "Qualifications for an Architect," Tuthill quotes the same "able writer" without attribution. History, 226-7.

low and sensual pleasures."[132] A third anonymous book, "Ancient Architecture" (1830), directly links the instruction of youthful readers in "taste" to the study of architecture.

The re-writing of Tuthill's achievement, as described by twentieth-century historians, begins with the mystery surrounding her first history, "Ancient Architecture" (1830). A seventy-four page small quarto published in New Haven, "Ancient Architecture" is listed in the biographical accounts of Allibone's Dictionary and Appleton's Cyclopaedia.[133] Lamia Doumato adds that it was published by Babcock, but she does not describe its contents.[134] The 1830 text can no longer be found.[135] However, a history of Princeton published the year of Tuthill's death describes a second book, probably a second printing, of which several copies are extant. The author of the History of Princeton and Its Institutions, John Frelinghuysen Hageman, writes that one of the "books not mentioned in Dr. Hart's biographical notice of Mrs. Tuthill is Architecture: Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Chinese--a small quarto of seventy-four pages beautifully illustrated; published at New Haven,

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[132] Louisa Tuthill, Love of Admiration or, Mary's Visit to B------. (New Haven: A.H. Maltby, 1828), 22-3.

[133] Both Allibone's and Appleton's list the book as "Ancient Architecture," which is probably a shortened version of the full title.

[134] This is Sidney Babcock, a local bookseller, stationer and publisher of children's books with a shop at 121 Chapel Street.

[135] Other than the nineteenth-century sources mentioned, the only proof that the 1830 text exists comes from Lamia Doumato, who says she retrieved it through interlibrary loan several years ago. Recent searches, on the part of both Doumato and myself, have been unsuccessful.

1831."[136] Although the title is different, Hageman's description of the book--its size, page numbering, subject and place of publication--correspond to both the 1830 text and Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture (1831). Previously attributed to its publisher, Hezekiah Howe, Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture appears under Howe's name in Hitchcock's American Architectural Books, the National Union Catalog and other catalog indexes.[137] Actually, the book is anonymous; Howe's name also served as the title of his publishing firm, Hezekiah Howe and Co. According to Hageman, "this little volume was the nucleus of the large octavo--the History of Architecture, Ancient and Modern, published in Philadelphia, 1848."[138] That this text did influence the History of Architecture From the Earliest Times is verified by a glance at the title page, an engraving of the Indra Subba which reappears as plate III in the History [See Plate 1].

Tuthill does not hide the fact that part of her work appeared eighteen years earlier. In the preface to her History she notes that "a few of the introductory pages of this History of Architecture were published anonymously some years since."[139] She adds that "no apology is offered

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[136] John Frelinghuysen Hageman, History of Princeton and Its Institutions (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1879), 402. Hageman's title describes the content of the book; the actual title is Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture.

[137] Hezekiah Howe (1775-1838) opened one of the earliest publishing firms in New Haven with his uncle, Issac Beers. The company operated under the name Beers and Howe until 1812, when Beers' place was taken by De Lauzun Deforest. In succeeding years, the firm was known as Hezekiah Howe and Co. See Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing, 453.

[138] Hageman, History of Princeton, 402.

[139] Tuthill, History, ix.

for giving the entire book to the public," implying that she originally conceived of the work as part of a more comprehensive volume. The introduction and conclusion of Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture promise future editions if the present book is found "interesting." Louisa Tuthill's interest in architectural history obviously dates from long before she began writing the History of Architecture.

Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture is an unusual book written for young adults. The first introduction, "To My Youthful Readers," compares the self-motivated student's path toward knowledge with the progress of a railroad. Calling the 1830s "the Age of Steam" was risky at a time when the steam engine had barely proven safe and efficient.[140] Tuthill's progressive attitude is equally apparent in the style of her narrative. She speaks in simple language about an obscure topic. In order to reach the point of simplification, she needed to study a variety of art, architecture and literary books, which were neither cheap nor easily accessible. Even more significant, her work required that she assume the authority to produce such a text; this "sacred" discipline had to be assimilated and made comprehensible for youthful readers.

Chapter One begins with the definition of architecture, "the art of building," and its division into three categories--civil, naval and military. Explaining that her text is devoted to civil architecture, Tuthill attempts to describe the art's earliest origins: "We cannot have much historical evidence respecting the origin and early progress of this art, but some kind of shelter being necessary for the comfort and protection of man, it

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[140] Tuthill was probably basing this judgement on the success of the steam engine in England, where it was patented in 1782.

must have been practiced ever since his creation."[141] In an effort to provide some explanation, Tuthill borrows Milton's description of the "beautiful bower" of "our first parents."[142] Outside of Eden, Tuthill's theory of architectural origins is based on the dictates of necessity. "Every invention has its origins in the wants of man."[143] Her comparative historical method also implies that all architecture developed from similar roots, regardless of race or religion. "It was a very important step in the progress of Architecture, when the trees were smoothed into posts, and placed in a square form, with a covering or roof over them. . . . Common dwelling-houses have continued very much in the same form ever since."[144] Plate II of Architecture juxtaposes a tent surrounded by palms with a "house" resembling the "primitive dwelling" woodcut in the History of Architecture [See Plate 2]. Tuthill's domestication of the European primitive hut in Ancient Architecture is further elaborated upon in the History.

The second chapter of Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture refers to the "rapid glance at the progress of the art of building" we've just taken, and focuses on Egypt, "the birth-place of the arts and

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[141] Tuthill, Architecture, 3.

[142] A review of Loudon's An Encyclopaedia of Gardening in the North American Review footnotes Downing's remarks on this original garden. "Milton's beautiful descriptions in 'Paradise Lost' had much influence in awakening a taste for natural beauty." See "Downing's Treatise, p. 16" and "Landscape Gardening," North American Review 59 (October 1844): 303.

[143] Tuthill, Architecture, 5. This statement also appears shortly after the "blissful bower" quotation in the History, 18.

[144] Tuthill, Architecture, 8. See "The Primitive Buildings Etc.," the first plate in William Chambers' A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture (1791) for "primitive huts" resembling Tuthill's description.

sciences."[145] Although Tuthill is not exactly sure where the art originated, she is confident of Egypt's status as a cultural center. She divides Egyptian buildings into three categories: the simple pyramid, excavations, caverns or grottos and apartments. The Great Pyramid of Cheops, plate III, is described in detail with dimensions and comments on construction. In her account of a second pyramid, Tuthill mentions the discovery of "Belzoni, an enterprising traveller."[146] Throughout her essay, Tuthill combines factual information (names, dimensions, materials) with interesting anecdotes and subjective opinions. Her style is both erudite and friendly, well-informed but never distant; she seems confident enough of her material to be flexible in her presentation. Midway through her account of Egypt, Tuthill pauses to explain the various parts of the column. Several pages later, she expresses considerable excitement over recent scholarly advances in the translation of hieroglyphics. "A young enterprising Frenchman, named Champollion, has discovered the invaluable secret of reading hieroglyphics. . . . We are impatiently waiting for the work which they are now preparing--a work, which will greatly increase our knowledge respecting Egyptian antiquities."[147] Clearly, Tuthill sees herself as part of an architecturally informed audience. Eighteen years

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[145] Tuthill, Architecture, 12.

[146] Giovanni Baptista Belzoni (1778-1823), Italian engineer and traveler, is similarly described in the History, 32.

[147] Tuthill, Architecture, 26.

later, in the pages of her History, she relates the information imparted by Champollion; her youthful readers are now adults.[148]

Tuthill's comparative method of analysis allows her to identify similarities in Grecian and Egyptian architecture and to see both cultures in a positive light. This detailed exegesis of an Egyptian column is a typical example of her style [See Plate 3].

> Architecture had made great progress, from the time when columns were first constructed, to the period when the portico of Latopolis was built. Observe this collection of fragments, Plate VI. One of the simplest and apparently most ancient forms is that marked A. These support a fine door-way to the tomb of Silsilis. Here we see the winged globe again. This column is a representation of a bundle of reeds, bound together near the top with a cord, which is wound several times round. A square stone, which is now known by the term abacus, is then laid upon the top. The part between this stone and the binding bulges out, as if crushed by the incumbent weight. This seems to have been the first idea of what afterwards became a regular capital. The bulged part was next decorated with reeds and hieroglyphics. See Plate VI, B. The shaft was divided by a number of belts, and ornamented with reedings, flutings and sculptures. Afterwards the capitals were formed into elegant vase-shapes, decorated with leaves and flowers of the lotus or lily of the Nile. Among the ornaments of these capitals are also found, leaves of the palm, date, vine and papyrus. See Plate VII No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. These show a very fine taste, and were undoubtably afterwards imitated in Grecian Architecture.[149]

The introduction to Chapter Three follows the spread of the arts from Egypt to India, where five types of sacred edifices are identified--"pyramids," "excavations or caverns," "square or oblong courts," "in the

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[148] Tuthill comments on the progress of antiquarian research since her earlier book. "The dust of ages has been brushed away from these faithful records, and a gleam of light has been cast upon the Egyptian darkness that had shrouded this mysterious nation. We are indebted to Champollion, Dr. Young and others, whose indefatigable labours have been devoted to this occult science." History, 46. See also Champollion's remarks, History, 43-4.

[149] Tuthill, Architecture, 26-8.

form of a cross" and "perfectly circular." Her rigid classification quickly gives way to a geographical explanation of the region. Tuthill borrows the remarks of "modern travellers" to express the sublime wonder of the Caves of Ellora. She contrasts the amazing vastness of these temples, hewn out of the living rock, with the "exquisitely beautiful little temple of Indra."[150] Embellishing the title page of the book, this "insulated" building is clearly a favorite. Tuthill's description enables the reader to see like an awestruck traveler. "It would seem to the observer, that these curious and stupendous works have been constructed downwards: that the workmen began at the top of the rock, chiseled first the roof of the temple; scooping out at the same time the area around, and thus worked gradually down, till the temple was finished to its base, where the foundations remain immovably fixed, a part of the primitive rock."[151] Through descriptions such as these, Tuthill achieves the effect of actually being on site and relating her observations to a nearby companion.[152]

After proceeding through the five kinds of edifices, Tuthill arrives at Chapter Four, "Persian Architecture." She begins with various reports of the tower of Babel in Babylon, which may have been mistaken for the Temple of Belus. In her discussion of Persepolis, Tuthill further demonstrates her knowledge of travellers and archaeologists by quoting Le

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[150] Tuthill, Architecture, 37.

[151] Tuthill, Architecture, 38.

[152] Tuthill's observations suggest a familiarity with the English Romantic tradition of travel letters, which also influenced the writing of fellow Americans Timothy Dwight and Washington Irving. In the History, Tuthill summarizes ten pages of Irving's Alhambra into three pages of picturesque examples of Moorish buildings. History, 130-32; Washington Irving, The Alhambra (1832; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), 60-69.

Brun's study of the ruins.[153] The doorway of one of the better preserved temples still stands and "would even now, be a suitable and elegant door-way."[154] Her description of the ruined city gives the reader a close-up, experiential view of relics typically described as museum pieces. At the end of the chapter, Tuthill defines a number of architectural terms, including architrave, cornice, entablature, and frieze.

Tuthill begins her fifth and final chapter by comparing Egyptian, Hindu and Persian Architecture and determining that "there was a communication of architectural knowledge between these three countries."[155] Her historical discourse is interrupted by an unusually emotional outburst of architectural criticism.

> Wonderful remains! Splendid relics of the power and folly of man! Usefulness, is inscribed upon Nature's works--utility and beauty combined. But, on these ponderous structures, who can fail to read, "Vanity, Vanity, Vanity!" They are monuments, left for the wonder and curiosity of mankind, but not for their imitation.[156]

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[153] Tuthill, Architecture, 47. Tuthill does not cite the source of Le Brun's comments. She may have been familiar with two books listed in the inventory of Ithiel Town's library--"Le Brun's Fountains" [Recueil de diuers desseins de fontaines et de frises maritime. Paris: Edelinck, 1693?] and "Works of Le Brun;" both featured the work of painter Charles Le Brun (1619-90). Tuthill also mentions the Frenchman's investigation of ancient Persepolis in the History. See Chapter IV, "Persian Architecture," 55.

[154] Tuthill, Architecture, 48.

[155] Tuthill, Architecture, 55. A similar conclusion is reached in the History: "It cannot be doubted that there was a communication of architectural knowledge between the three countries, which possess the most magnificent specimens of ancient art." History, 58.

[156] Tuthill, Architecture., 56.

This tirade foreshadows the importance Tuthill places on nature and climate in the History. More significantly, it illustrates a perspective that allows her to admire impressive architectural forms while condemning their cultural associations. By taking such a position, Tuthill avoids endorsing an architecture that does not represent her religious, social and nationalistic views.

The remainder of the chapter briefly discusses Chinese and Jewish architecture. A Chinese pagoda is depicted to prove that Chinese building evolved from tents and has always depended on ornament to make up for a lack of architectural form.[157] As "very little can now be known of Jewish architecture," Tuthill bases her account on the Old Testament, "the only guide with which we are furnished." Despite her limited sources, Tuthill compiles a detailed description of Solomon's Temple, including precise dimensions of the edifice. She compares the "proportions" to those of the columns at Elephanta discussed in Chapter One. At the conclusion of her comments, Tuthill reminds the reader of the absence of ruins; whereas ruins provided concrete evidence for the study of Egyptian, Hindu and Persian architecture, "here we have no such guides." It seems important for Tuthill to emphasize that her judgments are based on written texts. She also assures the reader of her scholarly capability, which the nature of the subject did not allow her to demonstrate.

> The rules of the art, were not fixed at this early period; few explanations have been necessary and few technical terms have been used. When Architecture was brought to perfection by the Genius of the Greeks, every part of an edifice had its

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[157] See Tuthill, Architecture, Plate XIV. The Chinese Pagoda is taken from William Chambers' Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils (1757), Plate V., fig. 1. The pagoda is Plate IV in Tuthill's History.

> appropriate name,--its proper situation,--its precise proportion, etc., etc. These will be fully explained in Part II, under the article, Grecian Architecture.[158]

The final section ends with the promise of more architectural terminology in succeeding volumes.[159] A list of questions--organized by chapter and corresponding to specific issues addressed in the book--is provided, probably as an aid for teachers. Tuthill's brief conclusion emphasizes that the book was planned as part of a continuing series. The questions also support her future effort, the last demanding, "Where will the terms of the art be fully explained?"[160]

That modern historians have not studied Tuthill's first architectural history has resulted in a distorted picture of her life and work. The addition of Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture to her list of writings destroys the claim that Tuthill concerned herself exclusively with the domestic sphere. The emphasis historians have placed on her moral and religious sentiment is also called into question. Architecture presents young readers with a straightforward introduction to the study of architectural history. Before and after she wrote Architecture, Tuthill catered to a particular market of "domestic" fiction readers, an audience

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[158] Tuthill, Architecture, 67.

[159] In her introduction, Tuthill writes: "I offer you my little book in Three Parts. Part I. Ancient Architecture. Part II. Greek, Roman, and Gothic Architecture. III. Modern Architecture. If I have been successful in interesting you in this First Part, the Second Part, which is in itself more interesting, as the art was brought to perfection under the Greeks and Romans, shall soon make its appearance," Architecture, 67. The second two volumes were never published.

[160] Tuthill, Architecture, 74.

very different from those she addressed in her architectural texts.[161] Both Tuthill's private and public writing suggest that she deliberately wrote in the voice most appropriate to her readers. Letters Tuthill wrote throughout her life describe a lively, perceptive intellectual, not a didactic moralist. Rather than seeing the History as an exception to her otherwise ordinary work, it should be considered as part of a larger plan to reach the common American. The preface of the History identifies architecture as the primary art, implying that education in this subject results in a heightened appreciation of all culture. Throughout her book, Tuthill maintains a high standard of scholarship, citing specialized sources inaccessible to the common reader. Her use of difficult architectural terminology necessitated a glossary of terms. The architectural sources Tuthill had to choose from were primarily academic, focusing on a particular style or historical period. The next section describes the state of architectural literature during the time Tuthill was preparing her History and provides an indication of the challenges she faced as a writer and historian.

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[161] In a letter to the New York publishers D. Appleton and Co., Tuthill comments on the readership of Wreaths and Branches, a manuscript written by her daughter, Cornelia. After remarking on the "sickly sentimentality" of another author's work, which had "disgusted" the publishers on a different occasion, Tuthill offers insight into the contemporary literary market. "It [Cornelia's book] will be read by that class of readers who are not fond of didactic works on similar topics; for you are well aware that the taste of the reading public has changed so much within the present century, that those dry treatises on religious topics, formerly admired, are now laid upon the shelf." Tuthill to D. Appleton and Co., 2 July 1841, American Prose Writers Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Foreign and Domestic Precedents: the Thirties and Forties

At the end of the thirteenth chapter of the History, "Gothic or Pointed Architecture," Tuthill credits a long list of "authorities."[162] Whewell, Willis and the other writers she mentions were contributing to a tradition of religiously inspired architectural history writing, "a gradual rehabilitation of Gothic."[163] Since the early seventeenth century, when Sir William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth compiled studies of English monasteries, this tradition had developed into a broad critical discourse. Not only does Tuthill cite some of the earliest works in this tradition, such as Sir Henry Wotton's "The Elements of Architecture" (1624), but also Richard Payne Knight's "Progress of Civil Society" (1796), Thomas Rickman's "An Attempt to Descriminate the Styles of English Architecture" (1817), and Augustus Charles Pugin's "Specimens of Gothic Architecture" (1821). The work of Pugin's son, Augustus Welby, contributed to the Ecclesiological movement's efforts to restore traditional methods of

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[162] The complete list is as follows: "Britton's Architectural Antiquities, Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture, Denkmaler der Deutschen Bankhunst, Dr. Georg Moller, Willis on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, Loudon's Architectural Encyclopaedia, Rickman's Gothic Architecture, Rev. W. Whewell's Architectural Notes on German Churches, Plans, Elevations, etc. of the Church of Batalha, by James Murphy, Rich's Engraved and Coloured Cathedrals, Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, British Critic, &c., &c." Tuthill, History, 169. See Appendix I: Sources for the History.

[163] David Watkin, The Rise of Architectural History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 50. Though Watkin has very little to say on the origins of architectural history writing in America, his third chapter, "English Antiquarians and the Gothic Revival," provides a thorough outline of the discipline in England.

worshipping and building in the 1830s.[164] Though Tuthill was well supplied with specialized sources on ancient, neoclassical and Gothic architecture, she seems not to have consulted some of the more comprehensive English examples of aesthetic historiography published in the twenties, thirties and forties. James Elmes' Lectures on Architecture Comprising the History of the Art from the Earliest Times to the Present Day was available in 1823, while William Smith's The Origin and Progress of Architecture reached English shelves in 1840. These histories may have provided models for Tuthill, but she does not directly cite from the texts. In general, Tuthill seems to have taken what she needed from the sources available; she abridged "Stuart's Dictionary of Architecture" for her glossary and similarly condensed "Milizia's Lives of the Architects" for her own "biography of eminent architects."[165]

Despite the lack of American women writing about architecture, Tuthill did not see herself alone in the field.[166] She writes, "I am happy to say that I am not the only lady who has written on This Art. Several valuable works in Europe have had a similar origin and we owe the

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[164] For a detailed discussion of the history behind the Ecclesiological movement and Pugin's influence in America see Phoebe Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 3-91.

[165] Robert Stuart [Robert Meikleham], Dictionary of Architecture, 3 vols. (London: Jones and Co., 1830); Mrs. Edward Cresy, trans., Francesco Milizia, The Lives of Celebrated Architects (London, 1826).

[166] But Tuthill may not have been aware of Margaret Fuller's articles on art and aesthetics, which were contributed to The Dial (Boston) the year before her letter. These include "A Record of Impressions Produced by the Exhibition of Mr. Allston's Pictures in the Summer of 1839," 1 (July 1840): 73-84 and "The Athenaeum Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture," 1 (October 1840): 260-64. Fuller was also influenced by the work of Anna Jameson. See Claire Richter Sherman, ed., Women As Interpreters of the Visual Arts 1820-1979 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 123-146.

translation of Milizia's Lives of the Architects to an English Lady."[167] One "lady" Tuthill may have been thinking of is Anna Jameson (1794-1860), the well-known English art historian. In 1840, Jameson edited Peter Paul Rubens: His Life and Genius by G. F. Waagen. Her earlier work includes histories of women related to artists, The Loves of the Poets (1829) and The Diary of an Ennuyee (1826), which may have been modeled after Madame de Stael's Corinne, or Italy (1807).[168] A frequently cited nineteenth-century novel, Corinne includes lengthy descriptions of ancient buildings and monuments accompanied by theoretical observations. Though neither Jameson nor de Stael wrote architectural histories, their work illustrates a significant concern for architecture and aesthetic theory.[169]

Mrs. Edward Cresy (Eliza) prefaced her translation of Milizia's Lives by explaining the need for an English edition of the book. "There being in the English language no biographical history devoted to Architects, either ancient or modern, it appeared, that a translation from the best work, embracing such subjects, would be an acceptable addition to the libraries both of architects and amateurs."[170] Rather than treating translation as

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[167] Tuthill to Carey and Hart, 15 February 1841, Gratz Collection.

[168] For more information on the life of Anna Jameson and a bibliography of her work, see Sherman, ed., Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 93-119. This source includes information on another Englishwoman, Lady Maria Calcott, who also wrote about art and architecture in the thirties. Her writings include A Description of Giotto's Chapel at Padua (1835) and Essays Towards the History of Painting (1836).

[169] Tuthill included excerpts from the work of Madame de Stael ("Corinne at the Capitol," "Female Authorship") and Mrs. Jameson ("Semiramis") in her The Young Lady's Reader (1839) published two years before the letter.

[170] Mrs. Edward Cresy, trans., Francesco Milizia, The Lives of Celebrated Architects, vol. 1 (London: J. Taylor Architectural Library, High Holborn, 1826), preface.

a passive task, Cresy describes her choice of text as the fulfillment of an important aesthetic need. Perhaps Cresy's introduction inspired Tuthill to contribute to the libraries of a similar audience.[171]

Tuthill may also have been encouraged by an anonymous article from the Foreign Quarterly Review cited in her preface. The article discusses women and architecture in the context of a variety of subjects that interest Tuthill--the need to reach a popular audience, the importance of education and the demand for a national school. After speculating on reasons for the lack of women architects, the author footnotes an exception to his argument:

> By way of making some amends for the not very gallant tone of the above observations, and that we may pay a compliment where it is so well merited, we cannot resist citing here the example of a lady of rank, whose devoted application to, and proficiency in the study of architecture, form an exception to our rule. Under the tasteful direction of Lady Stafford, who has had a greater share in the designs than, perhaps, we are warrented in alluding to, Costessey Hall has become one of the richest and purest specimens of domestic Gothic in the kingdom, and from its architectural variety and splendour deserves to be entitled the Windsor of Norfolk.[172]

Lady Stafford does not seem to have written about architecture, but she was an acknowledged contributor to the profession. The article's approval of Stafford and positive evaluation of women's participation in the art

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[171] Cresy's preface continues: "The whole forms an entire history of the progress of architecture, from its commencement to the present period; which, if illustrated by drawings and engravings, would become a most useful guide to the young practitioner, and a complete parallel of the art. They should be arranged to suit the chronological order adopted in the text, and may be easily obtained; portraits of persons and representations of the buildings being by no means rare."

[172] "Modern Architecture and Architectural Study," The Foreign Quarterly Review, 7 (April 1831): 443.

suggest the existence of a supportive audience for Tuthill's work, particularly in England.[173]

The year Tuthill's second edition of Architecture appeared under Howe's name, the Englishman J.S. Memes' History of Sculpture, Painting and Architecture (1831) was reprinted in America. Memes' work is notable in its attempt to establish an historical foundation for the arts, but does not consider American architecture. During the years leading up to the History, books on more specialized topics were issued, including several dealing with schoolhouse architecture, technical subjects and specific buildings.[174] In 1834, William Dunlap introduced his Rise of the Arts of Design, an extensive catalog of American artists.[175] The book describes recent American buildings and includes biographical accounts of Town and Davis, among others. Dunlap was more interested in providing biographical accounts of artists and architects and documenting the progress of American art institutions than in commenting on architectural styles or historical precedents. Just the year before, the Scottish-born tastemaker J.C. Loudon published his Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and

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[173] Frances Henrietta Jerningham, Lady Stafford (d. 1832), is mentioned in a brief description of Costessey Hall, a "red brick neo-Gothic and Tudor" mansion originally built in 1564 and transformed by J. Chester Buckler's additions between 1826 and 1855. "The design was largely influenced by Lady Stafford." See John Kenworthy-Browne, ed., Burke's and Savill's Guide to Country Houses, vol. 3 (London: Burke's Peerage, Ltd., 1981), 100-01.

[174] Examples include Henry Barnard's School-house Architecture (1842) and School Architecture (1848), M. Wyman's A Practical Treatise on Ventilation (1846) and Ammi B. Young's New Custom House, Boston (1840). For a complete list, see Hitchcock's Architectural Books.

[175] William Dunlap, History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States (1834; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1965). Tuthill cites Dunlap's book in The Artist, 15, 86.

Villa Architecture, a stylebook precedent for Downing's later work.[176] Loudon's Encyclopaedia and his writings on landscape gardening and cemeteries provide practical instruction in, as well as the theory of, "romantic" English architecture.

The acceptance and spread of Romanticism in America is dramatically indicated by Alexander Jackson Davis' Rural Residences, Etc. (1837).[177] Davis' book, modeled after the English examples, presented Americanized "English Collegiate" and "Rustic Cottage" "patterns" to the public for the first time.[178] The eight plates in Rural Residences not only introduced building forms unfamiliar to Americans, but also a new format for selling architectural styles. Statistics and suggestions are included beneath the elevation of each carefully drawn building; the presentation delicately balances the artist's romantic sensibility with his more practical aim. Rural Residences was soon superseded in length and detail by Andrew Jackson Downing's Cottage Residences (1842). Along with A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, published the year before, these became the models for the popular contemporary "pattern" or

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[176] Examples of cottages "transferred, with some alterations, from Loudon's `Encyclopaedia of Architecture,'" appear in a popular Boston periodical, The Pictorial National Library, 12 (July 1848): 42-3, 100.

[177] In his prefatory "advertisement," Davis writes: "The Greek temple form, perfect in itself, and well adapted as it is to public edifices, and even to town mansions, is inappropriate for country residences, and yet it is the only style ever attempted in our more costly habitations. The English collegiate style, is for many reasons to be preferred." Alexander Jackson Davis, Rural Residences, Etc. Consisting of designs, original and selected, for cottages, farm-houses, villas and village churches. (1837; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), preface.

[178] One obvious English precedent is John B. Papworth's Rural Residences, Consisting of a Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages, Small Villas and other Ornamental Buildings (London: Printed for A. Ackermann, 1818).

stylebook. Whereas Benjamin's architectural details allowed any carpenter to become an "architect," Downing's drawings gave "the common man" plans for a range of house styles. As the preface to Cottage Residences explains, the book was intended to raise the aesthetic level of domestic architecture in America by providing tasteful and affordable homes for the average citizen. Though Downing's book includes preliminary chapters on "The Principle of Utility or Fitness," "Different Styles in Architecture," and "The Most Suitable Styles for this Country," the majority of the book is devoted to specific designs.[179] In the 1850s, Downing's popular cottages appeared in the women's magazines The Happy Home and Parlour Magazine and Godey's Lady's Book;[180] his popular books were emulated by prominent Victorian builders including Henry William Cleaveland and Henry Hudson Holly.[181] Compared with Downing's domestic stylebook and its imitations, Louisa Tuthill's History displays a variety of historical examples and building types. Like Downing, Tuthill was familiar with the work of John Claudius Loudon, whose Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture (1833) includes both detailed plans and short essays. Downing imitated Loudon's production in style, format and content, but Tuthill merely incorporated him as one of her "authorities" on taste. Downing's similar domestic theme allowed him to adapt foreign principles to

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[179] Andrew Jackson Downing, Cottage Residences (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842).

[180] "Architecture," The Happy Home and Parlour Magazine, 3 (1856): xli-xlvi.

[181] Henry William Cleaveland, Village and Farm Cottages (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1856) reprinted in 1864, 1866, 1869. Henry Hudson Holly, Holly's Country Seats (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1863) reprinted, 1866.

American requirements. Tuthill's more extensive history could not rely on a single model.[182]

Benson Lossing's Outline History of the Fine Arts (1842) is the closest American precedent for the History of Architecture.[183] Unlike Dunlap, Lossing attempts to write a history of all the arts as they developed historically up to the present day. It soon becomes clear, however, that he has spread himself too thin; of the one hundred and thirteen pages devoted to architecture, only a few paragraphs discuss American buildings. After noting that "the Domestic Architecture of the United States presents a limited field either for the historian or the student," Lossing describes the "western emigrant's" first crude cabins.[184] "The finest specimen of our architecture at the commencement of the present century," the capitol at Washington, is considered too familiar to merit description. Despite America's slow start in aesthetics, Lossing is positive about the future of American architecture indicated by recently constructed Classical buildings. Girard College in Philadelphia and the Custom House and Merchant's Exchange of New York are "in progress of erection, and when completed will be every way worthy of the wealth, taste, and growing public spirit and enterprise of the people of

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[182] For a more thorough consideration of Rural Residences and its significance and a history of the partnership between Davis and Downing, see William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and Their Architects, Technology and the Picturesque (New York: Anchor Books, 1980), 296-431.

[183] Benson John Lossing (1813-1891) worked as a wood engraver, artist and author in New York. He wrote his Outline History, no. 103 of Harper's Family Library, while editor and illustrator of The Weekly Family Magazine. For a full biography see DAB, s.v. "Lossing, Benson."

[184] Benson Lossing, Outline History of the Fine Arts (1840; reprint, New York: Harper and Bros., 1845), 109.

this country."[185] Like Tuthill, Lossing glosses over the "dependent" Colonial period to dwell on the "numerous" public buildings that indicate "permanent" cultural achievement.[186]

If Tuthill knew of Lossing's book, its publication could only have further convinced her of the need for a history devoted solely to architecture, the foundation of the other arts included in Lossing's survey. Judging from her determination to build a national aesthetic, Tuthill would have been pleased with Lossing's emphasis on American achievement in the arts. However, his book could not have satisfied her vision of the "much needed" history of American architecture.[187] That space on the shelf of "every family library" was left for her to fill.

The First History of Architecture in the United States

The September 4, 1847, issue of The Literary World contains two small advertisements for books "L. & B. have in preparation to be issued this fall."[188] One of these is The Mirror of Life; the other "A History of Architecture, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time, with numerous

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[185] Lossing, Outline History, 112.

[186] Lossing also seems to have shared many of Tuthill's interests, particularly her fascination with biography. In his Pictorial Field Book of the American Revolution (1850-2), Lossing describes the personal and professional lives of numerous patriots including Timothy Pickering, General Stark and Joel Barlow. Lossing also wrote Our Countrymen, or Brief Memoirs of Eminent Americans (1855).

[187] In a letter to the publishers Carey and Hart Tuthill writes, "No work of this kind has hitherto appeared in the United States, and you will find, Gentlemen, that it is much needed." Tuthill to Carey and Hart, 15 February 1841, Gratz Collection.

[188] The Literary World, 2 (4 September 1847), 98.

illustrations, forming a handsome 8vo. volume." Closer to its date of publication, the History was advertised more extensively. The December 25, 1847 notice reads "Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia publish the following new and beautiful works: A Beautiful Architectural Work, with nearly 200 illustrations."[189] The advertisement reprints the title page, along with quotations and excerpts from Tuthill's preface. Only the last few sentences were written by the publisher, but these change the perception of the text significantly: ". . . among its illustrations will be found specimens of the architecture of all ages and all countries; it will give to the man of education a general knowledge of the science, and to the scientific man, much that is valuable."[190]

Both in her letter to the publishers Carey and Hart and in the preface to the History, Tuthill comments that hers is the first history of architecture in America. The History is also the first time Louisa Tuthill articulates the main points of her aesthetic agenda. The need for native American art--demonstrated by her early children's books and The Mirror of Life--is clearly associated with the necessity for improved education so ardently expressed in her books for young ladies. In her letter to Carey and Hart offering a manuscript with the tentative title "Architecture, Ancient and Modern: The past and present condition of the Art in the United States, with plans for its improvement," Tuthill describes the kind of audience she hopes to reach. The history is "designed for general circulation, and not alone for artists" with the object of "bringing the topic

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[189] The Literary World, 2 (25 December 1847), 502.

[190] The Literary World, 502.

before readers of all classes."[191] Though the manuscript described in this letter differs significantly from the History published by Lindsay and Blakiston six years later, the completed book also addressed a wide variety of Americans. Her appeal to "the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the novelist, the traveller, the reader and the writer of books of travels and history," "the ladies" and "the young men of our country" is aimed at increasing the number of educated patrons.[192] Ultimately, Tuthill relies on "the people themselves" "to employ and remunerate" the "scientific architects" who will create a native American architecture.[193] The preface suggests that this "addition to every family library" provides the reader with the aesthetic education necessary to accomplish this goal.[194]

Louisa Tuthill had practical reasons for wanting her book published in Philadelphia. The letter to Carey and Hart acknowledges the city's "lead in cultivating a correct taste in Architecture," before revealing "that however, is not my sole inducement, of course, in offering it to you for publication. There are no artists in this State [CT] whose woodcuts are sufficiently accurate and spirited to illustrate such a Work. The facilities which you enjoy, for bringing out a Book of this kind, in a fine style, are superior, I am told, to those of most other publishers in the Union."[195] Clearly, Tuthill had a particular idea about the quality of her book and the kind of audience it would attract; she was willing to spend time and money

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[191] Tuthill to Carey and Hart, 15 February 1841, Gratz Collection.

[192] Tuthill, History, viii-ix.

[193] Tuthill, History, ix.

[194] Tuthill, History, ix.

[195] Tuthill to Carey and Hart, 15 February 1841, Gratz Collection.

cultivating "a fine style." Though Carey and Hart must have declined the manuscript, the Philadelphia publishers Lindsay and Blakiston did hire local delineators and engravers to produce some of the 46 steel engravings and 102 wood engravings.

As her concern for the embellishments in The Mirror of Life indicates, Tuthill thought of illustrations as an integral part of her work; engravings by native artists literally illustrated national progress in the arts. The majority of the plates depicting recent buildings are signed "Dreser, sc., "W. Dreser," "WD," "E. Robyn," or simply "Robyn."[196] These signatures belong to the Philadelphia firm of William Dreser and Edward Robyn. As some sources date their partnership from 1848, Dreser and Robyn's work for Lindsay and Blakiston must have been one of their first commissions.[197] Another pair of local artists produced at least two of the "wood-cuts" appearing in the History, both Elizabethan villas.

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[196] Of the thirteen engravings of contemporary American buildings, either Dreser or Robyn executed the following eight: Plate XXII, Monument Cemetery Chapel, Phil. (on the same page as "New Church," England), XXIV, Trinity Church, XVI, The Athenaeum at Phil., XXVII, The Athenaeum at Connecticut, XXVIII, Yale College Library, XXXI, Mansion of James Dundas Esq., Phil., XXXII, Mansion of Matthew Newkirk, and XXXIII, Entrance to the Cemetery at New Haven. The only contemporary views not engraved by the firm are Bute Cottage and Glenn Cottage, which were originally drawn by Hammatt Billings for William Lang's Views (1845). The illustrations of Swedes Church, Girard College and the Bank of North America are unsigned.

[197] Dreser was born in Germany around 1820 and immigrated to Philadelphia before 1847. For the next three years he operated a lithography business with Prussian born Edward Robyn. At the turn of the century, Robyn, who was also an engraver, portrait and landscape painter, moved to St. Louis and established a similar business with his brother. See George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 189 and 542. For descriptions of architectural views executed by the engravers' See Nicholas B. Wainwright, Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1958), 145, 173.

Reuben S. Gilbert is listed under his own name in the 1833 Philadelphia Business Directory; in 1845 he was joined by William B. Gihon. The firm, which signed its work "G&G" or "Gilbert & Gihon," seems to have been employed primarily by Carey and Hart and Lindsay and Blakiston. Only two engravings in the History are signed by them, but "G&G" may have executed some of the unidentified "cuts."[198]

During the early nineteenth century, it was common practice to re-engrave images anonymously; the original source was seldom attributed. A good example of such practice is provided by the title page of Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture; the image of "Indra Subba, at Ellora" is signed "Engraved by N. & S.S. Jocelyn."[199] The plate was reproduced for the History without a signature. The wood engravings of English domestic architecture appear in the supplement to Loudon's Encyclopaedia (1842) [See Plate 4].[200] The plates of Bute cottage and the

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[198] The "wood-cuts" are actually wood engravings. For a contextual account of contemporary American engravers and information on the engraving process see Sinclair Hamilton, Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670-1870., vol. 1, Main Catalogue (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968). Other signed illustrations include a "New England Meeting House" by "Hooper." Though his whereabouts in 1847 are unclear, a John E. Hooper was an active "portrait and miniature painter" in 1844. The work may have been done by Edward Hooper (1829-1870), a wood engraver and watercolor painter in the New York area. See Groce, Dictionary of Artists, 325.

[199] Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796-1881), a painter and engraver, established the National Bank Note Engraving Company in New Haven. Between 1829 and 1830 Jocelyn opened a local studio, where he produced several award-winning paintings. See DAB, s.v. "Jocelyn, Nathaniel." William Dunlap in his account of Jocelyn states that "Mr. Jocelyn is established at New Haven; and has, in 1834, the most eligible suite of rooms for his painting and exhibition of any artist I know of . . .". See Dunlap, History, 110-11.

[200] The buildings were designed by E.B. Lamb, esq., an architect who worked closely with Loudon. They appear in the supplement to the Encyclopaedia, first published in 1842 and reprinted in 1846. Design I. A Villa in the Swiss Style, Encyclopaedia, 1185, History, 280; Design 30.

"wood-cuts" of small rustic buildings are from William Lang's Views, with Ground Plans, of the Highland Cottages at Roxbury (1845).[201] The illustration of Glenn Cottage taken from Lang's Views omits the woman and child hidden in the trees of Bufford's lithograph and includes Dreser's signature in the lower right corner [See Plate 5]. Most likely, all of the Lang designs were re-engraved by Dreser. Contemporary views of buildings by the local lithographers, Dreser and Robyn, were probably executed specifically for the History.

When Louisa Tuthill first sent out her manuscript in 1841, the publishing firm of Lindsay and Blakiston did not exist. Presley Blakiston and Robert Lindsay opened up shop at the corner of 4th and Chestnut in July of 1843.[202] Previously, Blakiston had worked in the same location for Carey and Lea. After seventeen years with the firm, Blakiston bought the company and hired Lindsay, a local bookbinder. During their first years, the new publishers accepted mostly religious and theological

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The Home Lodge at Chequers Court, Encyclopaedia, 1173, History, 275 and 279 (north and east elevations); Cottage, Encyclopaedia, 1164, History, 276.

[201] Lang's Views includes plans and elevations of three cottages, an observatory and several outbuildings. The illustrations are by Hammatt Billings and the lithography by J.H. Bufford. Views, with Ground Plans, of the Highland Cottages at Roxbury, (Near Boston), Designed and erected by William Bailey Lang (Boston: L.H. Bridgham and H.E. Felch, 1845). The following Lang designs appear in the History, "Bute Cottage," Plate XXIX; "Glenn Cottage," Plate XXX; "a play-house for children," fig. 42 (286); "a small garden house," fig 43 (287); "a rustic arbour," fig. 44 (287); "a pump house," fig. 45 (288). Tuthill's small garden house is called "the carpenter's shop" in Views; she also renames the rustic bower and the children's cottage or play room.

[202] One Hundred Years, 1843-1943 (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1943).

material connected with the Evangelical Lutheran Church.[203] In 1848, within a year of the time Louisa Tuthill moved to Philadelphia, the company was listed in McElroy's Philadelphia Directory as "LINDSAY & BLAKISTON, booksellers and stationers, N W 4th and Chestnut, and bookbinders, 253 High."[204] After only five years, the publishers already needed more space. While the "retail store" remained at the Chestnut location, the "mechanical facilities" were moved "to the three upper floors of another building on Market Street, between Sixth and Seventh."[205]

History of Architecture form the Earliest Times; its Present Conditions in Europe and the United States; with A Biography of Eminent Architects, and a Glossary of Architectural Terms is an ambitious book. The three hundred and thirty-eight pages of text are divided into twenty-eight chapters sprinkled with "numerous illustrations."[206] The History includes a biography of architects "taken principally from Milizia" and an illustrated glossary "abridged from Stuart's 'Dictionary of Architecture.' "Though scholars have pointed out the History's "idiosyncracies," and criticized it as "little more than a catalogue of buildings," the book is

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[203] John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, vol. 1 (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1972), 378; See also DLB, s.v. "The Blakiston Company."

[204] "McElroy's Philadelphia, PA Directory," 1848, microprint 1138:2, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[205] Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing, 378. In February, 1851, Lindsay and Blakiston hired popular architect Thomas Ustick Walter to design their new store at 25 S. 6th Street. For details of the work and a contemporary engraving of the five-story building see Folder 337, Thomas Ustick Walter Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

[206] See Figure 1, the History's complete table of contents.

CONTENTS.

Figure 1. Table of Contents
From Tuthill, History.

Table of Contents, continued.

actually quite comprehensive.[207] Considering that she takes on the entire history of the art, as well as contemporary architecture and theory, Tuthill manages to synthesize a large amount of material. The primary idiosyncracy is her decision to tackle both history and criticism. Throughout the History, Tuthill judges the taste of ancient civilizations, retrospectively "predicting" its impact on contemporary architecture. In "Qualifications for an Architect," she alludes to the future state of the profession. "Arrangements of a City" emphasizes the importance of urban planning, an unexplored topic in this context.[208] "Cemeteries" anticipates the future interest in monuments as artifacts embodying social history. Tuthill is serious about her historical scholarship, but she is most interested in using history to effect contemporary change.

Many of the text's idiosyncracies--the author's subjectivity and eclectic choice of sources--are characteristic of nineteenth-century literature. Tuthill's effort to include contemporary references and buildings contributes to organizational disjunctures. Because she refers to Ithiel Town's library in the Carey and Hart letter, twentieth-century bibliographies have emphasized Tuthill's use of this resource. As her authorship of Architecture has shown, however, Tuthill worked with many

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[207] Doumato, "Louisa Tuthill's Unique Achievement," 8; Gilchrist, "Tuthill," Notable American Women, 488.

[208] Tuthill begins her twenty-seventh chapter with "hints on the founding and arrangement of a city" from "the Italian architectural writer Milizia." Although she quotes Milizia at length, Tuthill re-organizes his work, condensing certain sections and borrowing from others. She integrates American architecture into the discussion by alternating Milizia's words with several paragraphs of her own critique. See Tuthill, History, 314-321; Milizia, Lives, liv-lviii.

architectural books long before the library was constructed.[209] She probably used the library during the late 1830s and definitely completed her research before 1844, when the collection was auctioned off after Town's death.[210] The sources contained in Town's library would have been most useful for the European section of the history. However, Tuthill's letter suggests that only the American part was completed at that time. In any case, much of Tuthill's American material was taken from sources after 1843. Whatever the first manuscript contained, it was considerably updated for final publication.

The ambitiousness of Tuthill's text is also a factor of her education. Obviously literary, Tuthill not only kept in touch with foreign progress in the arts, but also with contemporary fiction, travellers' accounts and biography.[211] She read periodicals like The Edinburgh Review and The Westminster Review, chronicles of journeys such as, "A year in Spain by an American," and the popular poets, Cowper, M.F. Tupper and Mrs. Hemens. Her narrative sources appeal to the common reader, who becomes

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[209] According to H. Allen Brooks, the New Haven villa was constructed between 1836 and 1837. Though Town had been gathering books for many years, this is the famous library Tuthill mentions. See Brooks, "Town's New Haven Villa," JSAH 13 (March 1954): 27-8.

[210] An inventory of Town's library is on file at the New Haven Colony Historical Society. The Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University owns Catalogs advertising the books in Town's collection put up for auction by New York booksellers.

[211] A sampling of authors in the Tuthill family library is provided by Sarah Tuthill's commonplace book. Sarah copies excerpts from Emerson, Dickens, Lessing, Carlyle, Herbert, Johnson, Fanny Kemble, Mrs. Oliphant, Goethe, Hannah More, John Stuart Mills and Elizabeth Barrett among others. As titles like Life of Marie Antoinette, Life of Michael Angelo and Lives of the Painters suggest, the Tuthills were avid readers of biography. See Sarah Tuthill's Commonplace book, Bancroft Library Manuscript Collection, University of California at Berkeley.

a participant in contemporary discoveries, part of "living history." In accordance with her educational purpose, Tuthill creates a critical report of current events--a record of artistic progress--as much as a scholarly work. She maintains a balance between subjective criticism and empirical fact by continually reminding the reader of the limits restricting the space allocated to certain topics. The following discussion of Tuthill's History is limited to the themes she found most important throughout her work--origins, education, and the cultivation of taste.

Towards A National Architecture

Chapter One, "Origin and Progress of Architecture," begins with a definition of architecture based on cultural evolution. When men required shelter for mere subsistence, architecture was a mechanic art. Once basic needs were satisfied, progress elevated building to "an ornamental or fine art." This comparative view of history, already demonstrated in Architecture, allows Tuthill "objectively" to judge the architecture of "primitive" cultures.[212] Despite her declaration that "respecting the origin and early practice of this art, historical testimony affords no aid," Tuthill offers several hypothetical beginning points.[213] As in

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[212] For the background behind this conception of a progressive, relative history particularly concerned with origins see Peter Collins' chapter "The Influence of Historiography," in Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture (1965; reprint, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 29-41.

[213] See Joseph Rykwert's On Adam's House in Paradise for a history and analysis of the extensive literature on architectural origins. Rykwert mentions Frank Lloyd Wright's "origin myth" in the context of American transcendentalism but does not discuss the earlier American adaptation of

Architecture, Adam and Eve's bower is the first original structure. Tuthill suggests that aspects of nature--hollow trees, caves, and trees growing close together--provided models for the first man-made shelters. Primitive man might have tied the tops of trees together and filled the spaces with branches. Like Asher Benjamin, Tuthill describes an American "primitive hut."

> The wigwams of our North American Indians are only one step in advance of this kind of shelter. They cut down the trees, place them in a circular form, fasten them together at the top, interweave branches "to fence up the verdant wall," and fill the interstices with clay.[214]

After discussing other early building types--the domed Caffre huts and tents--Tuthill emphasizes the importance of the basic post and beam house form. This "mighty step" in building construction became the framework of the Greek temple, which is "only an ornamented copy of the oblong house with its upright posts."[215] Using the Greek temple as a model, Tuthill describes a tradition of "log cabin" building that reaches back into ancient history; she establishes the American backwoodsman's chosen mode of

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the primitive hut--the log cabin described in the work of Benjamin and Tuthill. Rykwert's concise comments on the primitive hut as a nationalistic symbol place architectural theory within the contemporary Romantic thought that influenced Tuthill; he demonstrates that the ideas expressed in Ruskin's "Poetry of Architecture" are apparent in the work of Madame de Stael, De Quincey, Coleridge and Wordsworth. See Rykwert, On Adam's House in Paradise (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), 33-7.

[214] Tuthill, History, 19.

[215] Tuthill, History, 21. Tuthill may have found her precedent for the "log cabin" model in William Chamber's A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture (1791). See "The Primitive Buildings" in Chambers, Treatise (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968). Joseph Hall takes the natural analogy even further in his Essay on the Origin, History, and Principles, of Gothic Architecture (1813); the "natural" supremacy of Gothic is illustrated by trees bent into patterns of Gothic tracery and woven into dense walls. See Hall, Essay (London: W. Bulmer, 1813), Plate LVII.

construction within a "classic" architectural legacy. Tuthill concludes this chapter with sub-sections on two ancient cities, Babylon and Nineveh. In both cases, she refers to the accounts of "sacred history" and those provided by travellers. For Tuthill, the intersection of the ancient text and the contemporary report results in a truthful, "useful" conclusion. "Sacred history is thus constantly being verified by the discoveries of modern travellers, and Prophecy is confirmed. We rejoice that Sculpture and Architecture were so skillfully practiced in bygone ages, for we are thus put into communication with them, and enjoy a retrospective clairvoyance."[216] By matching sacred origin "myths" with contemporary accounts, Tuthill achieves a powerful connection between past and present. Her comparative view of history is partially based on Christian prophecy.[217]

When Tuthill begins the American section of the History, she confronts the problem of writing history. Although Tuthill consulted histories of architecture in other countries, she was without a model discussing architecture in America. As Tuthill believed that the progress of society transformed arch "from age to age," she needed to develop her own methodology for approaching an unexplored architecture. She begins her chapter on American origins with a statement of the problem. "In tracing the progress of the art in the United States, we are upon almost untrodden ground, where only a few faint footsteps can be

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[216] Tuthill, History, 26.

[217] Collins traces this idea back to Medieval scholars who conceived of the "Divine Plan" in historical periods, which were later interpreted into architectural styles. See Changing Ideals, 30.

discovered."[218] By adapting the work of American historians, such as George Bancroft's "History of the United States" for some of her facts, Tuthill documents the hardships and architectural successes of the early colonists. In a systematic fashion, she describes the origins of the Plymouth Colony, the New Haven Colony, New York and Philadelphia. The end of her account foreshadows her treatment of Colonial architecture, a subject she generally avoids. "Thus we see, that improvements were slowly made for the space of one hundred years."[219] Only after she has exhausted her early sources does Tuthill offer her own view of past building. Her final section, "style of building," offers a passing critique of Colonial architecture.

Like her contemporaries, Louisa Tuthill did not recognize Colonial building as part of America's architectural heritage. The search for a native style never included the "wooden enormities"--meeting houses, mansions and other buildings--that dated back to the previous century. While Tuthill proudly describes the very earliest "origins" of American culture, she ignores the buildings constructed when America was still under English rule. Tuthill's description of the "galling" "manacles" of England in the next chapter suggests she did not view Colonial architecture as truly American. The concerns of England and of basic survival--the dictates of necessity--forced the colonists to erect cheap, wooden buildings without concern for comfort or appearance. The "dark, cold, and dreary" schoolhouses she criticizes at the end of the chapter represent a state of mind as well as building. It becomes clear by the end of her critique that

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[218] Tuthill, History, 228.

[219] Tuthill, History, 235.

Tuthill purposefully emphasizes the lowly state of Colonial architecture to heighten the reader's impression of contemporary progress. The benefits of permanent building materials, which represent an established aesthetic tradition, are particularly convincing when juxtaposed with dilapidated and temporary wooden buildings.[220]

The beginning of the next chapter, "Causes Which Retarded the Progress of Art in the United States," recalls Tuthill's earlier distinction between the mechanical and the ornamental stages of architecture.[221] During decades of struggle for survival, the colonists "were in no condition to cultivate anything but the soil upon which they trod."[222] Americans' natural ingenuity eventually produced a tradition of mechanical innovation. After extensive praise of the civilized Yankee's achievements, Tuthill

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[220] In his thorough study of the Colonial Revival, William Rhoads cites Tuthill's comments on Colonial buildings as an example of contemporary prejudice against early American architecture. See Rhoads, The Colonial Revival, (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), 2. As Rhoads shows, the popular attitude toward Colonial buildings began to change soon after the Philadelphia Centennial celebration, where nearly ten million people viewed representative Colonial state pavilions.

[221] The introduction to Views in New York (1831), a contemporary description of the city by architect James Dakin and New York Mirror editor Theodore S. Fay, predicted the end of America's dependency on foreign countries fifteen years earlier. The nation's slow start in the arts is explained by its economic progress. "The capital which has hitherto rushed impetuously through the channels of business, will now flow in pursuit of elegance and pleasure, and may be easily directed to the cultivation of the Arts and Sciences." See Theodore Fay, Views in New York (New York: Peabody and Co., 1831), introduction. A stylebook contemporary with Tuthill's History offers a similar opinion: "As improvements progress and property accumulates, the opportunity and means are afforded to add conveniences, comforts and ornaments." See William Ranlett, The Architect. vol. 1 (New York: William H. Graham, 1847), introduction.

[222] Tuthill, History, 245. Tuthill introduces her chapter "Cultivation of Taste" with a similar concept: "In every country the useful arts must first occupy attention; as wealth and luxury increase, the ornamental follow." See The Young Lady's Home, 81.

warns her fellow Americans of the danger of luxury and restlessness. She suggests that America follow other "enlightened republics" in the cultivation of the fine arts. Historical examples of foreign cultures provide the model.

> We have seen the unrivalled excellence to which Greece exalted the fine arts during her republican might. No nation has yet surpassed her; but it is not impossible that this may yet be done by the United States; for since the decline of Greece, no people have ever been more favourably situated for the accomplishment of great designs.[223]

Of course, such success depends on the education of the upper classes in artistic appreciation. Tuthill concludes this chapter with an explanation for her decision to write about architecture, rather than the fine arts. "Among the arts of design, Architecture must precede Painting and Sculpture: they are but the handmaidens who decorate her palaces, her capitols, her churches."[224] Not only will education in architecture visibly alter the physical environment, but also correspondingly elevate the other arts. Tuthill's book is designed to educate public taste and create a demand for professional architects. Part Three of this study discusses the "general principles" of Tuthill's architectural theory.

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[223] Tuthill, History, 248.

[224] Tuthill, History, 249.

Part III: General Principles

> The scientific geologist reduces the whole to order. He discovers the regular strata of rocks covering the globe, and demonstrates the uniformity of the series, from the imperishable granite, to the crumbling sandstone upon its surface. Lay down first principles as the granite foundation, upon which you are to build the whole superstructure of knowledge.[225]

Throughout her writings, Louisa Tuthill reduces the whole to order by laying down general principles. She recommends her readers do the same. The Young Lady's Home describes a "Mneumonica or Common-Place Book" for recording "facts, sentiments, and principles" under the appropriate headings.[226] In Success in Life. The Lawyer, young men are told to monitor their moral and intellectual progress in commonplace books.[227] These commonplace books reappear in the hands of Tuthill's fictional characters who also enumerate principles in letters to mentors and friends. Such lists of "facts, sentiments, and principles" provided stability at a time before rigid professional and academic definition, when architects were still considered expensive "house-carpenters" and

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[225] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 26.

[226] In 1845, Tuthill presented her youngest daughter, Sarah, with a commonplace book. The book, Index Rerum or Index of Subjects; Intended as a Manual, to aid the Student and the Professional Man, introduces a "new," more efficient method for "young men" to organize extracts from their reading. Sarah Tuthill followed the instructions and created an "index," by author and subject, of literary quotations she found significant. See Sarah Tuthill's Commonplace book, Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[227] In Chapter Six of The Lawyer, Tuthill recommends that all young men keep a commonplace book regardless of profession. She provides a more specific description of the form and content of the book in Appendix A under "notes," 173. Success in Life. The Lawyer (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 53.

architectural history was not a discipline.[228] Part Three of this study is about Tuthill's use of principles to create aesthetic order, and to establish a foundation for the cultivation of taste.

The Concept of Taste

When Louisa Tuthill dedicated the History of Architecture to "the Ladies of the United States of America, Acknowledged Arbiters of Taste," she gave women an influential position with respect to American architecture. The growing contemporary interest in "taste" is illustrated by an article in The Foreign Quarterly Review, quoted by both Loudon and Tuthill, recommending that "ladies cultivate a taste for architecture."[229] Because the discourse on taste touched every aspect of culture--the characterization of a gentleman, the judgement of literature, the choice of bonnet to wear on Sunday--the elevation of American aesthetics depended on its requirements. Though the association of taste with insignificant trifles of fashion, as well as with the greatest works of art, made it applicable to almost any cultural subject, the actual principles defining and executing taste are less clear. In their eagerness to associate the elevation of taste with social and architectural improvement, many contemporary

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[228] Architect George Raymond is mistaken for a "house-carpenter" or "mechanic" in Tuthill's Reality; or the Millionaire's Daughter (New York: C. Scribner, 1856), 92-3.

[229] Loudon quotes "a clever architectural writer" from The Foreign Quarterly Review (April, 1831). See An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture . . . (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1833), 2. It is unclear whether Tuthill has taken her shorter quotation from Loudon or directly from the periodical source. History, viii.

writers neglected to specify the nature of either the concept or its result. The benefits of taste were assumed. Louisa Tuthill's dedication places her work within a contemporary effort to reform culture through the arbitration and cultivation of taste.

During the first half of the nineteenth-century, the cultivation and arbitration of taste was considered of national importance. American intellectuals inherited the English and Scottish traditions of scholarship on taste, a subject incorporated into the Romantic theory of associationism; Burke, Hume, Alison and others contributed to the complex discourse surrounding the judgement of beauty, the definition of imitation and related aesthetic issues.[230] "There are few subjects on which so much has been written that seem to be less understood, than the nature, the principles, and the objects of taste," writes a Boston reviewer of Archibald Alison's Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790).[231] The writer's description of Alison's thesis and criticism of a few minor points does little to clarify the issue. Thirty years later, a reprint of the same book was reviewed in Arthur's Ladies Magazine.[232] The article presents a summary of Alison's main points--the "direct expressions of mind" which

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[230] According to James Boulton, Burke "acknowledges the validity of associationism but emphatically denies that it explains all aesthetic response." While Burke and his followers analyzed taste, beauty, etc. through "sense experience," the associationists explored these concepts purely as mental phenomena. James T. Boulton, intro., A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757; reprint, London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), xxxiv.

[231] "Article 4," The General Repository and Review, 3 (January 1813): 139. This is a review of the American reprint. See Alison, Essays (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1812).

[232] "New Publications," Arthur's Ladies' Magazine of Elegant Literature and the Fine Arts, 3 (February 1845): 99-100. The reprint reviewed is Alison's Essays (New York: Harper and Bros., 1844).

result in pleasurable sensation. Perception is heightened through the principle of association, the relationship between an object and an individual's previous mental experience. Despite the vagueness of the field, both the Boston and the New Haven magazines considered the complex workings of aesthetics, and especially taste, worth interpreting for their readers. Over a thirty year period, the discourse surrounding taste and related aesthetic issues had grown to include both "ladies" and a slowly expanding group of architects.

Perhaps inspired by A. J. Downing's recently published treatises, popular periodicals of the forties discussed the meaning and importance of taste. Articles on art and architecture began to define national taste according to class, stylistic principles and the work of specific artists. The author of "The Architects and Architecture of New York" in Brother Jonathan magazine recognizes the broad scope of his subject. "Architectural taste, which is but an innate sense of fitness and propriety, applies not merely to the construction of a building, but to all its adjuncts and concomitants."[233] The body of the article is laid out around a large picture of a Maltese vase. This "elegant" and "tasteful" "concomitant" contributes to the overall effect of a villa. The owner of the vase, Mr. Donaldson, is also the proprietor of "perhaps the most tasteful villa residence in America," Blithewood near Tarrytown.[234] As the author goes on to explain, the good taste of the patron results in the employment of good architects like A.J. Davis, Blithewood's renovator. Though

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[233] "The Architects and Architecture of New York," Brother Jonathan, 5 (27 May 1843): 1.

[234] "The Architects," 1.

Andrew Jackson Downing and Ithiel Town are also working hard to elevate New York's architectural taste, the city's aesthetic future depends on the patrons, that is, the readers of Brother Jonathan. The author's promotion of these architects praises the tasteful qualities in their buildings--simplicity, fitness and arrangement.

While Brother Jonathan's article solves the problem of taste through bolstering the profession, an article appearing in the April 1843 issue of The New Englander attacks the aesthetic status quo from a different angle. Horace Bushnell writes "Taste and Fashion" with a specific agenda in mind--to prove that taste is not the whimsical equivalent of mere fashion. Bushnell strengthens his definition with religious and moral qualities. "It [taste] is that which distinguishes the glorious and fair in all earthly things, and especially their divinely constituted relation to truth and the life of mind."[235] Later, Bushnell calls architecture "an invention of human taste . . ." that requires "a high degree of intellectual culture."[236] In the second half of his article, a critique of the current state of building, Bushnell describes his criteria for good taste. Qualities like "fitness," "expression," "variety," and "harmony of parts" determine whether a building meets his aesthetic requirements.

Though more passionate than the scholarly descriptions modeled after Alison, Bushnell's characterization of taste is also drawn from a body of literature on the subject. By combining a picturesque attitude toward beauty with the Vitruvian demand for fitness, Bushnell blends classical and

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[235] Horace Bushnell,"Taste and Fashion," The New Englander, 1 (April 1843): 156.

[236] Bushnell, "Taste," 157.

romantic traditions. In architecture, the work of John Claudius Loudon illustrates a similar merging of classical principles with Romantic aesthetics. As the last section of the long title of his Encyclopaedia states, "Each design (is) accompanied by analytical and Critical remarks, illustrative of the Principles of Architectural Science and Taste of which it is composed."[237] These principles are discussed further in his critical essays (volume two) describing expression, purpose, use, truth and fitness. Loudon's chapter on "The Principles of Criticism in Architecture," defines taste as the factor determining differences in judgment; architectural quality is based on the development of "tasteful" principles.[238]

> The object of the present Book is, to collect, and to present in a systematic form, those leading principles of architectural criticism which have been scattered throughout the work. . . . [Later in the same paragraph he continues] . . .The use of the present work, in improving Domestic Architecture in Britain, America and Australia, will materially depend on its rendering the reading classes architectural critics; and more especially on the influence which it has, in this respect, in improving the taste of women."[239]

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[237] The full title is "An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture; containing Numerous Designs for Dwellings, From the Cottage to the Villa, Including Farm Houses, Farmeries, and other Agricultural Buildings; Several Designs for Country Inns, Public Houses and Parochial Schools; with the requisite fittings-up, fixtures and furniture; and Appropriate offices, Gardens and Garden Scenery; Each design accompanied by Analytical and Critical Remarks, illustrative of the Principles of Architectural Science and Taste of which it is composed," 1833, title page.

[238] Loudon also comments on taste in his architectural journal, effectively summarizing the route Tuthill has taken in her effort to elevate American aesthetics. He writes: "The first step, therefore, towards a just taste in architecture is, to know what has been done in this art in all other ages and countries, and to be able to form some idea of its present state throughout the world." See The Architectural Magazine, 1 (April 1834): 50.

[239] Loudon, Encyclopaedia, vol. 2, 1105.

Like the American reviewers, Loudon appeals to the patrons of architecture--women, practical men and the general reader. His educational principles touch on a variety of topics discussed by Tuthill--the origin of art in necessity, its progressive nature, and its governing principles.[240]

Because A. J. Downing and Tuthill both derived many of their architectural principles from Loudon, their aesthetic theory has much in common.[241] The preface of Downing's Cottage Residences emphasizes the role taste plays in shaping society. "What an unfailing barrier against vice, immorality, and bad habits, are those tastes which lead us to embellish a home . . .".[242] In his introduction, Downing establishes taste as the basis for "leading principles" connected with architecture. These principles include precepts Tuthill describes in her critique of domestic and public buildings: the "expression of purpose," "the beauty of utility," and especially "fitness, or use," which is "the first principle to be considered in all buildings."[243] Downing also read Loudon's Architectural Magazine and his description of adapting architecture to

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[240] Not only did Tuthill cite the Encyclopaedia, but also various editions of The Architectural Magazine edited by Loudon between 1834 and 1838. The first architectural magazine in either London or America, this was a cutting-edge critical source on aesthetic issues. See Ruth H. Kamen, British and Irish Architectural History, a Bibliography and Guide to Sources of Information (London: The Architectural Press, 1981), 184.

[241] Tuthill does not seem to have been familiar with Downing's work. In all of her books, Tuthill is consistent about citing her sources; unattributed material appears in quotation marks. The similarity between the authors' aesthetic theories emphasizes the contemporary popularity of such thought.

[242] Andrew Jackson Downing, Cottage Residences (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842), iii.

[243] Downing, Cottage Residences, 10.

climate and landscape corresponds to similar ideas promoted in the journal. Throughout this chapter, which proceeds his house designs, Downing shows how "correct taste" influences every aspect of architecture. His comments conclude with the observation that the perception of beauty in architecture derives from "the sentiment of architecture, or the associations connected with certain styles."[244] As will be discussed later in this study, Tuthill also focused on educating Americans in the taste necessary for them to choose architectural principles and perceive architectural associations. While Downing illustrated taste with exemplary house designs, Tuthill stressed the importance of a broad foundation in architectural history.

In her "cover" letter to Carey and Hart, Tuthill describes the purpose of her 1841 manuscript. "The object of it is to improve the public taste by bringing the topic before readers of all classes, and furnishing correct models of imitation."[245] Six years later, in the History, Tuthill quoted Alison to say that "the best way of effecting improvement in any art or science,". . .`is to multiply as far as possible those who can observe and judge.'"[246] Following both Loudon and Alison, Tuthill addresses a broad audience of aesthetically illiterate readers. Although Downing also wrote for "the common man," Tuthill realized the "influence" of women and

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[244] Downing, Cottage Residences, 33. See also Downing's more specific description of how houses embody personality traits. He writes: "A person of correct architectural taste will carry his feeling of artistical propriety into the interior of his house, and confer on each apartment, by expression of purpose, a kind of individuality," 24.

[245] Tuthill to Carey and Hart, 15 February 1841, Gratz Collection.

[246] Tuthill, History, viii.

the need to educate young people of both sexes.[247] The cultivation of taste was responsible for influencing the next generation of arbiters and architects, those determining a national aesthetic. In her books for young men and women, Tuthill uses human and architectural examples to illustrate the best conditions for the growth and distribution of American taste.

Tuthill's chapter "Cultivation of Taste" in The Young Lady's Home (1839) associates women with the growth of American aesthetics. The country's slow start in the arts, discussed earlier in "Architectural History Writing in America," is attributed to the requirements of survival; succeeding generations contributed practical mechanical innovations. Like her contemporaries, Tuthill does not consider such masculine (public) efforts within women's experience. However, she implies that the increased wealth and leisure resulting from economic stability advanced the arts, creating new opportunities for women. According to Tuthill, the success of an American aesthetic depends on the active participation of women and the education of the entire community. She writes: "whenever the taste of the people demands gratification, artists will find compensation for their labors, and be stimulated to exertion."[248]

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[247] By 1850, when he published The Architecture of Country Houses, Downing had also identified the importance of women's taste in aesthetic issues. Besides noting the comments of Fredrika Bremer and Madame de Stael, Downing writes that "when the ladies of a family have some cultivation in the arts, they may do much more," suggesting that education in architectural subjects should not be restricted by gender. See The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1850), 405. Downing's comments reflect the increased participation of women in aesthetics at the turn of the century and, perhaps, the influence of Tuthill's History.

[248] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 81-2.

Working within nineteenth-century social boundaries, Tuthill emphasizes the importance of female education as a means towards cultural advancement. She advises her young readers that only proper instruction in drawing develops "the taste for fine pictures" and "the perception of the beautiful."[249] Even more significant, Tuthill encourages the exceptionally talented young woman to pursue her artistic calling. The arts provide women with a means to support themselves and "so few are the ways in our country, in which females can gain an honorable independence, that this one is worthy of particular attention."[250] Tuthill's comments on architecture, a knowledge of which "ought to be acquired by every well-informed lady," assume that her readers will actively pursue a detailed study of numerous buildings. Before concluding the chapter with thoughts on music, Tuthill identifies the connection between architectural history and taste. She informs the reader that the Gothic, "the mingled style of St. Peter's, and the many splendid European specimens of modern Architecture,--all these furnish a wide world of taste."[251] Tuthill's fiction for young readers expands upon this definition of taste and women's authority over its arbitration.

In Onward! Right Onward! (1844), one of her most popular juvenile books, Tuthill defines taste as she describes a painting created by Euphemia Morrell. "Taste is not genius, but the capability of appreciating

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[249] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 82.

[250] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 83.

[251] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 83-4.

the beauties of art is next to the power of executing."[252] Though an "arbiter" by gender, Euphemia produces such a realistic, emotionally-charged painting that others attribute the work to her artist-brother Herbert. The painting accomplishes its goal of rescuing Herbert from alcoholism and corruption. Not only does Tuthill suggest that education in taste elevates moral character, but also that its benefits spread through the influence of women.

Taste is more literally cultivated in Tuthill's True Manliness; or, the Landscape Gardener (1867), "a book for boys and girls." After an unexpected change in fortune, young Clarence Rose is transformed from a useless "Dolly-boy" into an industrious landscape architect [See Plate 6]. "Though his taste had been perverted by selfishness, and all that was bright and beautiful had been considered mainly, or almost entirely, as means for his personal adornment, yet the boy possessed, as a good gift, taste, which needed cultivation and a right direction."[253] As this quotation suggests, Clarence's taste is an inborn characteristic--a natural quality that only needs proper education to flourish. His taste resembles another man's athletic ability or mathematical skill. Unlike Downing and the Brother Jonathan writer, Tuthill breaks the association of wealth with taste. Clarence only discovers his aesthetic talent after a sudden drop in financial status forces him to become self-sufficient. He eventually opens an architectural firm in Boston.

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[252] Tuthill, Onward! Right Onward (1844; reprint, Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth, 1865), 144.

[253] Tuthill, True Manliness; or, the Landscape Gardener (Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth, 1867), 137.

Another example of growth in taste following financial adversity is described in Reality; or the Millionaire's Daughter (1856). Despite losing Hazelhill mansion and its accompanying luxuries, Irene Hazelhill retains the good taste necessary to transform humble Locust Cottage into a pleasant home.[254] Throughout Reality, Tuthill shows how aesthetic education on a popular level leads to successful, profitable living. Taste becomes a critical factor in her discussion of the architectural profession and its relationship to the American public.

> Not to aggrandize, not for ostentation, should works of art be constructed or collected by the wealthy, but to gratify a pure taste, and to afford pleasure to such as have not the means to purchase this gratification for themselves. The artist who paints an exquisite picture, the sculptor who executes a noble statue, the architect who builds a magnificent edifice, is a benefactor to the human race; so is the man who patronizes these artists. Yet, when he considers noble works of art merely as adjuncts to increase his self-importance, without the taste to appreciate or enjoy them, he becomes simply ridiculous.[255]

The tasteful patron is equivalent to a skillful artist and, like an artist, his or her judgment reflects personal character traits. Rather than selfishly gathering art objects, the generous patron exercises "honest" discrimination. A final example from the History shows how an architect's education is translated into "appropriate" buildings.

Tuthill's eighteenth chapter, "Qualifications for an Architect," concludes with an excerpt from an "able architectural writer," the author

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[254] In "The Economy of the Beautiful," Harriet Beecher Stowe also explores the relationship between taste and economy. Like Tuthill, Stowe shows how cultivated taste (not money or rank) is the distinguishing factor in creating a comfortable home. See Christopher Crowfield [Harriet Beecher Stowe], House and Home Papers (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co, 1872), 79-99.

[255] Tuthill, Reality, 179.

of "Architecture in the United States." After quoting his tasteful characteristics extensively, Tuthill emphasizes her agreement with his opinion.

> The same able writer says that an architect must possess "a taste so well disciplined as to be able to judge with instinctive certainty as regards beauty of form; and this taste must be exercised with unceasing industry in combining such forms and in trying their combinations. The Greeks were like other men, and came to perfection in architecture as men have come to perfection in other matters. We err most egregiously if we suppose them architects by nature, or that they gained their mighty power by folding their hands and waiting for hints in a happy dream, or even by profuse but idle admiration of the efforts of men from other countries."[256]

Taste is the "qualification" that enables an architect to develop original "combinations" from past forms. As Tuthill continually reminds her readers, taste distinguishes ignorant builders from sophisticated architects and crude Colonial buildings from convenient modern edifices. While taste determines small matters, like the furnishing of a cottage or the choice of dress, it also affects every design decision. Throughout her work, Tuthill shows how the exercise of good taste--the aspect of architecture arbitrated and cultivated by women--results in personal and societal improvement. The remainder of this section examines Tuthill's use of tasteful models and principles to cultivate American architecture.

Imitating Models/Model Imitations

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[256] Tuthill, History, 227. Tuthill is quoting from The American Journal of Science and Arts, 18 (July 1830): 20. The Journal includes the following sentence between "combinations" and "The Greeks": "This and nothing but this, will make an architect."

> Models in any art, are often better than rules;--not for servile imitation; they inspire a correct taste, and delicate perception of the beautiful.[257]

The concepts of taste, models and imitation are closely related in Tuthill's work.[258] The relationship between model and taste is usually reciprocal; models inspire correct taste, but aesthetic education is necessary to choose the tasteful model. Depending on the context, imitation is either "servile" and negatively associated with copying or more positively related to "adaptation." Though the classical orders of Greece are considered ideal models for imitation, even Lombardic architecture contains "excellencies worthy of imitation."[259] On the other hand, Tuthill warns against "close and literal imitation of a grand style for ordinary buildings."[260] For Tuthill, the study of architectural history becomes a way of avoiding the slavery of imitation, and, ultimately, of creating an American architecture. Using the famous Renaissance artists Brunelleschi and Bramante to describe the development of an original style from the past, Tuthill alludes to the American situation.

> With all the great models of antiquity before them, these great architects only took such features as were in accordance with the buildings they erected; they were not seduced by the splendour of those noble columns, with their glorious acanthus crown, to insert them where they were not required; they did

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[257] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Reader, iv.

[258] These concepts are also related in the work of her contemporaries. In his review of Shaw's Rural Architecture, Arthur Gilman makes taste a requirement of true architecture. Later in the article, he condemns "tasteless and ignorant imitation" and the "servile manner" of repeating Grecian forms. See [Gilman], "Architecture in the United States," North American Review 58 (April 1844): 436, 438. The unsigned article is attributed to Gilman in the index.

[259] Tuthill, History, 148.

[260] Tuthill, History, 216.

> not imitate the portico, nor were they led away by the grandeur of the noble pediment. Full of poetic feelings of the great artist, their models only served them to form new and original combinations.[261]

She goes on to complete the comparison by pointing out that "their works might serve, with some alterations, as models for our own times." Later in the History it becomes clear that Tuthill's "alterations" are the crucial factors differentiating the servile from the acceptable form of imitation.[262] The various principles she elaborates in "Principles of Architecture" are aimed at preventing the "more common kind of affectation" that "arises from a close and literal imitation."[263] Even when tempted by the most venerated architectural ornaments, the great artists restrain themselves from the temptation of "copying" and use models only as a means toward original production.

Tuthill's discussion of imitation closely follows the principles set forth in Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses. The form and content of the work represent a successful imitation of an original model. Reynolds' lectures, delivered at the Royal Academy, are specifically addressed to European students of painting. As in her critique of the self-taught genius, Tuthill adapts Reynolds' ideas to her own agenda. She condenses and simplifies Reynolds' work to inform the average American reader. Tuthill's "abridgement" reflects her perception of national difference. While Reynolds' aspiring professional artists need to be warned against

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[261] Tuthill, History, 193.

[262] For condemnation of the "servile imitator" and an extensive discussion of how to resist his temptations see Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses, Edward Gilpin Johnson, ed. 1779. Reprint. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1891), 147-70.

[263] Tuthill, History, 216.

copying the stylistic variations of individual masters, Tuthill's young readers are encouraged to experiment with the historical "styles" of architecture. The European artist's temptation to imitate a famous teacher is less important to Tuthill than the young American artist's particular weakness-the desire to emulate a grand European tradition.

In "Qualifications for an Architect," Chapter Eighteen of the History, Tuthill identifies the creative use and interpretation of models as an essential aspect of the architect's profession.

> A man may have a certain dexterity of hand, which will enable him to perform skillfully some work of art, which another has planned for him, or given him an exact model to copy; but he is then only performing manual labour, and exercising the one faculty of imagination; if he can go no farther, he never will become a complete artist; he will never produce any work which will acquire for him a reputation, for his is not the master-mind. Architecture, through all its progress from infancy to perfection, is an inventive art.[264]

The successful creation of an American style depends on the artist's ability to adapt what he has learned from history to American conditions. "Copying" the "exact model" is equivalent to the servile form of imitation. Creative adaptation or emulation--using the model as a means of "inspiration"--leads to a successful, "original" imitation.

Architect George Raymond, the male protagonist of Reality, maintains the dignity of his profession by refusing to imitate models. Though in desperate need of clients, Raymond will not sacrifice his architectural values to provide Mr. Sesquepedalia Verba with an imitative classical design.[265] To Mr. Verba's entreaties Raymond replies,

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[264] Tuthill, History, 220.

[265] "Sesquepedalia Verba" is Latin for long-winded.

> Then I shall not suit you for I have few designs copied from the three Grecian orders. It is a very easy matter to copy an Ionic or Corinthian colonnade or facade, and place it before an ordinary building; and I am sorry to say, this is the usual way, in our country, of imitating classic architecture; indeed it is the easiest effort in our art, to copy entirely from models, and carry out the complete, original design of a Greek artist. It requires, of course, no invention.[266]

Raymond does not hesitate to design a Greek edifice under the appropriate circumstances, but he will not contribute to the Greek "mania." The young architect's more difficult choice--to invent according to conditions of site and function--distinguishes architect from builder and architecture from building.

Tuthill's definition of painting in Onward! Right Onward! also associates models with imitation. Because "painting is an imitative art," "the best models must be imitated."[267] In a desperate attempt to save her artist-brother from his dissolute ways, Euphemia Morrell begins to work on a painting of their mother. "She had been very observant of her brother's mode of managing colors and laying them on, and although she had no originality, she had imitation in a very uncommon degree."[268] Despite its lack of originality, Euphemia's "imitation" is attributed to her brother. She achieves success in the imitative art. Euphemia's home education in taste and her use of a human model enable her to "imitate," when she is not allowed to execute, a work of genius.

Tuthill characterizes imitation more negatively in the form of advice for young ladies. An entire chapter of The Young Lady's Home is devoted

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[266] Tuthill, Reality, 102.

[267] Tuthill, Onward! Right Onward, 55.

[268] Tuthill, Onward! Right Onward, 145.

to the general principles defining model moral living. Tuthill begins by discriminating between universally applicable principles and more arbitrary rules and precepts. The young lady must develop the independence of mind to distinguish between true principles and fashionable social conventions. While she must not rely on society for her opinions, "neither is it safe to take for a model, a fallible mortal, ever liable to err."[269]

In Reality, Tuthill shows how such social "copying" leads to misery and self-deception. The difference between social imitativeness and personal independence is illustrated by a comparison between Irene, "the millionaire's daughter," and her poor friend Susan White. Irene is warned against imitating the fashionable pretension of New York's social elite. Despite insisting that her independence will not suffer in society, Irene only escapes from "imitativeness" through a sudden drop in financial status. A marriage proposal from wealthy Mr. Mallory convinces Susan White to abandon her comfortable cottage for a fashionable mansion. Though Irene's poverty saves her from becoming obsessed with imitating social forms, such pressures eventually destroy "Mrs. Mallory." Tuthill's model for the young lady is developed from general inner principles which position the individual against the corrupting forces of society. In contrast, the young man is given specific models of famous figures to follow toward professional (public) achievement.

The preface to Success in Life. The Lawyer announces its search for "a model for the young men of our country."[270] Rather than advise from

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[269] Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 213.

[270] Tuthill, The Lawyer, v. The full title of this series is "Success in Life: A Series of Books, Six in Number, Each Complete in Itself. The Successful Merchant, Lawyer, Mechanic, Artist, Physician, Farmer. To

personal experience, as she could in The Young Lady's Home, Tuthill consults biographies and histories for information on the life and work of famous merchants, mechanics, lawyers and artists. Though she focuses on specific principles, which are often used as chapter titles, Tuthill places each profession within the context of American history. She shows how the merchant advances patriotism and expands national markets as he travels to foreign countries. The lawyer becomes an important voice in winning the Revolutionary War, while the mechanic leads Americans on the road toward progress. Tuthill offers "a daguerreotype from spirited paintings executed by others."[271] Her shortened and simplified biographies serve a different purpose from the "originals" already written by famous historians Webster, Jay, Wheaton and Kennedy. Following her own advice, Tuthill adapts these original models to the needs of juvenile readers. In the introduction to the series, she describes the power of books which "oftentimes develop talent and energy which have lain dormant."[272] Tuthill assumes that her children's versions of scholarly biographies and cumbersome histories will awaken the "dormant" potential in her young readers.

In Success in Life. The Artist, Tuthill devotes two chapters to the "Study of the Best Models," emphasizing the importance of architectural

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consist of Biography, Anecdotes, Maxims, Etc." The final two volumes were never published.

[271] Tuthill, The Lawyer, v-vi. Tuthill's lawyers, merchants and mechanics are all based on real Americans. Examples include Jeremiah Mason, John Jay and William Pinckney; John Quincey Adams, Robert Morris and William Gray; John Fitch, Benjamin Franklin and Eli Whitney.

[272] Success in Life. The Merchant (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 8.

history in developing an appropriate American architecture.[273] Because architecture cannot simply imitate nature like painting and sculpture, past human achievements provide the only models for future innovation. Tuthill's conception of progressive history assumes that every culture inspires unique architectural "adaptations." A long quotation from Ruskin's The Stones of Venice underscores her belief in the human aspect of production naturally incorporated into a work of art.

> Every community of human beings needs public buildings with the same special application to their religion, civil condition, their amusements and adaptation. The architect must make himself familiar with all the forms and rules of his art, and then apply them with his own additions and alterations, to suit every individual edifice. He cannot be wholly original, neither should he be cramped and fettered by precedents. He is not obliged to build a Greek edifice in the frozen North, nor Gothic gables in the sunny South. The shady palm, with its broad sheltering leaves, would not be in keeping among the rustling pines of New England, and our graceful elm, with its light foliage, would make but a poor figure amid the luxuriant groves of a tropical clime.[274]

Tuthill's understanding of the relationship between climate and architecture recalls Ruskin's early series on cottages and villas in Loudon's Architectural Magazine.[275] According to Tuthill, all cultural production

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[273] Unlike the reviews for Success in Life. The Merchant, and The Mechanic, which emphasize these books' positive influence on young readers, the Knickerbocker's review of The Artist is directed towards a more professional audience. "This little volume, we take it, will be much sought after by artists. Its object is to inculcate lessons by which they may profit, and by which, moreover, if properly conned, they will profit." An indication of the undeveloped state of the fine arts in America as opposed to the flourishing condition of trade and industry, the review suggests that Tuthill's principles will benefit all involved in artistic production. The Knickerbocker, 65 (April 1855): 401.

[274] Tuthill, The Artist, 85.

[275] Writing under the pseudonym Kata Phusin, John Ruskin contributed "The Poetry of Architecture" series to The Architectural Magazine between November 1837 and January 1839. The articles, appearing each month, discussed cottages and villas from around the world in the context of

is an example of architectural adaptation.[276] Not coincidentally, Tuthill mentions that Ithiel Town traveled to Europe "for the purpose of studying the most celebrated models abroad."[277] Town was also responsible for collecting and sharing written "models"--the books in his famous library. Another American artist, Horatio Greenough, used Italian models to inspire his own original creations. These successful artists, and others like them, discovered aesthetic principles in foreign precedents and adapted these models to American conditions.

Throughout her work, Tuthill describes an architecture based on both precedent and principle. By advocating a balance of past styles and present requirements, Tuthill places "national" variation within an established tradition. In doing so, she creates a circular argument that avoids the complexities of either extreme. Precedents are necessary to establish national principles, and principles are useless without guidance from architectural history. Although Americans must look to the past for precedents, their own national architecture is based on regional principles. The architecture of the past illustrates classic principles such as symmetry and fitness, factors that must be adjusted to meet the details of site, climate, personality and so forth. Without drawing more specific

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"natural scenery and national character."

[276] In her preface to the History, Tuthill writes, "the study of ancient Architecture, is the study of history," viii. The importance of learning from world history is also emphasized in her life-advice books: "Hence may be inferred the necessity for a close investigation of the rules and conditions of ancient art; and the causes for the gradual changes which, from time to time, have been developed among different nations," The Artist, 85. Tuthill's first work on architecture, Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture, is an effort to provide historical models of ancient art that will inspire contemporary architectural improvement.

[277] Tuthill, The Artist, 85.

conclusions or looking for a completely original solution, Tuthill assumes that a combination of precedent and principle will naturally result in appropriate architecture. Tuthill's limited theory does not explore the particulars of either the adaptation process or its results. Perhaps she felt that merely introducing the idea of an original, "national" architecture was already pushing the limits of her readers' comprehension. The History provides little insight into this important subject, but Tuthill's fictional accounts use historical precedents as inspiration for creative solutions to contemporary problems. Her American characters' moral qualities--adapted from past precedents--are embodied in national architectural principles.

Principles of Architecture

After tracing the history of architecture up to the present day in Europe, Tuthill breaks her chronological sequence to discuss "principles of architecture." The position of this chapter suggests that, while architectural principles are firmly established in European tradition, they have not been introduced to American readers. Tuthill begins with "the leading principle in architecture, "fitness for the end designed."[278] The

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[278] Tuthill, History, 210. Archibald Alison uses a similar term in Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste. He writes, "I apprehend also, that the Beauty of Proportion in Forms is to be ascribed to this cause; and that certain proportions affect us with the Emotion of Beauty, not from any original capacity in such qualities to excite this Emotion, but from their being expressive to us of the Fitness of the parts to the end designed." See Alison, Essays (1790; reprint, Edinburgh: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchnandlung, 1968), 345. In his discussion of the "Expression of Architectural Style," J.C. Loudon describes both "fitness for the end in view" and "expression of the end in view." Encyclopaedia, 1114. See also Downing's definition of "fitness being the beauty of utility," which he also calls "the first principle to be considered in all buildings." Downing, Cottage Residences, 10.

remainder of the essay shows how all other aesthetic considerations relate to fitness and "the expression of fitness." "Utility, convenience, and propriety are included in the term fitness," and, since character derives from these characteristics, its "expression" is also dependent on this leading principle.[279] Tuthill lists practical factors--such as ventilation, light, traffic patterns and materials--relating to the fitness of both public and domestic buildings. After the programmatic requirements are satisfied, a building must be made to express its fitness, or visually appear to fulfill its "spiritual" purpose. In other words, a church should not only look like a church, but also display "noble and sublime simplicity, inspiring awe and devotion."[280] As an afterthought, Tuthill adds proportion to the list of principles related to fitness; she cites Vitruvius on the importance of proportion, which results in symmetrical beauty. Ornament, an equally important factor in expression, also requires symmetrical arrangement. Tuthill's discussion of principles continues along classical lines with a discussion of fitness in the orders. In this case, the ornament clearly expresses character. She quotes Alison,

> The Tuscan is distinguished by its severity; the Doric by its simplicity; the Ionic by its elegance; the Corinthian and Composite by their lightness and gaiety. To these characters their ornaments are suited with consummate taste. Change these ornaments; give to the Tuscan the Corinthian capital, or to the Corinthian the Tuscan, and every person would feel, not only a disappointment from this unexpected composition, but a sentiment also of impropriety, from the appropriation of a grave or sober ornament, to a subject of severity.[281]

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[279] Tuthill, History, 210.

[280] Tuthill, History, 212.

[281] Archibald Alison in Tuthill, History, 214.

The association of character and physical form is closely related to Tuthill's definition of "fitness for the end designed," the central principle behind her Success in Life books. In the preface to this series, Tuthill suggests that the fictionalized biographies will enable her "young readers" to discover suitable professions. "To each created thing, God has given aptness or fitness for the end designed in its creation. It is left for man to discover this aptness, both in the materials to be worked into appliances for his comfort, and in the workman himself."[282] In the same way that every successful building displays fitness and expresses character, every successful man embodies suitability for his profession.

After her praise of the Grecian "model," Tuthill turns to more practical issues pertaining to American architecture. She emphasizes the need to understand materials, anticipate costs, and balance the choice of material with the budget available. Tuthill's criticism of American architects for not investing in permanent materials recalls her tirade over "wooden enormities." Rather than attempt to imitate European magnificence, native architects should consult their country's own resources and build at an appropriate level.

> The architects of this country, or rather their employers, have shown a great want of true economy, in employing perishable materials for large buildings. An architect might better refuse to build at all, than to sacrifice his reputation, by constructing a plaster model for a building, instead of a building, properly so called. His duty to himself, as well as to his country, demands that the public edifices that he plans and builds should not, in the course of ten or twenty years, be in a ruinous condition, and the laughing-stock of the community.[283]

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[282] Tuthill, The Merchant, 7.

[283] Tuthill, The Merchant, 216.

Architects who fail to build in expressive, fit materials, are only capable of designing models. In order to practice architecture and create real buildings, architects must work with durable, native materials. According to Tuthill, the central principle of fitness should be displayed in every aspect of a building--from the plan of its rooms (convenience) to its exterior image (expression). "The Present State of Architecture in the United States," Tuthill's twenty-second chapter, illustrates a range of styles that satisfy this criteria.

Tuthill's commentary on American architecture's "present state" marks a decisive break from her highly interpretive analysis of the architect and architectural principles. The entire chapter is an extensive example supporting her claims of American architectural achievement, which represent the "new era in art."[284] Emphasizing the number of new buildings not included within the limits of her book, Tuthill encourages architects to publish descriptions of their work for the public.[285] She prefaces her list of specimens by commenting on the progress of native artists and architects and predicting the time "when our native architects will rival those of Europe."[286]

The short descriptions included with the more significant buildings specify dimensions and construction materials. Though Tuthill leaves many judgements unqualified, simply calling buildings "beautiful," a few more

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[284] See Figure II for an example of Tuthill's descriptive method in this chapter.

[285] Tuthill mistakenly identifies "J. Rogers" as the author of A Description of Tremont House (1830) by William H. Eliot. Isaiah Rogers was the architect of the Tremont, Boston's first luxury hotel. History, 257.

[286] Tuthill, History, 257.

BOSTON.

The State House, 173 feet long, 61 wide. It has a fine dome, 52 feet in diameter, upon which is a circular cupola, or lantern. Under this dome stands a statue of Washington, by the English sculptor, Chantrey.

King's Chapel, built of rough stone, finished in 1754. It has a Corinthian colonnade in front; and although faulty in style, is superior to most of the edifices that were built in New England during the 18th century.

Trinity Church, in Summer Street, a Gothic edifice, of granite, was built in 1829.

The Tremont House is a large and beautiful building, of granite, with a fine Doric portico in front. J. Rogers, architect.

The Market House, of granite.

The Masonic Temple.

The Massachusetts General Hospital.

The United States Bank.

The Boston Athenæum.

Two beautiful Gothic churches, of freestone, were built in 1847. Billings, architect.

A modern traveller,* who was not over fond of praising anything American, says: "There is in Bo

* Hamilton's "Men and Manners in America."

ton less of that rawness of outline, and inconsistency of architecture, which had struck me in New York. The truth is, that the latter has increased so rapidly, that nine-tenths of the city have been built within the last thirty years, and probably one-half of it within a third of the period. In Boston, both the wealth and population have advanced at a slower pace. A comparatively small portion of the city is new, and the hand of time has somewhat mellowed even its *deformities*, (unfortunately there are many such,) contributing to render that reverend which was originally rude. A considerable number of buildings are of granite, or, more properly speaking, of sienite; but brick is the prevailing material, and houses of framework are now rarely to be met with in the streets inhabited by the better orders. There is an air of gravity and solidity about Boston, and nothing gay or flashy in the appearance of her streets, or the crowds who frequent them. New York is a young giantess, weighing twenty stone;—Boston the matron of staid and demure air, a little past her prime, (a great mistake!) yet showing no symptoms of decay."*

The Library Edifice of Harvard University, at Cambridge, is a Gothic building, of granite, recently erected.

The Bunker Hill Monument, at Charlestown, is a beautiful granite obelisk, two hundred and twenty feet high.

* "Among the monuments at Mount Auburn, near Boston, are many of great beauty; we were struck with a plain black marble obelisk, of exquisite polish, ornamented by a single cross in relief;

Figure II. Example of Descriptive Method.
From Tuthill, History, 258-9.

descriptive qualities are mentioned. Both Greek and Gothic edifices are "simple," "durable," "well-arranged," "commodious," "spacious," "symmetrical," and "effective." It is clear from Tuthill's list that her standards are not dependent on architectural style. The United States Bank in Philadelphia, modeled after the Parthenon, is "one of the most beautiful buildings in this country."[287] New York's Gothic Trinity church is "by many considered the finest specimen of ecclesiastical architecture in this country [See Plate 7]."[288] Even the Italianate Athenaeum in Philadelphia is praised for its adaptation to site and ornamentation [See Plate 8]. Despite her frequent praise of recent buildings, however, Tuthill is not uncritical. While some New York churches are "spacious and well built; others are incongruous, unsymmetrical buildings, exhibiting great want of taste and skill."[289] The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Philadelphia, by John Haviland (with additions by William Strickland), is "an extensive, commodious building, without much claim to architectural beauty."[290] Regardless of historical precedent, Tuthill judges architecture by the same set of principles. Her version of "historicism" or "revivialism"--the process of adapting past architectural styles to present needs--will be discussed later in this section.

Principles of Living

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[287] Tuthill, History, 263.

[288] Tuthill, History, 261.

[289] Tuthill, History, 260.

[290] Tuthill, History, 264.

Tuthill's description of an architect's education in "Qualifications" quickly moves from the subject of ingenuity and her views on imitation to more personal characteristics. "In short, an architect should be governed by the strictest principles of integrity and rectitude."[291] Throughout Tuthill's The Artist, artistic ability is a reflection of personal character. This idea parallels the relationship between domestic architecture and social life popularly expressed in contemporary periodicals and stylebooks.[292] The author of an article published in Benjamin Silliman's Journal (1834), writes, "He who is neat and tasteful in and around his dwelling, will be likely to cultivate those qualities of mind and heart, which such a state of things implies and requires; and will promote the same associations and habits in his family, and extend them, to the literary, moral and social education and conduct of his children."[293] By the early 1840s, A. J. Downing directly associated stylistic differences in architecture with variations in clients' personalities; personal architectural "expression" was the basis for choosing a particular style. Similarly, Tuthill's complete course of aesthetic education presents both human and architectural models of moral living.

In both her fictional and historical works, Tuthill places moral principles far above material success. The "Morality" chapter of The Artist

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[291] Tuthill, History, 223.

[292] For more information on the history of human metaphors in architectural treatises since Vitruvius see "Pre-Victorian Associationism," the first chapter of George Hersey's High Victorian Gothic (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 1-10.

[293] Eleazar Lord, "Observations on Architectural, Rural, Domestic, and Other Improvements," The American Journal of Science and Art, 25 (January 1834): 308.

emphasizes the importance of truth, a moral quality with a history of architectural parallels. Like Loudon, Tuthill believes that "the beauty of truth is so essential to every other kind of beauty, that it can neither be dispensed with in art nor in morals."[294] Architectural truth depends on integrity and rectitude in the artist, characteristics that will lead him to make "tasteful" choices regarding use of materials, arrangement and fitness. Tuthill explains how moral education (represented by the commonplace book described earlier) allows the architect to live and work truthfully. "To resist the peculiar temptations which haunt his footsteps, an artist must possess fixed principles, and great decision of character to maintain those principles. He is tempted to flatter; flattery leads to deceit and falsehood."[295] That nothing could be worse than such a moral failure is implied in an extensive quotation of "the eloquent Ruskin," ending with the declaration, "I would have the spirit of Truth clear in the heart of our artists."[296] The fact that Ruskin must have been referring to English artists obviously does not bother Tuthill.

Tuthill's faith in the artistic power of moral principles is conveyed in Euphemia Morrell's explanation of her painting, "I have had no teacher but my own determined will."[297] In the chapter, "Fixedness of Purpose," Herbert is told that self-reliance, self-government and perseverance are the characteristics that will make him a good artist. By the end of the

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[294] Tuthill, History, 212. She is quoting from Loudon's Encyclopaedia, 1113.

[295] Tuthill, The Artist, 118.

[296] Tuthill, The Artist, 119.

[297] Tuthill, Onward, 150.

story, Herbert is admonished for his dependence on Euphemia and given various numbered "principles" of self-improvement--unity and fixedness of purpose, confidence, industry, duty, etc. His newfound resolve immediately inspires Herbert to paint a picture of three female heads: Remorse, Repentance and Hope.

Throughout True Manliness: or the Landscape Gardener, Tuthill emphasizes the importance of valuing every profession--a judgment she bases on the equality of American character. All American citizens should be satisfied with their birthright because all live by the same honorable principles. Tuthill illustrates the arbitrary nature of social status by beginning her story with the future landscape gardener, Clarence Rose, comfortably established in a wealthy family. When his adopted father is financially ruined, Clarence is sent back to his natural mother, a poor country woman. The series of hardships that follow progressively improve Clarence's character. He learns to take pride and enjoyment in his new career, which is also his "natural" place. His final growth to manly stature is marked by the disappearance of an embarrassing lisp that has plagued him since childhood. By the end of the story, Clarence physically and mentally embodies the independent, industrious American.

As these stories illustrate, Tuthill envisions the future of national architecture through the benefits of aesthetic and moral education. She shows how "American" characteristics--integrity, perseverance and independence--result in artistic achievement. Euphemia's successful painting is derived from such national qualities; Clarence's taste is only discovered once he has cast off his affectations and become an "American" man. Only "honest" artists like Benjamin West successfully build an

American tradition of portrait and landscape painting. In her analysis of American architecture, Tuthill continually implies that, for a native aesthetic to develop, young men and women must be educated in the principles of character associated with those of art.

Louisa Tuthill's juvenile fiction is part of a larger educational plan. Architecture. Part I. Ancient Architecture (1831) provides young readers with the opportunity to develop an aesthetic sense. While the History (1848) explains the need for architectural schools and the cultivation of general taste, it also instructs readers in actual aesthetic principles. In her juvenile works on art and architecture (1844-1867), Tuthill continues to carry out the plan described in the History. She shows young men and women how to acquire the principles necessary to become "scientific architects" and "arbiters of taste." By beginning with American origins--with the generation who will create a truly American architecture--Tuthill follows her own advice.

Revivalism[298]

Though many historians insist on calling the nineteenth century a period of "eclectic" architecture, Louisa Tuthill and her contemporaries believed each architectural style should reflect its historical roots.[299]

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[298] The term "historicism" better defines the principle behind the desire to restore historic accuracy. However, "revivalism" will not be confused with the "historicism" of contemporary literary and historical studies.

[299] Lisa Koenigsberg borrows her interpretation of Tuthill's "eclecticism" from Pierson, American Buildings, 125-34. Both use Thomas Cole's painting, "The Architect's Dream," as an example of Ithiel Town's

Later in the nineteenth century, eclectic architects like William Ware and Henry Van Brunt chose bits and pieces of different styles from various historical periods. An original building was also an assemblage of specially selected but historically unrelated parts. During the first half of the century, however, neoclassicism had only recently been questioned and historical styles were studied in their "pure" forms.[300] Adaptations of these styles may not have been historically accurate, but they corresponded to an accepted idea of "Italian" or "Gothic" or "Tuscan" architecture. Architects chose a single style and worked within that particular "historical" form. Tuthill's architectural theory is based on this kind of architectural historicism.[301]

"eclectic" architectural method.

[300] Eighteenth-century archeological discoveries inspired an increased interest in historically accurate architecture. Tuthill cites many books that brought detailed studies of the ruins from such ancient cities as Herculaneum, Pompeii, Athens and Balbec to the attention of English and American architects. Some of the most significant examples include Robert Wood's The Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec (London, 1827), Giovanni Belzoni's Narrative (1820) and Jean Champollion's Monuments de L'Egypt et de la Nubie (Paris, 1835-45). Plate VI of the History, which depicts the Erectheum and the Parthenon, is taken from Stuart and Revett's The Antiquities of Athens (1762). The influence of anonymous "travellers," mentioned throughout Tuthill's Architecture and her History, also contributed to the knowledge and patronage of "correct" architectural styles. For an account of antiquarian studies' impact on architecture contemporary with Tuthill's History see "The Arts," The American Register and Magazine 1 (May 1848): 177-91.

[301] For a thorough discussion of these ideas see Peter Collins' section on "Revivalism" in Changing Ideals, 61-148. Specifically, Collins states that eclecticism "implied the deliberate disregard of chronological exactitude in the selection of tectonic elements," a concept "diametrically opposed to that of Revivalism," 104. Henry Russell Hitchcock reminds readers that "the building production of the early decades of the century has been divided only too readily under various stylistic headings. A Greek Revival, a Gothic Revival, etc., have often been assumed, indeed, to possess individual vitality; in fact, these and other `revivals' were but aspects either of the dominant Romantic Classical tide or of the Picturesque countercurrent," xxviii-xxix. See Hitchcock, "The Picturesque and the

As a "revivalist," Tuthill relies on the process of adaptation to create original architecture. While a knowledge of history provides the necessary background for choosing the style with appropriate associations and for emphasizing the appropriate principles, adaptation to contemporary requirements of "fitness" results in tasteful architecture. Tuthill advocates Grecian villas for certain urban settings and Gothic for country estates based on the principles governing appropriateness to site, climate, and other local conditions. Her description of the process of "adopting" style defines the revivalist's concept of architectural originality. Tuthill writes: "With a due deference to the genius of the ancients and a suitable admiration of their works, an American architect must possess the power to adopt what is suitable to our soil, climate, manners, civil institutions, and religion, without servile imitation."[302] For Tuthill, the judgment of style is based on suitability. As no single style could possibly be appropriate for all sites and satisfy every condition, the most suitable is chosen and adapted to American details. Because America did not rise up without plenty of "models" for imitation, it cannot ignore "the genius of the ancients."

Tuthill further explains the concept of revivalism in a conversation between architect George Raymond and his nemesis, Mr. Sesquepedalia Verba. After seeing the plan of a Corinthian villa on display at the gallery of the American Academy and offering to buy it for one hundred dollars, Verba realizes that Raymond also designs buildings in "vile Gothic,

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Gothic Revival," Architecture Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 93-114.

[302] Tuthill, History, 222.

barbarous Romanesque, unmeaning Venetian and contemptible Renaissance."[303] Mr. Dinsmore, Raymond's natural father and "a man of cultivated taste," responds to this tirade.

> The genius of an architect . . . must be employed, in our day and country, in adapting all styles hitherto invented, to our own wants and condition. All the arts of civilization are progressive; each nation invents only what is most needful for itself, and appropriates what has already been invented by others. The Greeks were not entirely original; they were familiar with the architecture of Egypt and Etruria, of India and Persia, and improved upon all! We must do the same. The artist whose designs we are examining, has very happily seized on the capabilities and beauties of a variety of styles and adapted them to the town house, the villa, the cottage and the church.[304]

The progressive nature of history demands that the American architect utilize his inheritance--all past architectural styles--to develop an appropriate contemporary architecture.

Tuthill's most passionate appeal to American architects on the subject of historical precedent appears in Success in Life. The Artist. For the first time, she asks artists to examine American history for inspiration. Alluding to Ruskin's faith in "living nature," Tuthill builds an argument for living history.

> But especially should the American artist be intimately acquainted with the history of his own country. He is to be her chronicler for ages yet unborn. He is to send down to the latest generations, the evidence that such men and such deeds have been, though all written records of them may have perished forever. And in the moral grandeur of American history, he has the highest "motive" for his artistic efforts. He need not stoop to meaner themes, while the daring deeds of our own sages and heroes are yet unportrayed. The Colonies of Roanoke and Plymouth may yet call forth more soul-thrilling sympathy than was ever elicited by Rome or Carthage. The time may--it will come--when that granite obelisk, the Bunker

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[303] Tuthill, Reality, 130.

[304] Tuthill, Reality, 130.

> Hill Monument, will call forth deeper emotions than the pyramids of Egypt, and the mouldering walls of the Capitol far sublimer sentiments than the Acropolis at Athens. The architects of our country must now have reference to posterity. In this land of freedom from all but wholesome restraint, they can build such edifices as the condition of the country requires, in any style best adapted for the purpose. They have not to choose between the Classical or the Gothic, the Chinese or the Romanesque; but in our architecture, domestic, civil and ecclesiastical, to make a free use of each and all, and, at the same time, be careful that there is fitness, adaptation and national character impressed upon every edifice. It is only by thus doing, that they can be true to themselves and their country, give dignity to the Art, and render their works enduring monuments of our artistic, civil and religious freedom.[305]

Arguing that American social freedom should be expressed in American architecture, Tuthill recalls the associative link between Grecian architecture and democracy. Then she goes one step further. The general comparison between Greek art's cultural characteristics and the American situation is made concrete through specific architectural examples. After clarifying the associative properties of the Bunker Hill monument, Tuthill is able to make architectural freedom--or the free exercise of revivalism--a "national" condition requiring expression. By directly comparing the process of adapting historical styles to the architect's personal character, Tuthill metaphorically "impresses" national character "upon every edifice."

Though a revivalist with respect to architecture, Tuthill is an eclectic theorist. She borrows many of her opinions on nature and moral association from Ruskin.[306] However, her Ruskinian view is tempered by

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[305] Tuthill, The Artist, 73-4.

[306] Arthur Gilman's comments on his own essay suggest a contemporary attitude towards originality Tuthill seems to have shared. He writes: "We have not yet advanced to that length in architecture, that a treatise upon the metaphysics of the art is so much called for, as a little searching and vigourous criticism upon existing faults. But whenever we have found it possible to connect general principles with the illustrations of our

Coleridge's faith in historical models. She endorses the classical, Vitruvian definition of symmetrical beauty as well as Knight's romantic infatuation with the rough and irregular picturesque. Like the artists she advises, Tuthill invents and adapts theory to suit the particular architectural "climate." She chooses the most convincing classical and romantic principles to promote an architecture with the legitimacy of ancient precedent and the flexibility of modern demands. Tuthill rationalizes her theoretical inconsistencies by identifying opposing principles with the architectural requirements of different periods. Because of her understanding of the close relationship between culture and architecture, Tuthill does not develop a comprehensive theory of perception; the progressive nature of history implies change in theory as well as practice. The final section of this study explores Tuthill's use of "associationism" to further articulate her view of architecture's social function.

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positions, it will be observed, that we have not scrupled to do so and if these should be found, in some degree, a repetition of the arguments of others, it will, at least, be recollected, that it is impossible to originate a new grammar of the arts, and that, upon this subject, we shall always prefer the merit of sound and acknowledged opinions, to the poor praise of originality." See [Gilman], "Architecture in the United States," 479. Like Gilman, Tuthill believed that the compilation of "expert" opinions accompanied by criticism was most useful to Americans at this stage in their aesthetic development.

Part IV: Sentiments[307]

> There are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter, in some sort, includes the former, and is mightier in its reality; it is well to have not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life.[308]

Louisa Tuthill borrows this quotation from Ruskin to discuss the importance of history in a young artist's education, but she might just have easily been describing the formation of artistic sensibility. Throughout the History, Tuthill relies on "the poetry of architecture" described in Ruskin's early writings--a form of associationism with roots in eighteenth-century philosophy and literary criticism.[309] The philosophy of David Hume, David Hartley and others became the basis for more popular aesthetic treatises; architectural writers such as Loudon, Ruskin and Downing perceived the moral state of society through buildings. Working within this conceptual tradition, Louisa Tuthill associates architectural

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[307] In the commonplace book described in The Young Lady's Home, Tuthill divides the category "sentiments" into three sections--religious, moral and poetical. This frequently used nineteenth-century term should not be confused with "sentimental," a criticism frequently applied to women's writing. An architectural definition of the term is provided in the contemporary stylebook The Architect. According to William Ranlett, the styles of building developed by various nations express "certain 'sentiments,' which are as legible to the intelligent eye, as the written productions of the poets, statesmen and sages of those times. The indication of these sentiments, with the varied beauty of the forms, is the expression of style." See Ranlett, The Architect, 22.

[308] John Ruskin, Seven Lamps of Architecture, footnoted in Tuthill, The Artist, 73.

[309] George Hersey notes that the term "poetry of architecture" is used by Jacques Francois Blondel in his Cours d'architecture (1771-3). See Hersey, High Victorian Gothic, 7.

styles with certain ideals; the Greek custom house represents democratic freedom, for example, and a strict interpretation of the Roman Doric order suggests a similarly restrained personality. Like many of her contemporaries, Tuthill carries associationist principles even further by measuring individual morality through buildings. She was one of the earliest American writers to apply Ruskin's thoughts to the American condition.[310] This section examines the loosely related "sentiments," partially based on associationism, underlying Tuthill's understanding of the relationship between architecture and society.[311]

Associationism: Imitation and Adaptation

The history of associationist theory reaches back to the philosophy of Locke and Hobbes, who influenced its respective English and Scottish roots. David Hartley is often credited for founding the English version of the "associationist school." Hartley's Observations on Man (1749) relates the functioning of scientific vibrations to aesthetic perception and religion. His comprehensive system, of particular interest to the Romantic poets Coleridge and Wordsworth, broadened the influence of associationist theory. According to George Hersey, however, "true associationism" was a

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[310] While George Hersey traces the growth of English associationism through Ruskin's work, he does not consider the impact of such theory in America.

[311] Though Tuthill specifically uses the term "associations" and cites proponents of associationist theory, the idea that architecture reflects morality was characteristic of the Romantic tradition and popularized by the Gothic revival. For a discussion of the development of associationism in the context of Romanticism see M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (1953; reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 162-7, 177-183.

product of the "Scottish Common Sense philosophers: Hume, Hutcheson, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Reid and Archibald Alison."[312] Alison's Essays on Taste (1790) popularized theories of associationism directly related to the perception of art and architecture.[313] Unlike Hartley's complicated Theory of the Human Mind, Alison's discussion of aesthetics is written for the average reader. Essays on Taste presents the simplified version of associationism adopted by J.C. Loudon and American followers.[314]

The work of Englishwoman Mary Anne Shimmelpenninck, perhaps one of the precedent "lady" writers Tuthill mentioned, illustrates the range of aesthetic issues influenced by associationist theory. In 1859, Shimmelpenninck's essays were edited "by her relation" Christiana C. Hankin and published as The Principles of Beauty.[315] Hankin's

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[312] Hersey, High Victorian Gothic, 10.

[313] Henry Ladd states that Alison's influential theory, "is a sterling example of the combination of the empirical tradition from Hume and Burke and the moral bias of the Edinburgh school" (88). For a discussion of Alison's ideas, particularly in relation to Ruskin, see Ladd, The Victorian Morality of Art. An Analysis of Ruskin's Esthetic (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932), 87-94.

[314] American followers of associationist theory cited by James Early include Asher Benjamin, Minard Lafever and Andrew Jackson Downing. However, the "associationist approach to architecture was pervasive among thousands who had never heard of Alison. Emotional response to the historical suggestiveness of revivalist structures was general in the Romantic period. Alison merely systematized something which was characteristic of the romantic sensibility." Early, Romanticism and American Architecture, 36.

[315] Schimmelpenninck's "Theory of the classification of Beauty and Deformity, and their correspondent physiognomic Expression" (London, 1815) is cited in Loudon's "List of Books Quoted," Encyclopaedia, xvii. As George Hersey notes, the earlier essay is not available for comparison with the later text. Hersey mistakenly attributes editor Christiana C. Hankin's remarks in the 1859 book to Schimmelpenninck. While the author's 1815 essay suggests the influence of associationism, it does not explicitly use the term. See Hersey, High Victorian Gothic, 13.

introduction suggests that associationism is the theoretical foundation underlying this essay and two other short works included in the book--"Essay on the Temperaments" and "Thoughts on Architecture." Under the heading "of the influence of association on the perception of beauty," Hankin writes:

> It is obvious that Beauty, considered as a symbolic language, must be traced up to its source in the laws of inherent association. From this point of view, inherent association becomes to us the basis of a system of correspondences between the external world and man's moral nature. Such a system, divinely planned for man's instruction and delight, the Author of this work believed to be discoverable, and its fundamental principles form the chief subject of her inquiries.[316]

Schimmelpenninck illustrates her literal belief in this "system of correspondences" with painted portraits of "phlegmatic," "sanguine" and "melancholic" individuals. In the same way that she reads personality through the physical manifestation of temperament, Schimmelpenninck sees the moral power of Christian churches in architectural forms--"cable mouldings," "columns united by arches," and "windows of stained glass." Schimmelpenninck's judgment of human character and interpretation of Gothic architecture demonstrate the "interdisciplinary" application of associationist principles; both Ruskin and Tuthill promoted aspects of this comprehensive "system," a body of aesthetic thought familiar to aesthetic circles by the early nineteenth century.

When Tuthill quoted from Loudon's The Architectural Magazine, she was probably unaware that the articles signed "Kata Phusin" were written by a young Oxford student, John Ruskin. The four chapters Tuthill

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[316] Christiana C. Hankin, Introduction, Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck, The Principles of Beauty (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859), 15.

devotes to the analysis of Greek and Gothic in domestic and public architecture use Ruskin's associationism to discuss architectural originality. The classic or medieval model is adapted to American needs through an examination of associations--both characteristics associated with particular past styles and those relevant to present conditions. "Domestic Architecture in the United States" begins with an explanation of the difference between copying models and adapting them to American conditions.

> In adopting the domestic architecture of foreign countries, we may be equally ridiculous. England, our fatherland, from some resemblance in habits and institutions, might furnish more suitable models for imitation than any other country; yet they would not be perfectly in accordance with our wants. Our architecture must, therefore, be partly indigenous.
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> Our associations of convenience, home-comfort, and respectability are connected with a certain style of building, which has been evolved by the wants, manners, and customs of the people. Any great deviations from a style that has been thus fixed, cannot be perfectly agreeable. We must improve upon this style, so that domestic architecture may in time be perfectly American. Fig. 34 is decidedly English.[317]

The cottage pictured, like the next two figures, is in the typical English Gothic Revival style. Quoting excerpts from Ruskin's series, Tuthill warns of the danger of copying such ideal models, rather than considering national differences in climate and character. She explains how the Italian villas and Swiss cottages described by Ruskin tempt wealthy Americans to copy popular types, preventing the development of "national" villas. "Instead of consulting home-comfort and pleasurable association, they select some Italian villa, Elizabethan house, or Swiss cottage, as their

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[317] Tuthill, History, 275.

model."[318] By educating these patrons in taste, Tuthill hopes to prevent the spread of such inappropriate forms--buildings with foreign associations. While the "figures" of English cottages are generic models, the American houses are identified by place, architect and significant architectural features.[319]

In conjunction with Ruskin's discussion of the relationship between landscape and style, Tuthill describes differences in American associations of "home-comfort." She provides several examples of American homes uniquely suited to native conditions. Henry Austin's cottage in the Grecian style is "very conveniently arranged." Another Austin cottage, a Gothic example, is "suitable for a rural city, a village, or for the country." The elaborate Elizabethan villa of Gerard Halleck harmonizes with its "extensive and beautiful prospect." Though Tuthill praises the picturesque cottages and their appropriate setting in "romantic" Roxbury highlands, she calls the residence of Roger Sherman "a truly New England house [See Plate 9]." This neoclassical edifice "is in perfect keeping with the elms and evergreens of the city of New Haven, and the design is well suited for the neighborhood of larger cities, where space could be allowed for ornamented grounds."[320] As the lack of house plans indicates, Tuthill is more concerned with appropriateness of materials, site and other exterior

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[318] Tuthill, History, 277. Tuthill is responding to Ruskin's article "The Mountain Villa" which she then quotes at length. "Kata Phusin," "The Poetry of Architecture. No. 3. The Villa.," The Architectural Magazine, 5 (June 1838): 241-2.

[319] In her The Young Lady's Home (1839), Tuthill notes that "difference of taste and sentiment, produce difference of association of ideas," a precept incorporated into her explanation of national variations in architecture. See Tuthill, The Young Lady's Home, 21.

[320] Tuthill, History, 285.

factors than with interior arrangement. Despite her commendation of spaciousness and convenience, home associations based on national difference are determined by exterior conditions.

Tuthill incorporates Ruskin's critique of tasteless, inappropriate architecture into her comments on national style. She hopes that his "caricature" "is not particularly applicable to our country."

> The architect is requested by a man of great wealth, nay, of established taste in some point, to make a design for a villa in a lovely situation. The future proprietor carries him up stairs to his study, to give him what he calls his "ideas and materials," and, in all probability, begins somewhat thus: "This, sir, is a slight note: I made it on the spot: approach to Villa Reale, near Pozzuoli. Dancing nymphs, you perceive; cypresses, shell-fountain. I think I should like something like this for the approach; classical, you perceive, sir; elegant, graceful. Then, sir, this is a sketch made by an American friend of mine; Whee-whaw-Kantamaraw's wigwam;--King of the--Cannibal Islands, I think he said, sir. Log, you observe; scalps and boa-constrictor skins: curious. Something like this, sir, would look neat, I think, for the front door; don't you?"[321]

Tuthill continues to quote Ruskin's description of this "eclectic" travesty as it accumulates Egyptian hieroglyphics, ornaments from Fonthill Abbey, towers modeled after Sir Walter Scott's Kenilworth Castle and other Romantic appendages.[322] This caricature reflects the influence of the Romantic movement in England; by the second half of the century, such criticism would be leveled against American eclecticism. Here, Tuthill uses Ruskin's irony to emphasize sensitivity towards landscape and climate as

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[321] John Ruskin, "The Poetry of Architecture. No. 3. The Villa. The English Villa.--Principles of Composition," 5 (October 1838): 435. Tuthill, History, 277-8.

[322] Kristine Ottesen Garrigan uses this satire to describe an emerging upper middle class of "eclectic" English patrons. Garrigan, Ruskin on Architecture (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 15.

"first principles" of appropriate building.[323] In opposition to Ruskin's architectural assemblage, she places his description of the Swiss cottage, not the American "outre enormities," but the "genuine log-hut,--the picturesque chalet."[324] Demonstrating how simple utility naturally produces beauty, this building represents principles advocated throughout Ruskin's work. The Swiss cottage situated within its native landscape becomes a model for an American domestic architecture with corresponding national associations. Tuthill suggests that rather than imitating the Swiss example, American architects should adapt its principles of construction to their own country.

In her discussion of the "Grecian and Gothic in Public Buildings," Tuthill further clarifies the associations inspired by particular styles. She focuses on the peculiar "character" of each order, distinguishing the Roman Doric's "cheerful dignity" from the "grandeur and majesty" of the true Doric. The Bank of the United States in Philadelphia is an example of "pure, chaste and noble" Grecian character.[325] After describing the personality traits of each order, Tuthill shifts to a discussion of Gothic. She suggests that this style inspires the permanence required in religious

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[323] In the discussion preceding his caricature, Ruskin notes how lack of knowledge in the "first principles of architecture" leads to architectural failure. See Ruskin, "The English Villa," 434.

[324] Tuthill, History, 280-1. See John Ruskin, "The Poetry of Architecture. No. 2. The Cottage--continued. The Mountain Cottage.--Switzerland," The Architectural Magazine, 5 (February 1838): 57.

[325] The tradition of associating the orders with human attributes dates back to antiquity. Tuthill illustrates the associationist aspect of her interpretation by identifying particular personalities with different styles. Classical forms no longer inherently express beauty and truth; these qualities are perceived by the individual, who also influences the production of an architecture reflecting personal values.

buildings. "We complain of the want of time-hallowed structures, consecrated by historic and holy associations. Let us leave behind us some sacred edifices, which the hearts of distant generations will love and venerate, and further, such as they will admire, that both the religion and taste of the nineteenth century may command their respect."[326] Christ Church in Hartford and a country church near Boston by Arthur Gilman are examples of appropriate American Gothic churches. While the former exemplifies the highly esteemed qualities of permanence and style, the latter shows how simple wooden buildings can exhibit "good taste." Though Tuthill highly recommends that "the objects associated with these laws and institutions--(state-houses, colleges, academies, churches, etc)" are built in the permanent materials that "heighten reverence," she understands the limitations of funds and skills.[327] The description of Gilman's church concludes with its price, "less than three thousand dollars."[328]

Tuthill's analysis of American architecture becomes more critical in her second chapter on the Greek and the Gothic. The use of both styles has been influenced by "manias"--fashions resulting in absurd distortions of architectural truth. The widespread popularity of Grecian houses is manifested by grand portico entrances overpowering the "mean house sneaking behind them."[329] Though Tuthill is pleased that a "better taste is now prevailing," she worries about the "Gothic and Elizabethan mania"

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[326] Tuthill, History, 293-4.

[327] Tuthill, History, 297.

[328] Tuthill, History, 298.

[329] Tuthill, History, 301.

now in vogue.[330] However, "as the mania for the Elizabethan style is actually raging," Tuthill does not hesitate to offer principles for better building.[331] While appropriately adapted Elizabethan structures may be either simple or rich, the ornament should be carefully studied and should avoid gables with jagged right angles. From the specificity of her description, it is obvious that Tuthill has familiar examples in mind. "Figure forty-seven" depicts a model Elizabethan villa in stark contrast to "those dark-brown deformities, with as many high, pointed gables as can be contrived by the skill of the ignorant artisan" which are "blotting" the American landscape [See Plate 10].[332] That Tuthill does not imagine this problem can be solved purely through "home associations" is suggested by her frequent reference to materials and construction techniques.

Critical Sentiments

In "A Random Chapter on Walls, Chimneys, Windows, etc," Tuthill emphasizes other factors responsible for achieving an American style. All the necessary aspects of a building, particularly the chimney, are "associated with American home-comfort."[333] Within her discussion of

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[330] Tuthill, History, 301.

[331] Tuthill, History, 304.

[332] Tuthill, History, 306.

[333] Tuthill, History, 311. Downing also emphasizes the importance of every aspect of home furnishing in the production of domestic comfort. He notes that "in a dwelling-house, our every day comfort is so entirely dependant on a convenient arrangement of the rooms, or plan of the interior, that this is universally acknowledged to be the most important consideration." See Downing, Cottage Residences, 10.

architectural details, Tuthill challenges the reader to imagine a national architecture. "The question arises, cannot our architects furnish us with a truly American style? Will not something original in time be produced? Or rather, will not modifications grow out of former styles, suited to our climate, customs, and mode of life?"[334] Tuthill's unexpected interjections are immediately followed by an examination of historical door ornaments and chimney fashions. Her random chapter returns to nationalistic questions, however, when she comments on the progress of American art. Now that America has produced the native sculptors Greenough, Powers, Clevenger, Augur, Brackett, Ives, Hughes and many others, as well as a "long list" of equally talented architects, the country need no longer rely on European artists. Declaring that "to build without the aid of a skilful and scientific architect is presumptuous," Tuthill emphasizes the importance of investing in knowledgeable architects and allowing them professional freedom.[335]

Throughout the History, Tuthill speaks in two distinct voices. When constrained by the historical form of her narrative--her conception of what

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[334] Tuthill, History, 310. Tuthill's thoughts on national orginality sound remarkably Emersonian. In his essay "Self-Reliance" (1839-40), Emerson writes: "And why need we copy the Doric or Gothic model? Beauty, convenience, grandeur of thought and quaint expression are as near to us as to any, and if the American artist will study with hope and love the precise thing to be done by him, considering the climate, the soil, the length of the day, the wants of the people, the habit and form of the government, he will create a house in which all these will find themselves fitted, and taste and sentiment will be satisfied also." See Stephen E. Whicher, ed., Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), 164. Though Tuthill does not cite Emerson, quotations in Sarah Tuthill's commonplace book (a gift from her mother in 1845) indicate that "Emerson's Essay's" were part of the family library. Sarah includes excerpts from Emerson under the categories "Artist," "Representative Men," and "Friendship." See Sarah Tuthill's Commonplace book, Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library.

[335] Tuthill, History, 312.

a history must contain--Tuthill provides the necessary information with little critical comment. However, a few times in every chapter, usually in response to other writers' comments, Tuthill is inspired to contribute her own point of view. These interruptions reveal the book's practical, educational purpose; Tuthill speaks directly to her audience, the common reader, candidly asking questions, offering opinions and suggesting that he or she "look around" to better understand the local architectural situation.[336]

In fulfilling her aesthetic purpose, Tuthill's "casual voice" is equivalent in force and importance to her "historical" one. While her theory and criticism direct the reader to particular areas of interest reinforcing her thesis, the History educates him or her in tasteful aesthetics. Because every aspect of Tuthill's agenda is closely related, the steps toward national architectural improvement are frequently repeated. She begins her effort to reform American culture by educating the reader in aesthetics, thereby promoting the education of architects, which correspondingly elevates the state of American architecture. This "masterplan" interweaves human and architectural principles, while alternating personal and professional voices. Tuthill's simple language and frequent repetition address the large population of common American readers, not a handful of sophisticated historians.

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[336] Tuthill's interest in current architecture is illustrated by the inclusion of the "Bank of North America," a recently constructed public "specimen." In a note following her preface, Tuthill states that "the design for this engraving was not received in time for the description to appear in its proper place, among the buildings of Philadelphia. The edifice is now being erected." As if to offset funereal associations, the engraving of this contemporary bank appears immediately after Tuthill's concluding chapter on cemeteries [See Figure 11].

The History conveys a great deal of information about nineteenth century architecture and well deserves its title of "first history." Those who view Tuthill's subjectivity as detracting from the History not only misinterpret her goal, but also neglect a valuable source of information. As previously suggested, the historical part of Tuthill's work can only be understood within the context of contemporary architectural writings, none of which attempted to be as thorough as she. With the exception of Benson Lossing, male architectural history writers appealed to an audience of prospective builders and buyers. Though ultimately concerned with such market issues, Tuthill was not exposed to the architectural world in the same way as a practicing architect like Town or Davis. From her "sheltered" position as an elite woman writer, Tuthill addresses a broader social situation. Because men built up the country's economic base and developed all sorts of mechanical and industrial innovations, America is now prepared to develop a cultural base. As Tuthill continually emphasizes, success in aesthetics depends on the education of those who were not involved in economic (public) growth--women, children and artists. Tuthill's work provides these groups with an influential voice on architectural issues. That she is seriously pursuing such an aesthetic mission is represented by the use of architectural imagery and theory throughout her work.[337]

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[337] A typical example of Tuthill's use of aesthetic theory in her popular books for young readers appears in Reality. Discussing the power of memory as it affects her protagonist-architect George Raymond, Tuthill writes "the electric train of association flashed from the living present, to the dead past, enduing it with vitality." Tuthill, Reality, 180. As Henry Ladd points out, Alison's interpretation of emotional "trains of thought" expanded the psychological aspect of Scottish empiricism. See Ladd, Victorian Morality, 88-9. In Elements of Criticism, one of Tuthill's sources for the History, Lord Kames writes: "A man, while awake, is conscious of a

The History did not find a space in "every family library;" there is no record of any contemporary reprintings.[338] The book was not heavily advertised before publication, "noticed" during the first year of issue or purchased in quantities significant enough to require successive printings. Despite positive reviews in The Princeton Review and The Literary World, Tuthill's History seems to have been ignored while many of her other books went into multiple editions.[339] Though the History's reception in these magazines suggest that they, too, predicted success, both reviews also offer clues to the book's lack of popularity. The Princeton Review, a journal focusing on scientific and religious issues, comments on Tuthill's book between "short notices" of Lectures on the Physical Phenomena of Living Beings and Professor Agassiz' An Introduction to the Study of Natural History. The reviewer seems to have taken Tuthill's "mission" seriously.

> We dare not do otherwise than commend this goodly and beautiful volume to the attention of our readers. It is comprehensive, as the title-page itself indicates; while as a descriptive work, it is clear and satisfactory; and it is impossible even to look over its numerous plates and illustrations, without feeling oneself refined as well as instructed. We are always glad to welcome such books; and

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continued train of perceptions and ideas passing in his mind." See Kames, Elements, 19.

[338] Tuthill's History was printed simultaneously in England by J. Chapman (1848). See Sampson Low, ed., The English Catalogue of Books published from Jan. 1835, Jan. 1863 (1865; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1963), 787. For more information on John Chapman's publishing house see DLB 106: 92-4.

[339] For more information on reprintings of Tuthill books in America and England see Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 787. In addition to Allibone's list, The English Catalogue of Books includes the following: Home: A Book for Young Ladies (1855), Joy and Care (1855), Nursery Book for Young Mothers (1849), Reality; or the Millionaire's Daughter (1836?) and Success in Life; the Merchant and the Mechanic (1849).

> particularly so in the present case, because we trust and believe, that it will tend to stimulate and guide the waking attention of our people, in the study and practice of the arts of taste. The large proportion of the volume dedicated to American architecture, will be likely to favour this desirable tendency.[340]

Though educated by merely glancing at the book, the reviewer goes on to note its appropriateness for "the people," implying "the masses." He looks for the spiritual origins of architecture and criticizes the work for its lack of attention to "the expression of religious sentiment and feeling." Still, he concludes the review with the general assessment, "it is good:--may it do good."[341]

Like The Princeton Review, The Literary World focuses on Tuthill's audience. The History is appropriate for "every individual who does not make the art of building a study," "the ladies of the United States," and "the layman in art." According to the reviewer, the History eloquently speaks to the uninitiated.

> Without offering a profound archaeological treatise or speculating upon the properties of this style and that, or meddling with any of the various controversies which have occupied learned minds--absorbing valuable time for meagre results--we have a historical synopsis, told to the understanding of all, from the aboriginal to the refined eras, with engraved specimens in elucidation of the text, embracing

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[340] The Princeton Review, 20 (April 1848): 320-1.

[341] The positive, uncritical tone of both reviews is probably a result of the desire to promote national literature. Contemporary book reviews were notoriously biased; publishers often distributed their own reviews to various magazines. Sometimes the authors's comments were published in review form. For a good discussion of early nineteenth-century literary practices see Matthew J. Bruccoli, The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800-1870. The Papers of William Charvat (Ohio State University Press, 1968), 168-189, 283-297.

> many examples of the style of domestic architecture now in vogue throughout the United States.[342]

Commending Tuthill for "the taste and beauty" of her work, the reviewer recommends her "household text book." While both reviewers seem to admire Tuthill's effort, particularly as an American literary contribution, neither is quite sure where to place the book in relation to the public. Rather than analyze the text, both explain its purpose through Tuthill's own explanation in the preface. Perhaps the novelty of subject and the author's gender caused them to hesitate from further criticizing the work. The lack of a practical purpose, except in its mission regarding taste, may also have affected the reviewers. Other books advertised in The Literary World included Downing's Landscape Gardening and Cottage Residences, George Wightwick's Hint's to Young Architects and Gardening For Ladies by Mrs. Loudon--all volumes with explicitly "practical" and "useful" applications. While the History attempts to address the common American, it could not have seemed practical to the average man who might purchase Downing's Residences for building plans; if the typical "lady" ever saw an advertisement, she would have considered the book a luxury.[343]

Despite the History's failure to reach the masses, Tuthill did find a broader market for her work. Contemporary biographical accounts, notices in magazines, and advertisements in the back of similar books

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[342] The Literary World: A Gazette for Authors, Readers and Publishers, 2 (15 January 1848): 579.

[343] According to Orville Roorbach's Catalogue of American Publications from 1820-1848, the History sold for $3.50. Many of Tuthill's juvenile books are listed at under .50, with the Success in Life series at .63 each. Reality, the most expensive of her books other than the History, cost one dollar. See Roorbach, Bibliotheca Americana. Catalogue of American Publications, from 1820-1848 (New York: Orville A. Roorbach, 1849), 282.

indicate that Tuthill's juvenile fiction was in demand. She wrote her popular Success in Life series in the early fifties, and continued writing for young readers throughout the sixties, while she collected selections of Ruskin's works. By introducing Ruskin to "common" Americans in the form of anthologies, Tuthill found another popular market; her edited selections continued to be reprinted long after her death.

Architectural Sentiments

Tuthill's use of Ruskin's early magazine articles in the History marked the beginning of her lifelong interest in the English critic's work. The year before Ruskin's architectural theories were introduced to Americans in The Crayon, Tuthill's The Artist (1854) incorporated extensive quotations from The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849) and The Stones of Venice (2 vols., 1851-3).[344] A few years later, Tuthill edited the first anthology of Ruskin's work published in America, The True and the Beautiful in Nature, Arts, Morals and Religion (1859). This volume, reprinted twenty-three times, was initially issued by the New York firm of Wiley and Halsted, which was also responsible for the first American editions of The Seven Lamps and The Stones.[345] During the sixties and

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[344] In The Artist, Tuthill footnotes Ruskin's comments on Italian painting (68), Renaissance architecture (71) and historical (73) and mental associations (84). A quotation from "Modern Painters" identifies Ruskin as "a recent writer." Tuthill, The Artist, 91.

[345] Beginning with an 1859 edition of The True and the Beautiful copyrighted the year before, John Wiley issued two more editions, the third of which was reprinted almost every year up to 1890. In 1886, another New York firm, H.M. Caldwell Co., published the text; their reprint followed in 1896. The New York publishers Merrill and Baker also introduced a second

seventies, Tuthill completed two more Ruskin collections for John Wiley and Son, Precious Thoughts: Moral and Religious (1866) and Pearls for Young Ladies (1878). An active writer and editor at the age of eighty, Tuthill continued to focus on aesthetic education.

In 1855 the publication of a New York art magazine featuring Ruskin's theory indicated a growing interest in his work since mid-century. The Crayon, "a weekly journal devoted to the graphic arts, and the literature related to them," introduced a new forum for discussion of the arts in America. By directing its attention toward "those who have admired and desired to learn," the editors of The Crayon hoped to raise the national level of aesthetic appreciation. Appropriately, an article called "The Growth of Taste" appeared in the third week of the journal's publication. Emphasizing the importance of establishing a foundation of "first principles" from early childhood, the author writes,

> Every good teacher knows that all education, not grounded on first principles, must be undone and re-done, and so we may build a taste with all the art treasures of the past--it is still an air castle, unless the first foundations have been laid upon the child-feelings of the people.[346]

Like Tuthill, The Crayon focuses on educating its readers by providing them with tasteful principles, which imply high moral standards. Despite the journal's endorsement of Ruskin's work, excerpts of which appeared throughout its existence, The Crayon also criticized Ruskin; the English critic's theories were considered potentially dangerous, especially for the

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edition at this time. See the National Union Catalog for more information.

[346] The Crayon, 1 (17 January 1855): 1.

uninitiated American.[347] Ruskin's writings were too persuasive, poetic and judgmental for those who might take his opinions literally. Still, The Crayon's fear of Ruskin's appeal to the innocent American reader did not prevent the magazine from reprinting his "Poetry of Architecture" series. The moral message inherent in Ruskin's work mitigated his potentially stifling theory.[348] By 1859, when Tuthill published the first anthology, American art enthusiasts were acquainted with various interpretations of Ruskin.[349]

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[347] In his article, "John Ruskin," Brownlee Brown writes, "To the young reader, or one unlearned in Art, we say place no confidence in the dictum of Mr. Ruskin; distrust his statements and estimates. Do not even think of him as a critic. He has not the judicial temperament, the consideration and fairness which fit a man to sit in judgement on the efforts of his fellows. Suspect and scrutinize his applications of principles, accept the principles themselves generally, not strictly, as approximations and hints, not laws. With this caution you may yield yourselves to enjoy the earnestness and vitality of this thinker, to share his love of Truth, strong even when he is led into error, his enjoyment of all noble activity, his admiration for true manhood, and his abhorrence of sordid aims." The Crayon, 4 (November 1857): 335.

[348] Roger Stein, in his analysis of Ruskin in America, notes "that the development of art was intimately involved with the religious faith of Americans . . .". A writer for the Illustrated Magazine of Art (1853) supports his thesis by declaring the existence of an American "'school of sentiment,'" in which "religious faith is an essential element of true art." Stein, John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 79.

[349] In 1851, a reviewer for The North American Review remarked on the difficulty of following Ruskin's argument in The Seven Lamps. Despite his criticism of the Englishman's convoluted explanations, the reviewer decided that "Whether its technical distinctions be true or false, its nomenclature philosophical or otherwise, matters little, compared with the refining and elevating influence it must exercise upon the public taste . . . And so far as our own country is concerned, we think it of much importance to give a wise direction to the awakening taste." North American Review, 72 (April 1851): 302-303.

John Wiley's publishing firm did much to promote Ruskin's theory in America.[350] Beginning with The Seven Lamps in 1849, Wiley and Halsted published many of Ruskin's books the same year as the English first editions. In some cases, Wiley's publications appeared before their English equivalents.[351] Henry Russell Hitchcock annotates his entry for Lectures on Architecture and painting (1854), also published by the firm, with an estimation of Ruskin's impact in America.

> The rapid succession of issues of these works in America cannot be accurately compared with the infrequent English editions. Very probably the English editions were large and the American issues small. Yet the number of American issues in the fifties remains surprising, and the early American appearance of the Inquiry in 1866 and The Poetry of Architecture in 1873, suggests an insatiable appetite for Ruskin's architectural writing.[352]

By 1858, Louisa Tuthill's appetite for Ruskin was of this type. Having quoted Ruskin in her own work for the last ten years, Tuthill must have gained a reputation as a knowledgeable critic. On the title page of her anthology, The True and the Beautiful, she is "the author of "History of Architecture," "The Artist, etc.," an authority on aesthetic subjects. In her preface to the work, Tuthill alludes to the purpose behind her selection. She writes, "A Preface need not, as a matter of course, be an apology. Yet, an apology would be offered for "Selections" from Ruskin's

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[350] For more information on the publishing company see DLB 49: 485-89. An anecdotal account of John Wiley's interest in Ruskin and a biographical sketch of the English critic are included in John Hammond Moore's history of the firm. See Wiley: One Hundred and Seventy-Five Years of Publishing (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1982), 62-80.

[351] Hitchcock notes that "the unauthorized American edition precedes any separate English publication, as is also true of the 1873 American edition of The Poetry of Architecture," Hitchcock, American Architectural Books, 85.

[352] Hitchcock, American Architectural Books, 86.

Works, were those valuable works accessible to readers in general. Being voluminous and expensive, they are beyond the means of many who could appreciate and highly enjoy them."[353] Consistent with her educational purpose, Tuthill is most interested in making Ruskin's works available to the public, that is, in cultivating aesthetic taste.

Tuthill's authority as an architectural writer is also apparent in the introduction to the text. Though Tuthill is never very critical of Ruskin, her "Notice of John Ruskin and His Works" is presented in scholarly format; she begins with a literary review illustrating her familiarity with Ruskin's writings. After praising Ruskin for his Christian philosophy and love of nature, Tuthill introduces selections from his autobiography. Through Ruskin's own life experience, the reader is shown "how the love of the Beautiful in Nature has been developed in any one human being."[354] As in her previous writings, Tuthill uses biography to illustrate the intimate connection between life and creative work. At the end of her seventeen-page notice, Tuthill articulates her belief that American art will surpass Ruskin's hopes for art in his country. Whereas Ruskin imagines a return of "the age of Pericles, enlightened by modern philosophy and purified by Christianity," Tuthill predicts that "a higher aim even than this will, we trust, be attempted in our own country."[355] Her predictions rest on the success of aesthetic education.

> True; Art is here yet in its infancy. Its healthful,

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[353] Louisa Tuthill, ed., The True and the Beautiful in Nature, Art, Morals and Religion (1858; reprint, New York: John Wiley, 1864), xiii.

[354] Tuthill, The True and the Beautiful, xvii.

[355] Tuthill, The True and the Beautiful, xxxi.

> vigourous growth and development, will depend mainly upon the general cultivation of a correct Taste. We cannot expect our Artists to pursue high and noble aims until the standard of Taste is proportionably elevated.
>
> For the study of nature,--the inseparable ally of Art,--no finer field can be found on the wide earth, than our own wide country;--and no better guide and interpreter, than John Ruskin.[356]

By applying Ruskin's theory to the American situation, Tuthill fully realizes the unexplored potential of nature in her country, a potential that inspires an original architecture beyond Pericles.

Tuthill has been accused of selecting the most moral aspects of Ruskin, but the moral character of the work is more a factor of the times, than of Tuthill's own pious nature.[357] Ruskin himself was moralistic, and the religious aspect of his work was both central and popular.[358] While many Americans still had difficulty identifying with Ruskin's critiques of Italian painters, they could apply his moral messages to everyday life. Like many of her contemporaries, Tuthill found Ruskin's romantic theory applicable to a national architecture. His emphasis on nature and morality, rather than the "slavish imitation" of classical principles, was particularly

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[356] Tuthill, The True and the Beautiful, xxxi.

[357] According to Roger Stein, who devotes a paragraph to Tuthill's anthologies, Tuthill emphasizes morals at the expense of artistic analysis. Though he mentions all three books, Stein only credits Tuthill as editor of The True and the Beautiful and Precious Thoughts. See Stein, John Ruskin, 94.

[358] In her chapter, "What Ruskin Emphasized in Architecture," Garrison remarks that "no author has been more the victim, or probably more deservedly so, of purple-passage anthologizing . . .". While Stein feels that contemporary anthologies overemphasize Ruskin's moralistic aspect, Garrison argues that such selections disproportionally stress his architectural writing. "Such wrenching from context, for whatever well-intentioned purpose, coupled with his popular identification as a leader of the Gothic Revival, has thus perhaps made it seem as if Ruskin wrote predominantly on architecture." See Garrison, Ruskin on Architecture, 33.

attractive since much of his theory derived from familiar classical roots. Though not as popular as her first anthology, Tuthill's other collections of Ruskin's work also went into second editions and multiple reprintings.[359] In her preface to Precious Thoughts, Tuthill comments on an editor's process of selection. Rather than creating a synthesized, contextual work of the type Roger Stein would prefer, Tuthill creates a reference book with an alphabetized table of contents. Because "Much time is wasted by human beings, in general, on establishment of systems," Tuthill adopts a more practical approach.[360] She decides to organize her "chapters with a view to convenient reference, rather than to any careful division of subjects, and to follow out, in any by-ways that may open, on right hand or left, whatever question it seems useful at any moment to settle."[361] As she explains in the dedication, Tuthill sees her second work as balancing the content of her first, which "she devoted mainly to 'Nature' and to 'Art,' Ruskin's specialty, leaving only a small portion of the book to 'Morals' and 'Religion.'"[362] Tuthill suggests that her choices are based on the remaining material available, "gems" of a more religious nature. The table

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[359] Precious Thoughts, first published by J. Wiley and Son in 1866, was reprinted by the firm in 1867, 1868, 1869, 1872, 1877, 1879, 1881, and 1884. A second edition was introduced in 1890. Merill and Baker of New York and H. M. Caldwell Co. reprinted the second edition in the 1890s. Pearls for Young Ladies was simultaneously published by Wiley and Sons, H.M. Caldwell, T.Y. Crowell and Merrill and Baker in 1878. Wiley reprinted the book in 1879 and issued a second edition in 1890.

[360] Louisa Tuthill, ed., Precious Thoughts: Moral and Religious. Gathered From the Works of John Ruskin, A.M. (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1866), prefatory.

[361] Tuthill, Precious Thoughts, prefatory.

[362] Tuthill, Precious Thoughts, "Dedicatory and Explanatory. To S.S.B." (Sarah Schoonmaker Baker, Tuthill's youngest daughter)

of contents lists a variety of subject headings, from "Associations, human, 58.," and "Lessons From Rocks, 232," to "Thy Kingdom Come, 59" and "Cloud Balancings, 80."[363]

A quick glance at Pearls for Young Ladies, published the year before Tuthill died, illustrates its moral content, but one is still left wondering more about Ruskin's didacticism than Tuthill's. Specifying that her selections have been chosen from this later body of work, Tuthill emphasizes the social impact of the English art critic's theory. She writes, "in his later and recent writings it has been his design to act upon human life in its social, domestic and personal relations, so as to correct in it what is corrupt and vicious and to impart wisdom and goodness."[364] As her brief comments on Ruskin's character in her introductory statement imply, Tuthill is concerned with the origins of the critic's thought and the "general principles" of his writings. She divides the book into seven sections, beginning with "autobiography" and ending with "miscellaneous." Under each of these themes are several sub-topics a paragraph or two in length. Like Precious Thoughts, Pearls is a reference book directed at a specific audience of readers. By simplifying and re-arranging the individual gems, Tuthill creates a new setting, more appropriate to young

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[363] Sarah Josepha Hale considered her friend Mrs. Tuthill an authority on Ruskin. In an 1866 response to a letter from Tuthill she writes: "Perhaps you might write something about Ruskin's last work from which I could select my vols. [eds.?] to be. I should like your written criticism on the book "The Ethics of the Dust." See "unidentified" letters in the Tuthill Family Papers, 1 September 1866, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. Hale is referring to Ruskin's The Ethics of the Dust: Ten Lectures to Little Housewives on the Elements of Crystallisation (London: Smith, Elder, 1866).

[364] Louisa Tuthill, ed., Pearls for Young Ladies (1878; reprint, New York: H.M. Caldwell Co., n.d.), iii-iv.

American ladies, future arbiters of taste.

Associationism: Contrast

In a letter to Lydia Sigourney written from her Princeton, New Jersey home, Louisa Tuthill remarks "on that principle of association, contrast" which brought her friend "vividly" to mind.[365] From the contrast between Sigourney's countenance and a howling storm, Tuthill moves to a comparison of New England and New Jersey. She writes,

> . . . as for myself--transplanting seems to suit the material wonderfully well--(As to the spiritual--the atmosphere of New Jersey is not supposed to be as highly charged with the electricity of thought as that of our own dear New England.) Happily, the development of fibres and tendrils seems to be a part of my idiosyncrasy, and they are already holding firmly to the soil and clinging to whatsoever offers as a prop. A most ludicrous and inappropriate figure when you consider the dimensions of the sturdy plant and the number of times that it has been twitched up.[366]

Tuthill's letter to Sigourney solves some of the private and personal mysteries surrounding her life and work. Not only do we learn of her literal change of place, but also of her more "casual" interpretation of an important theme. Tuthill employs "that principle of association-contrast" throughout her architectural writings, creating a series of dichotomies that define what is national and in good taste. This example of contrast as a principle of association suggests another way of resolving the conflicts

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[365] Tuthill to Lydia Sigourney, 29 October 1849, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

[366] Tuthill to Sigourney, 29 October 1849, The Connecticut Historical Society.

between "contrasting" ideals, such as servile imitation and noble adaptation. American and foreign artists are "associated" in a single tradition, but their contrasting nationalities define architectural differences.

Although Tuthill is associated with several acceptable roles for women--the Christian mother, venerable widow, and nurturing educator--a closer look at her life suggests a series of contrasts. An independent author with the responsibility of four children, Tuthill lived a self-sufficient life centered around a successful career. As a writer on architecture, she entered a public forum controlled by men, offering opinions on building materials, doors and chimneys and other topics that certainly contrasted with domestic, "feminine" subjects. This section briefly discusses some of the private and personal biographical facts that defined Tuthill's career as a writer and exposed her to New England architecture.

Tuthill had been "twitched up" several times since she left New Haven about ten years before her "transplantation" to Princeton. Shortly after her mother's death in 1837, Tuthill moved to Hartford, the home of Sigourney, Daniel Wadsworth and others prominent in New Haven literary circles. Here, Tuthill became acquainted with local publisher Hezekiah Huntington.[367] The publisher of Tuthill's A Course of Calisthenics for Young Ladies (1831), Huntington encouraged her work and that of her daughter, Cornelia. Two letters sent to publishers from Tuthill's Hartford

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[367] Hezekiah Huntington (1795-1865) opened up a publishing business with his younger brother Francis Junius (1802-1878) specializing in "school books." For more information about the firm see James Hammond Trumbull, ed., The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1633-1884, vol. 1 (Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886), 624.

address mention Huntington as a professional reference.[368] During her stay in Hartford, Tuthill's son, Charles Henry, opened a law practice. He continued working as a lawyer in the city until 1847.[369]

Sometime after the summer of 1842, Tuthill left Hartford and moved to the town of Roxbury just outside of Boston.[370] By February 1, 1847, the Tuthill family was living in Philadelphia, where both The Mirror of Life and the History were under publication. In October of 1848, she and her two daughters, Cornelia and Sarah, became communicants of Trinity Episcopal church in Princeton.[371] As the letter to Sigourney emphasizes, by 1849 Tuthill was securely established in Princeton. Her clinging roots were never permanently twitched up again.

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[368] Tuthill's letter to the publishers Carey and Hart (February 1841) refers to Mr. H. Huntington of the firm H. & F. J. Huntington, who suggested she inquire about the publication of her "work on architecture." The letter addressing the New York publishers D. Appleton & Co. (July 1841) opens by stating that "some weeks since, Mr. H. Huntington of the firm of H. & F. J. Huntington, handed you a part of the M.S. of a work entitled "Wreaths and Branches for the Church, by a young Lady."

[369] Trumbull, Memorial History of Hartford, 131-2. Charles Henry Tuthill died in 1850 at the age of thirty-one.

[370] That Tuthill was in Boston the summer before, perhaps as a visitor, is indicated by a letter she wrote to the publishers James Munroe and Co. Her return address is 54 Chestnut Street, Beacon Hill, one of a set of six Greek Revival row houses built by Cornelius Coolidge in the mid 1820s. See Tuthill to James Monroe and Company, June 1841, James Monroe and Co. Correspondence, The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. According to Hart, Tuthill lived in Hartford from 1838 until 1842, Roxbury from 1842 until 1846 and Philadelphia from 1846 to an unspecified date. See Hart, Female Prose Writers, 113. Hale remarks that "in 1842 Mrs. Tuthill removed to the vicinity of Boston." See Hale, Women's Record, 803. A letter from John Williams, Bishop of Connecticut, confirms that health was a factor in the Tuthills' move from the Boston area. Williams writes "I trust your change of residence from Massachusetts is in all ways, pleasant and especially advantageous to your daughter's health." See John Williams to Tuthill (February 1847) Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library.

[371] G. Cobb, ed., Trinity Church Parish Records, 3 Vols, 1834-1946, vol. 1, "Communicants," October, 1848.

In 1860, Tuthill was the sixty-two year old head of a household of women [See Plate 12]. Mary E. Tuthill (34), Sarah S. Baker (32), her daughter Louise Woods Baker (7), and Jane McFarland (28), an illiterate servant born in Ireland, lived with her in Princeton. Though Mary remained single, Sarah had married Woods Baker of Washington City in 1851.[372] Her husband was killed in an accident on the Hudson River shortly after their marriage, leaving Sarah a widow with a young child. The other Tuthill daughter, Cornelia, married John Pierson in 1856 and was living with him in New York. During the war, Louisa Tuthill became president of an association of Princeton women who contributed supplies to volunteer soldiers.[373] She was also an active member of Trinity Church, and the sponsor of many newly baptized babies.

Shortly after the war, Sarah Tuthill Baker purchased a house on 86 Stockton Street. Louisa probably maintained the family's first residence separately for the remainder of her life. Sarah lived at Stockton Street

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[372] The marriage occurred May 20th, 1851 in Princeton. See State Gazette, 26 May 1851, "Trenton Newspaper Index" (vol. 5, #1334), 2.

[373] Hageman, History of Princeton, 295. See also Tuthill's letter to Rev. Thomas F. Gadsden (21 March 1873) concerning the Woman's Missionary Association's shipment of "wearing apparel." The Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library.

until 1884, when she moved to Sweden.[374] Mary Tuthill owned the Princeton home until her death in 1908.[375]

A few months before she died, Louisa Tuthill wrote a will demonstrating her family's financial security. Tuthill left Sarah, who was "comfortably provided for," two thousand dollars.[376] Her property "real and personal" was given to Mary. Though Cornelia had died in 1870, Tuthill remembered her son-in-law John Pierson with several books from her library--including all the volumes of the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia. She also bestowed one hundred dollars upon the Woman's Missionary association of Trinity Church. A relatively straightforward will, the only trace of sentiment was her gift of one hundred dollars to her granddaughter Louise Woods Beckman for the "purchase of a mourning ring."[377] The probate inventory of Tuthill's estate includes some evidence of investments--two thousand, eight hundred dollars worth of

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[374] Sarah Baker died in Djursholm, Sweden in 1906. Like her sister, Cornelia, Sarah began publishing children's books in her twenties. Writing under the pseudonym "Aunt Friendly," Sarah Baker achieved international success as a juvenile fiction writer. "The works of Mrs. Baker have been much appreciated in England and Scotland, where they have had a large circulation; and some of them have been translated into the French, Italian and Swedish languages." Alfred B. Baker, The Records of Trinity Church, Princeton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1908), 94-5.

[375] Gerald Breese, Footprints on Edgehill Street (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 57, 100, 138.

[376] A copy of Tuthill's will is on file (Wills Book "G,"479-81) at the Mercer County Surrogate's Office, Trenton, New Jersey. The original will was stolen from this office.

[377] "Wills Book "G," 479.

government bonds and a two thousand dollar New Haven and North Hampton Railroad Bond.[378]

After her death, Tuthill was remembered in New Haven and in Princeton. The Records of Trinity Church (1908) includes an obituary "from a New Haven paper."[379] The writer is impressed with the length of Tuthill's career and her recent work on Ruskin "noticed in these columns a few month ago." Of particular interest to the New Haven audience is Tuthill's effort to maintain "associations" with her native "City of Elms." The obituary concludes with further accolades: "our older cemetery contains the graves of many illustrious dead, but of not many who have a fairer title to the praise which is earned by long continued and successful efforts to make life from its beginnings pure and noble."[380]

The final chapter of Tuthill's History is devoted to the cemetery, a place not commonly thought of in architectural terms. For Tuthill, cemeteries embody the ultimate merging of moral and architectural sentiment. While Gothic churches represent public religious ideals, the cemetery is a more domestic and personal manifestation of religious power.

> With the increase of civilization and refinement, a taste for the beautiful and sublime is induced; but the exalted principles of Christianity evoke a deeper sentiment, which leads us to hallow the grave where rest the remains of our beloved ones,

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[378] The probate inventory also records "a note of hand of Sarah Baker" for six thousand dollars; the total, including investments, is ten thousand, eight hundred dollars. The probate inventory is on microfilm in the Trenton State Library.

[379] (June 1879. Rev. W. G. Andrews, D.D.), Baker, The Records of Trinity Church, 100. This obituary also appears in the Princeton Press, June 7, 1879.

[380] Baker, Records, 100-02.

> till the last trumpet shall summon them to put on immortality.[381]

Quoting her contemporaries, Washington Irving and a writer from the North American Review, Tuthill discusses the need to create an environment "where the associations are of a soothing and elevating character."[382] She describes the treatment of architectural features--enclosures, gateways, chapels and monuments--to promote this purpose. While both Egyptian and Grecian styles are traditional in cemeteries, the Christian Gothic imbues monuments with additional religious associations. Like Loudon, Tuthill believes in the cemetery's potential to inspire the living while honoring the dead.[383] Monuments should be particularly constructed to embody "the expression and appropriate associations" recalling the character of the departed.[384]

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[381] Tuthill, History, 331.

[382] Tuthill, History, 332. The following quotation by Washington Irving also appears in Loudon's Cemeteries: "The grave should be surrounded by every thing that might inspire tenderness and veneration for the dead, or that might win the living to virtue. It is the place, not of disgust and dismay, but of sorrow and meditation." Irving, "Rural Funerals," Sketch Book, vol. 1 (Boston: Dana Estes and Co., 1820), 112-122. After quoting Coleridge's Friend, Loudon cites a paragraph from "Picton, in Arch. Mag. iv., p. 430." "'Let us be careful, however, in our anxiety to escape from gloom and horror, not to run into the opposite extreme of meretricious gaudiness." Tuthill includes this statement and paraphrases "Picton's" condemnation of "fashionable prettiness." Loudon, On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries (London: Printed for the author and sold by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843), 8-9.

[383] Tuthill remarks on the "instructive" nature of monuments as "records," History, 335. Loudon elaborates on the cemetery's historical role. "Churchyards and cemeteries are scenes not only calculated to improve the morals and the taste, and by their botanical riches to cultivate the intellect, but they serve as historical records," Cemeteries, 13.

[384] Tuthill, History, 336.

Remarking on the "brief space allotted to this topic," Tuthill ends the chapter with a few examples of contemporary cemeteries.[385] Greenwood Cemetery (New York), The Burying Ground at New Haven (Grove Street Cemetery), Mount Auburn (Boston) and Laurel Hill (Philadelphia) are praised for beautiful, rural settings. Despite the pagan associations suggested by Henry Austin's massive Egyptian portico at New Haven, Tuthill includes an engraving and description of his monumental gates [See Plate 13]. Perhaps the portico's Christian inscription and Tuthill's personal associations with this cemetery, where her parents and husband are buried, overcame her prejudice against the idolatrous Egyptian columns. After her death in Princeton, Tuthill joined Cornelius in the family plot at Grove Street Cemetery. The flat white tombstone they share is worn almost past recognition. With contemporary buildings as a backdrop and traffic at its front gates, the historic cemetery embodies that principle of association--contrast. Appropriately, Tuthill's History ends with the architectural setting that was to be her final home.[386]

The conclusion of Tuthill's book completes an architectural "life-span" extending from the origin of building to the American cemetery. Tuthill does not summarize her observations or predict future architectural possibilities; her lack of a polished conclusion suggests that both of these conditions have been met. The History is intended to be a useful guide for further study in the field. The "Chronological Table of the principal

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[385] Tuthill, History, 337.

[386] Tuthill quotes an authority, possibly The Architectural Magazine, on this association. "The grave must always have a home-feeling about its peace; it should have little connexion with the various turbulence which has passed by for ever; it should be the dwelling-place and the bourne of the affections," History, 335.

architects, before and since the Christian era" following the final chapter does not include "eminent" Americans because "so many of the most distinguished are still living, that we must deny ourselves the pleasure."[387] A "Glossary of Architecture" succeeding the biographies defines important architectural terms and a final index identifies key concepts by page number. Tuthill is writing about the past and for the future. In her own future, Tuthill would continue writing about architecture and associating women with its arbitration, cultivating a taste for a national aesthetic.

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[387] Tuthill, History, 380.

Conclusion

In her History of Architecture Louisa Tuthill confronts the difficulty of writing a history that is both historical and contemporary. The "idiosyncracies" of her text are the rough areas where her traditional history of architecture (imitated from the classics), meets her personal critique (adapted to the national situation). The association of the two results in an original "contrast" that Tuthill uses to highlight the differences between European and American architecture. My study of Tuthill's life and work also contains idiosyncracies that result when historical "facts" are combined with theoretical analysis. The problem of writing women's history is that much of the basic, historical research is yet to be done; and what little is known about nineteenth-century women has evolved slowly along with generations of mis-interpretations. However tempting it is to apply the latest theories to nineteenth-century ideas, historians must restrain themselves from inventing new historical figures. Modern historians have created several Tuthills--the conservative domestic, the antiquarian, the innovative achiever, the professional arbiter--all of whom need to be re-assessed before moving forward.

A close reading of Tuthill's letters and published work describes a systematic, consistent author who applies a basic educational philosophy to all subjects. Both of Tuthill's voices--casual and historical--are simple and clear and reflect her simple, clear agenda. Louisa Tuthill was most concerned with speaking to people of all ages and classes about aesthetic issues affecting their society. Her private and personal writings suggest new areas of inquiry for architectural historians interested in the social

history of the field. The only early nineteenth-century woman writing extensively on architecture, Tuthill addresses aesthetic issues in juvenile fiction and etiquette books--genres of writing typically dominated by female authors. She assumes that women are the arbiters of taste, and, in doing so, places the responsibility of critical judgement in the hands of her sex. Because Tuthill does not distinguish between the value of a children's book and the History, or an etiquette book and a story in its capacity to inculcate morals, she implies that each kind of writing is equally valuable. Tuthill writes according to very different standards from male authors, who addressed an audience of male architects and patrons in the accepted genres of the day. That the style book was a significant innovation--both in terms of audience and content--demonstrates the limited range of architectural writing in the early nineteenth century.

Tuthill approaches architecture from outside the profession. As an author of children's books, she began her writing career within the boundaries acceptable for literary women. Tuthill's unique contributions to the writing of American architectural history result from the application of architectural scholarship to other kinds of writing for less socially powerful audiences. Part of Tuthill's mission was to simplify the difficult texts written by venerable masters such as Prescott and Bancroft, and to make their histories more accessible to the common reader. She condenses and abridges the work of literary heros like Irving and borrows without apology from countless European philosophers. With amazing clarity, Tuthill adapts complex aesthetic principles to her simple plan for improving national architecture.

For Tuthill, creativity lies in the process of imitating without copying. Originality is the natural product of historical scholarship adapted to new conditions. She illustrates her own methodology by incorporating Ruskin, Reynolds and others into her agenda; Tuthill both accepts their traditional conclusions and "Americanizes" them to fit her own model. Tuthill freely adapts and imitates her predecessors. In doing so, she creates a new genre in American architectural writing--the history--which bridges the division between different types of common readers, teachers, critics and aspiring young architects. The fact that her architectural work in its entirety has been all but ignored emphasizes the continued existence of hierarchies devaluing the importance of such writing.

Before assuming that early nineteenth-century women had no opinions on architecture, which modern scholarship suggests, historians should study the work of Louisa Tuthill. Those who read her writings will discover new directions for further investigation--the study of children's literature, a body of unexplored material on early American attitudes toward taste and nationalism, and a surprising number of female authors known only as "Miss," "Mrs." and "A Lady."

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The following anonymous articles appear in The Microscope, ed. "By a Fraternity of Gentlemen" including Cornelius Tuthill. They are attributed

to Louisa Tuthill in The American Antiquarian Society's edition of the magazine. See The Microscope 1 (1820).

"Although wit has . . .," 37.
"Perhaps you were . . .," 85.
"We have already . . .," 109.
Poem, 136.
"Through the medium . . .," 152.
"In the seventeenth . . .,"189.

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Appendix III: Extant Correspondence of Louisa Tuthill

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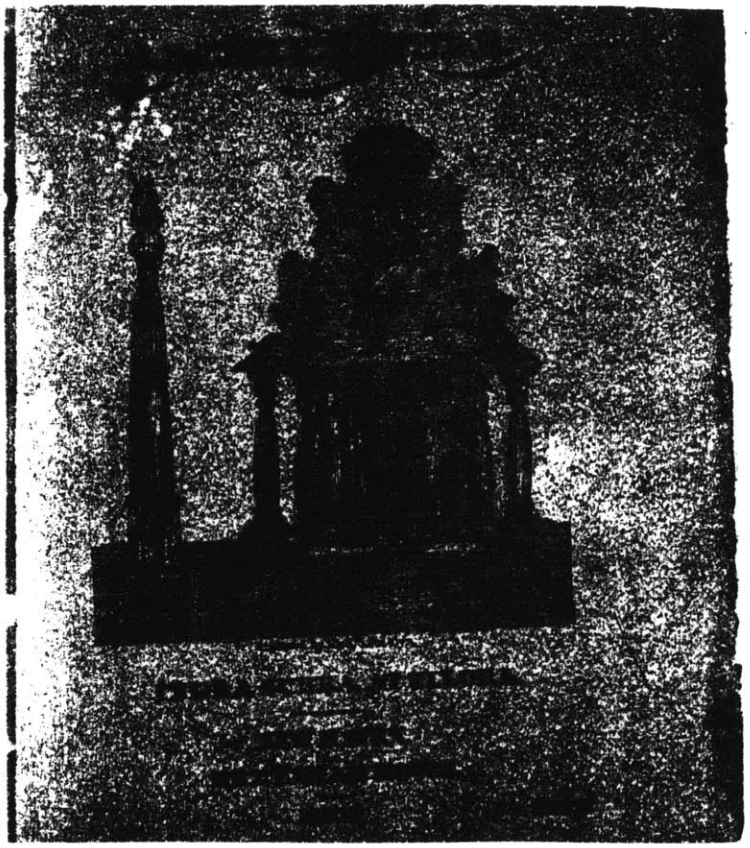
Tuthill to Rev. Thomas Gadsden, 21 March 1873, Tuthill Family Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

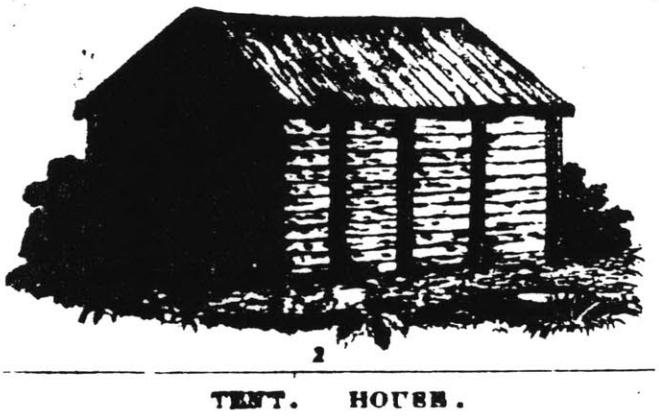
Tuthill to William R. Dorlun, 25 February 1875, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Tuthill to Mr. Fiske, 17 June 1878, glued inside the cover of The True and The Beautiful in Nature, Art, Morals and Religion (1858; Reprint, New York: Wiley and Halsted, n.d.). Widener Library, Harvard University.



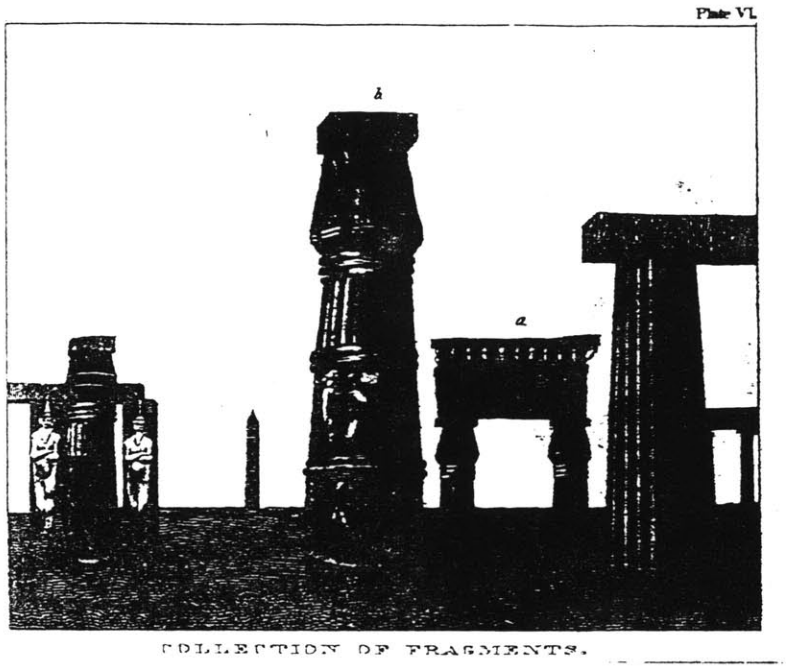
(A) Indra Subba. Engraved by N. & S.S. Jocelyn. From Tuthill, Architecture (1831), title page.

(B) Indra Subba. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate III.



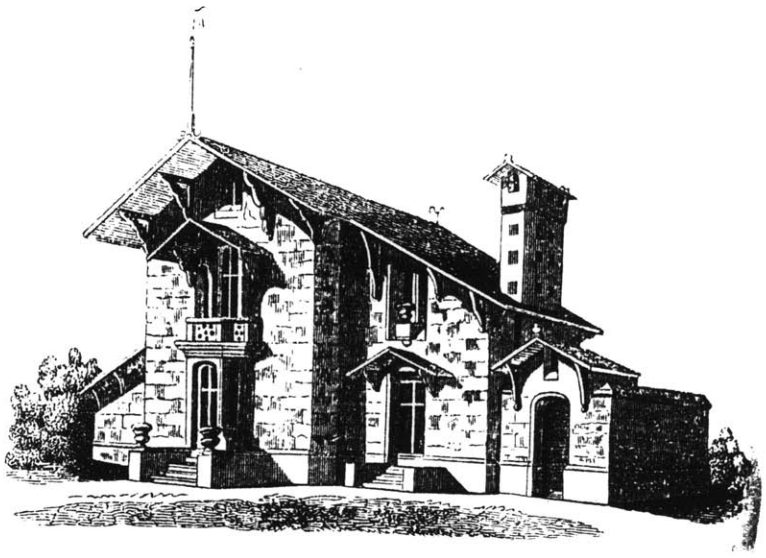
(A) House. From Tuthill, Architecture (1831), Plate II.

(B) Primitive Dwelling House. From Tuthill, History (1848), 21.



Collection of Fragments. From Tuthill, Architecture (1831), Plate VI.

Fig. 37.

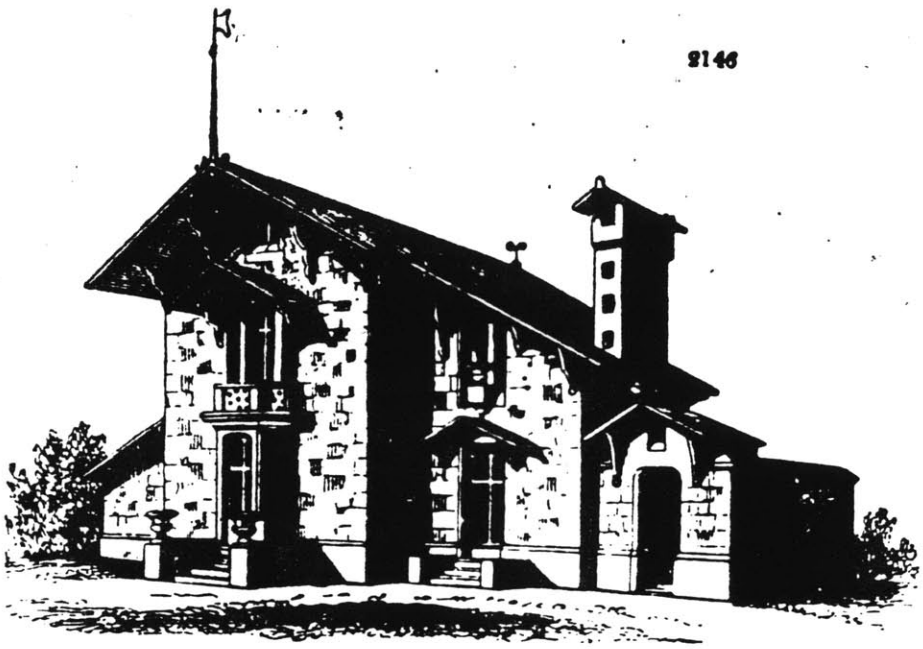


(A) Cottage in the Swiss Style. From Tuthill, History (1848), 280.

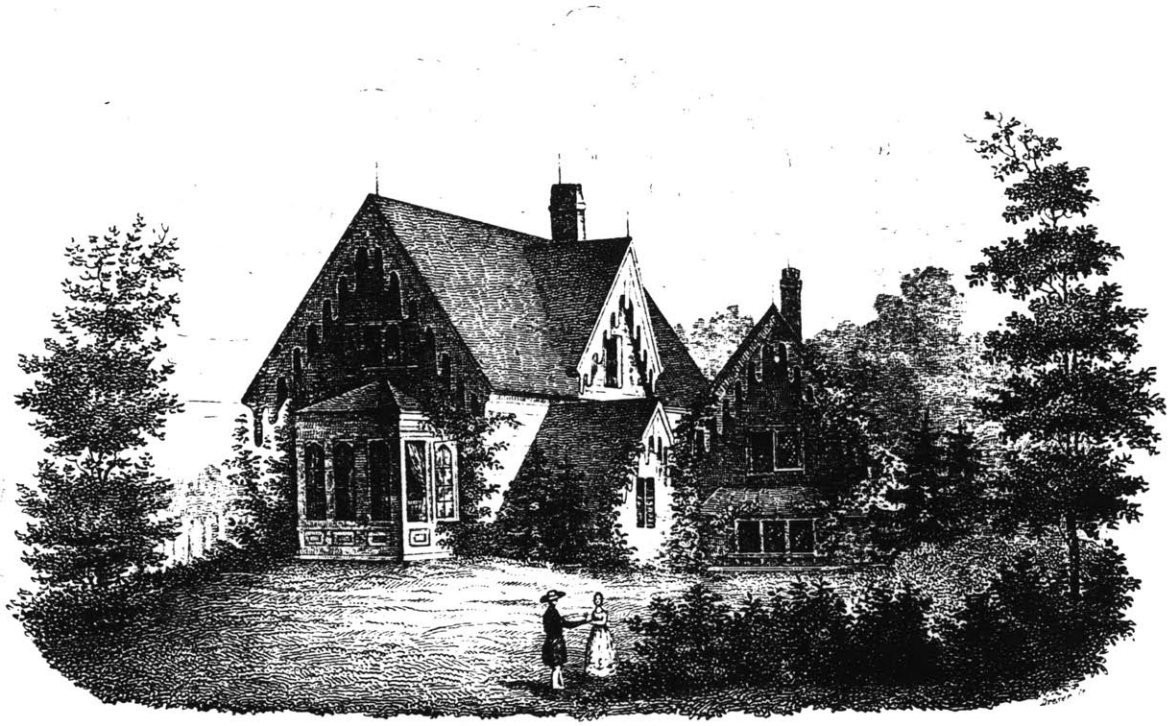
Cottage Villas and Villas.

Design I.—*A Villa in the Swiss Style.* By E. B. Lamb, Esq., F.I.B.A.

The elevation is shown in fig. 2146., and the ground plan in fig. 2147.



(B) Villa in the Swiss Style. From Loudon, supplement to Encyclopaedia (1842), 1185.



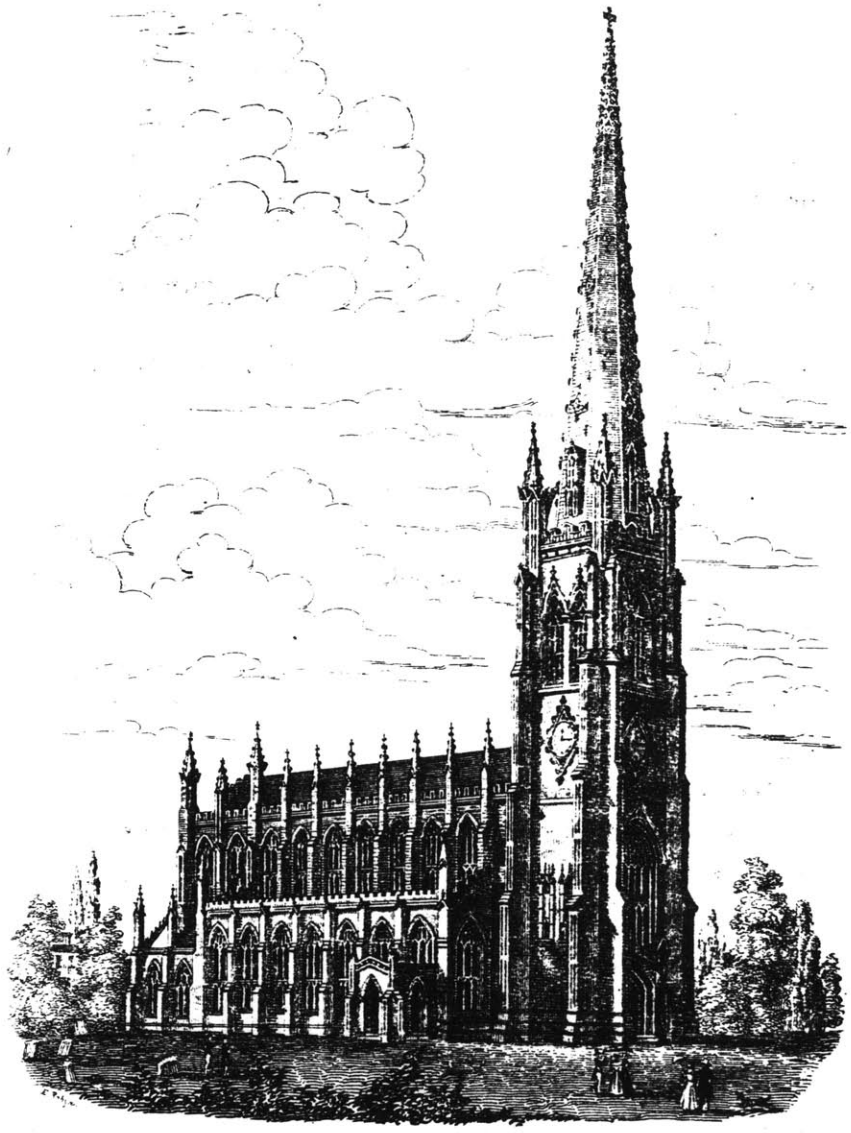
GLENN COTTAGE.

(A) Glenn Cottage. Engraved by William Dreser. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate XXX.

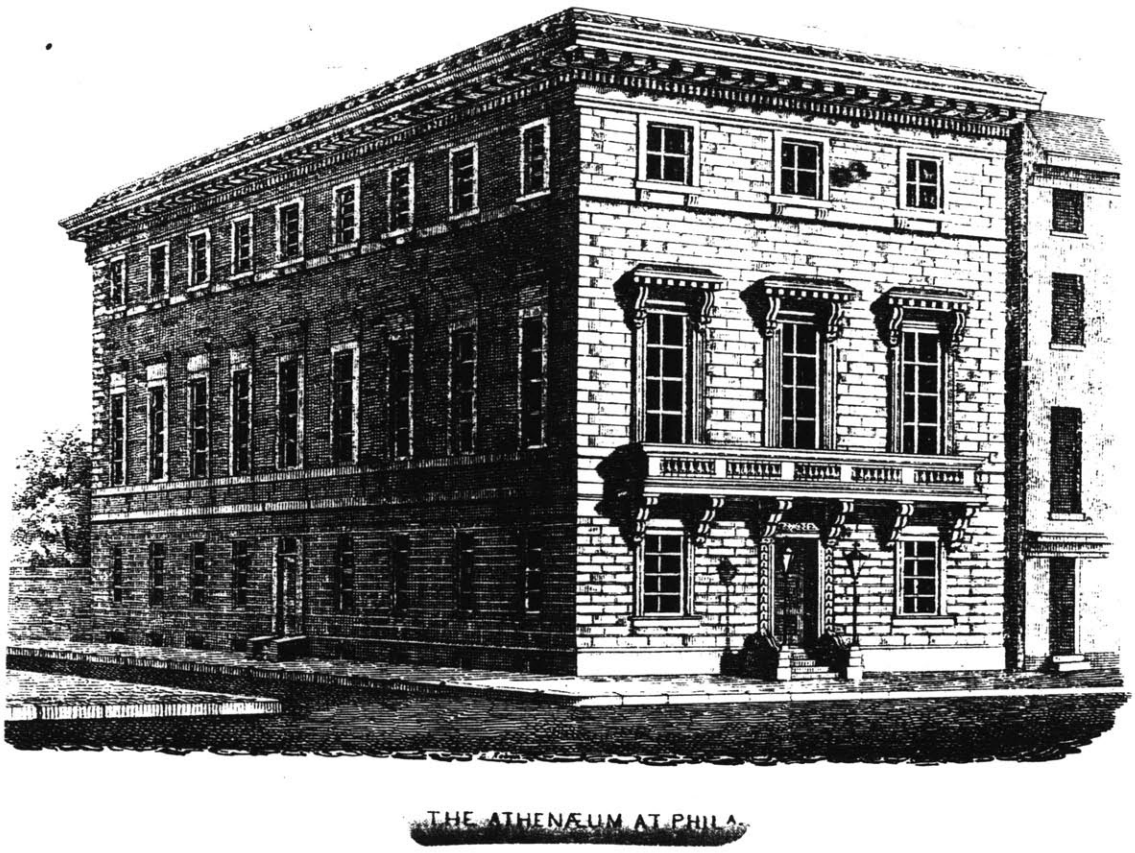
(B) Glenn Cottage. Lithograph after Hammatt Billings. From Lang, Views (1845).

"Master Clarence, four feet ten in his morocco pumps."
Page 5.

Clarence Rose in His Morocco Pumps. From Tuthill, <u>True Manliness</u> (1867), frontispiece.

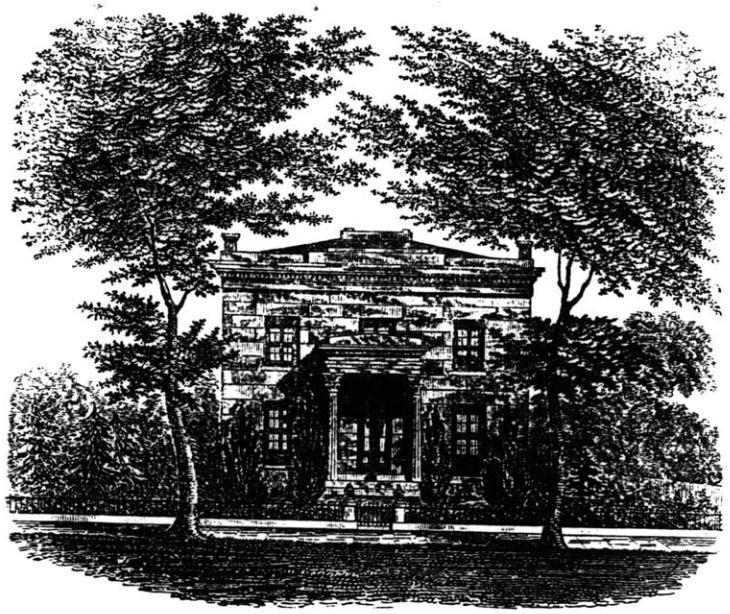


Trinity Church, New York. Engraved by Edward Robyn. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate XXIV.



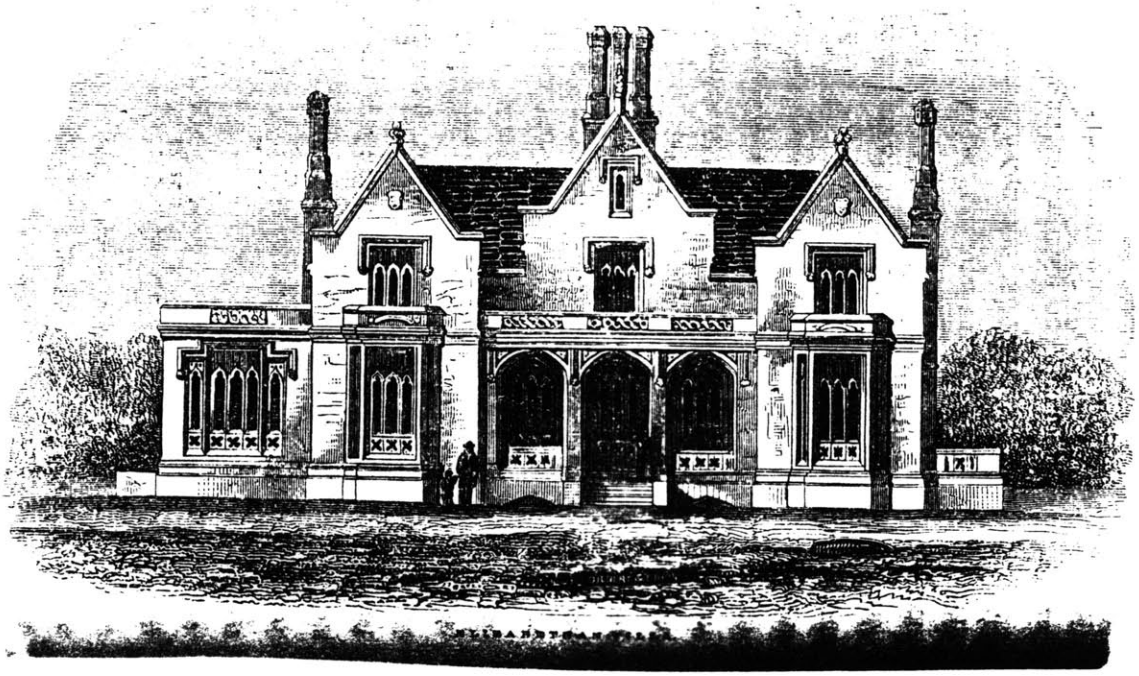
The Athenaeum at Philadelphia. Engraved by Edward Robyn. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate XXVI.

FIG. 41.

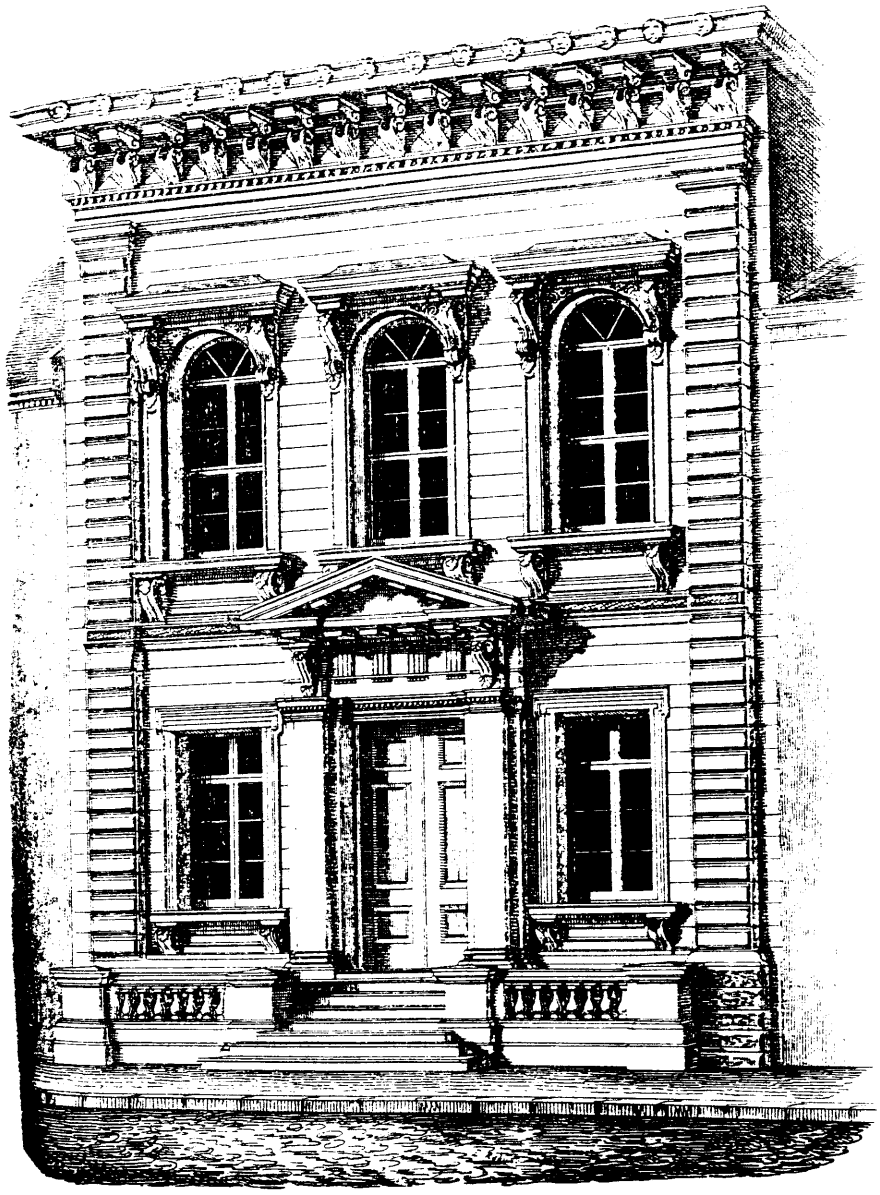


The Residence of Roger Sherman Baldwin, Esq. New Haven.
From Tuthill, History (1848), 285.

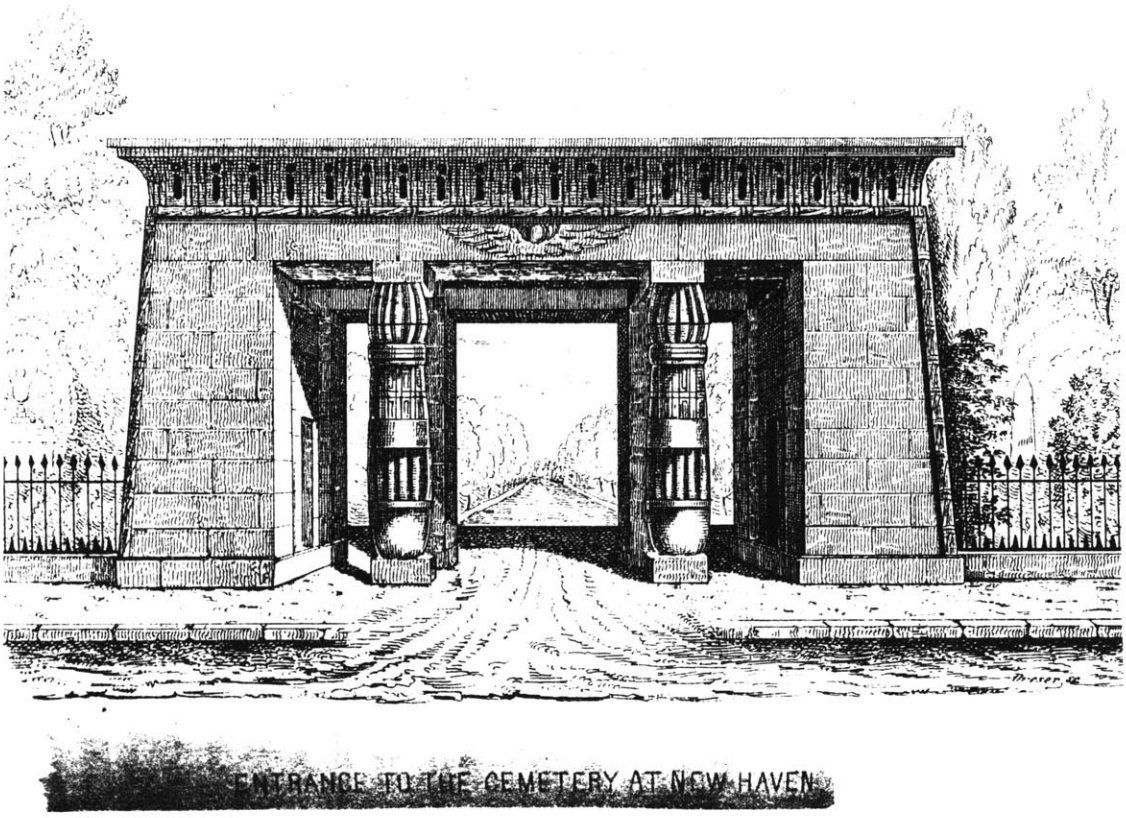
Fig. 47.



English Villa, Elizabethan Style. Engraved by Gilbert and Gihon. From Tuthill, History (1848), 307.



Bank of North America, Philadelphia. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate XXXIV.



Entrance to the Cemetery at New Haven. Engraved by William Dreser. From Tuthill, History (1848), Plate XXXII.

Louisa Caroline Tuthill, ca. 1860.
From Seymour, New Haven (1942).

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