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GERVASE WHEELER:
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH ARCHITECT
IN AMERICA

Renée Elizabeth Tribert

A THESIS

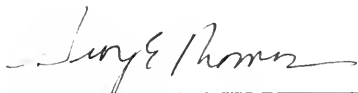
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The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

Presented to the faculties
of the University of Pennsylvania
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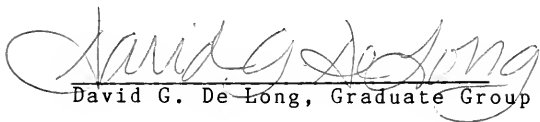
MASTER OF SCIENCE

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Introduction

The Willows, a wooden carpenter Gothic structure built in 1854, sits near the summit of a gentle slope, nestled among trees, and looking out on fields and a nearby ridge in Morristown, New Jersey (fig. 11). The setting is picturesque; the house, with its deeply pitched crossing gable roof, echoes the setting. Built by a local master carpenter, Ashbel Bruen, it clearly follows the lines of the Olmstead House, designed by Gervase Wheeler in 1849, and published in his pattern book Rural Homes of 1851 (fig. 9). Although it has not as yet been possible to document, either Bruen or his client, General Joseph Warren Revere, undoubtedly owned a copy of the book. On the basis of the similarity of design to the Olmstead residence, the house can be said to be derived from Wheeler's work.

The name, Gervase Wheeler, is seldom found in architectural history texts, and only the most cursory information is available on this architect's career. The reason became apparent during research: he did not have the historical stature of A.J. Downing or A.J. Davis, and he left only a faint trail of his activities in this country. In part this is because he worked in an era when the profession of the architect was not yet firmly established in America, and the singularity of the architect's skill and innovation in design was not fully recognized.

Still the disparity between the lack of written evidence and the apparent literary success of an architect who published two books in America, the first, Rural Homes, going through eleven editions, the other, Homes for the People, six, and which influenced the construction of homes like the Willows, warranted attention.

Born in England, probably around 1815, Wheeler came to America in the mid-1840's and stayed some twenty years. The gathering of information inevitably focused on his years of practice in America, due to the difficulty of trans-atlantic research. Most particularly, an extensive collection of correspondence and documents at Bowdoin College, the Chapel Papers, provided to me by John Ward, made it possible to develop some understanding of the early years of Wheeler's career in America.

Background readings in architectural history, monographs of Wheeler's contemporaries and period publications provided an understanding of the overall context of the period. In order to uncover the breadth of Wheeler's practice, select period journals were searched for articles, notices and reviews; citations found appear in Appendixes D and E. In addition, a number of historical societies, archives, and architectural historians in areas of known Wheeler residence or practice, some of these suggested to me by John Ward's earlier research, were

consulted for any holdings or leads. A list of research facilities suggested for further study appears in Appendix F.

The following people are but a few of those who have made the completion of this thesis possible: John Ward, whose own extensive research on Gervase Wheeler provided the foundation, Dr. Jill Allibone, who assisted me with sources in England, the staff of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Dr. George Thomas and Dr. David DeLong.

The aim of this thesis has been to develop a biographical sketch of Gervase Wheeler, and to explore his place in the architecture of mid-nineteenth century America, keeping in mind his British roots. It is hoped that the thesis will provide a resource for future recognition, preservation and interpretation of designs by, or inspired by, Gervase Wheeler.

I. British Background, Education and Influences

Documentation from Britain made available to me by Dr. Jill Allibone suggests that Gervase Wheeler was originally from Margate, Kent, in England. Members of his family were interred at the Parish Church in Margate, and when Wheeler returned to England after his years in America, he took up residence there. His father, also named Gervase Wheeler, was a manufacturer of gold, silver and gilt jewelry, working from 1832 to 1844 at a shop located at 28 Bartlett's Buildings in Holborn, outside London, according to period London directories.[1]

The elder Wheeler had at least one noteworthy social connection, in the person of Sir Charles Wesley, Chaplain of St. James, and Priest in Ordinary to H.R. the Queen in the Anglican Church. While the origins and nature of the relationship are unclear, it in due course extended to the entire Wheeler family. It may also suggest, as a result of the association, that Wheeler's religious affiliation was, if not specifically Anglican, then Protestant, hence his interest in obtaining episcopal commission work in the United States.

In 1848, young Gervase Wheeler, recently arrived in America, received a cordial letter from Sir Wesley. In it,

the Chaplain expressed genuinely warm feelings: "I am very glad to find ... that you have not forgotten an old friend who often thinks of you." Wesley continued with his assurance of support: "the personal knowledge I have had of yourself for several years joined with the high opinion I have always entertained of your professional talents would make it a pleasure to me to add my testimony to that of your other friends here in your behalf." [2]

Unfortunately, Wesley indicated his inability at the time to assist Wheeler with introductions, and it is doubtful whether the relationship served him in any way in America.

A tantalizing piece of information regarding the elder Wheeler's status appeared in Homes for the People, where the author mentioned the cottage built for his father by an architect, "now one of England's honored names." [3] A lack of corroborating evidence to identify the architect and confirm the assertion diminishes its significance. Still, it would, if substantiated, signal the family's financial and social position, and provide a clearer picture of Wheeler's personal background.

Wheeler studied architecture during a period of transition. Practicing architects had begun to recognize the need for standards of professional integrity and work ethics to safeguard the viability of their services in the eyes of the public. While the tradition of apprenticeship

persisted, the concern for professionalism led in the 1830's to a surge of schools and organizations. These included the Royal Institute of British Architects, which was established in 1834, and was oriented toward architectural training. In these years before mid-century, the position of architect began to reach a level whereby it was essential not only to show artistic ability, but also "to establish in the public eye [a] professional reputation." [4]

Very little is known of Wheeler's education and training in England, and records for his attendance at a school or college have not been located. His own writings indicate that he recognized the significance of professional ethics, but often disregarded them in practice. Whatever the level of personal and professional integrity, Wheeler evidently understood the need to establish credentials. In a manner not unheard of at the beginning of a career, then or now, he exaggerated his actual background experience in order to impress his prospective American clientele.

In a letter of introduction from William J. Hoppin, one of Wheeler's first contacts in America, in March 1847, it was said, presumably based on Wheeler's own testimony, that he "has been in the studio of Mr. Carpenter... and also with Mr. Pugin..." [5] Wheeler's apprenticeship under

Richard Cromwell Carpenter is tentatively confirmed in an entry in the Architects' Engineers' and Building Trades' Directory for 1868, published in London.[6] It should be noted though that if the statement were false, it would probably not have been refuted, for Carpenter had died in 1855. Wheeler's work under Augustus W. N. Pugin is clearly suspect; Pugin claimed only his own son as pupil, and his biographer mentions neither apprentices nor Wheeler.[7] It is entirely possible however that the two had met, for Pugin was a friend of Carpenter, and, in early years, an enthusiastic supporter of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Following his conversion to Catholicism in 1834, A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) had espoused the cause of a true Catholic architecture, namely the "second pointed Gothic." He proclaimed his convictions through the publication of several books, including Contrasts (1836) and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841). A phrase from Wheeler's writing echoes the sentiment. As he sought to obtain his first known commission in America, at Bowdoin College, he enthusiastically expressed his desire to carry out "Catholic and correct principle of architectural decorating." [8] Though the statement clearly indicated familiarity with Pugin's principles, the use of terms may be insincere from a religious point of view. Wheeler, it has been posited, was most likely Protestant, and apprenticed in a Protestant Society.

R.C. Carpenter (1812-1855) was "the chosen designer" of the Cambridge Camden Society.[9] The association, later called the Ecclesiological Society, shared with Pugin a belief in the Gothic revival as the true mode of architectural expression principally for ecclesiastical building. The difference in the two arms of the movement lay in their religious associations: Pugin on the one hand was staunchly Catholic, while the Society was Anglican. This divergence in faith led in the mid-1840's to a break between Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.

Carpenter's exalted position in the Society was not fully entrenched until he received the commission for the church of St. Mary Magdalen in 1849, nearly three years after Wheeler had left for America. Still, Carpenter worked toward fulfillment of the Society's precepts during Wheeler's apprenticeship, and the latter undoubtedly learned the essence of these ideals. Combined with his exposure to the principles of Pugin, Wheeler's training provided a firm ground for the development of his own skills and practice. The first important professional contact for Wheeler in New York must have found his work convincing: "his designs for church needlework ... show considerable power over form and colour in ecclesiastical decoration." [10]

A great part of Wheeler's viewpoint can be traced to considerations of propriety of architectural expression, the essence of truth and fittingness as prescribed by Ruskin. John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a nineteenth century critic of art and architecture. His early preoccupation had been painting, and in 1843 he published the first volume of Modern Painters, a critique on the methods and techniques of artists. He later broadened his concerns to include architecture, and wrote the pioneering Seven Lamps of Architecture in 1849, followed by The Stones of Venice in 1851. Ruskin essentially took the ideals promulgated by the Ecclesiologists and Pugin and redefined them into the premises of truth and fitness, applying them not just to church architecture, but to all manifestations of building.[11]

While Ruskin had not yet formalized his philosophies as they related specifically to architecture in a single treatise during the years of Wheeler's apprenticeship in England, they would become widespread and be discussed in academic and professional circles. Wheeler was not only familiar with these ideas, but later in his career professed to be influenced by them. The introduction to his first publication, Rural Homes, ends with the following paragraph:

"In conclusion, I would say that, in the hope of infusing something of its spirit therein, I have mentally headed every page with a sentence suggested as a matin and even song to every architect and amateur-- Mr. Ruskin's great maxim, 'Until common sense finds its way to architecture, there can be but little hope for it.'"[12]

A review of the work in Harper's Monthly Magazine considered that Wheeler had indeed "caught something of his aesthetic spirit." [13] And as will be shown in a later chapter, his writings reveal his ongoing concern with Ruskin's principles.

Wheeler was also familiar with the picturesque. The movement originated in the 18th century, and its intent with regard to domestic architecture was most succinctly defined by Humphrey Repton and Richard Payne Knight: "characteristicness" [sic] of the building to its purpose.[14] A concurrent and newly espoused concern with regard to building design was put forth by Uvedale Price who suggested planning a building with full consideration of the views and vistas from within. Thus the theory as it evolved encouraged "building and design conceived in relation to landscape" and saw the triumph of irregularity and dramatic massing over ordered classicism.[15] Modes, whether Italian or Gothic, were simply mediums for expressing the picturesque.

These ideas, distilled and clarified over time, would provide the impetus to men like John Claudius Loudon in

Britain and Andrew Jackson Downing in America as they formulated the romantic eclecticism of the mid-nineteenth century. The work of Wheeler was no exception and derived in great part from this aesthetic.

The architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock, in Architecture Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pointed to the precedence of the picturesque in the domestic architectural work of Downing, Davis, Wheeler and others, ascribing their plans to picturesque models in Great Britain in the 1830's.[16] In another book, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain, Hitchcock specifically mentioned John White's Rural Architecture, published in Glasgow in 1845, as a source for Wheeler, among other architects "as many of the designs in their books of the 50's made evident." [17] Christopher Hussey, author of The Picturesque, referred to Francis Goodwin's Rural Architecture of 1835, for its influence on Wheeler and his contemporaries.[18]

Throughout the text of Wheeler's own first American publication in 1851, Rural Homes, references can be found to the roadside architecture in Britain, France and Germany, suggesting that Wheeler had traveled in Europe before arriving in America. In Homes for the People, published in 1855, Wheeler described his visits to the art galleries of Europe, again indicating his first hand

knowledge of them.[19] His comments do not illuminate the point and method of his travels; nevertheless whatever experience he may have had presumably provided him with a broader view of the range and possibilities of design.

Among the architectural reference materials and texts which Wheeler referred to was An Encyclopaedia of Architecture, written by Joseph Gwilt, and published in London in 1842.[20] The tome, as its name implies, provided comprehensive information, ranging from history and theory to specifics of practice, necessary to the complete understanding of the architectural profession. The introduction admonished the student to thoroughly digest such a work before assuming the title of architect in good conscience. Wheeler called Gwilt "one of the most useful writers in architectural matters." [21] His writings reflect this sentiment with technical information parallel in nature to that found in the Encyclopaedia. The pages of Rural Homes, for instance, carry an outline of job specifications, which follow, in less detailed form, the order and overall content set out by Gwilt.[22]

Other authors and theorists mentioned in the pages of Wheeler's writings included Pugin and Ruskin, already discussed, and Owen Jones. Jones was best known for his work on polychromy and decorating, and in 1851 received acclaim for his "parti-coloring" of the Crystal Palace. He

later wrote The Grammar of Ornament (1856). An article in the May 1851 issue of the Bulletin of the American Art Union examined Jones' work at the Crystal Palace.[23] Wheeler cited the article and described Jones' two-tone wall treatments as an introduction to his own discussion of the decoration of domestic rooms in Rural Homes. [24] The question of interior decorating and polychromy was evidently of interest to Wheeler from the outset of his career; the first examples of his work in America were in these areas.

Wheeler's sources were not limited to his contemporaries; he also seemed to be well versed on historical architectural treatises. In Homes for the People, he related the story of Phidias and Alcames from the pages of J.F. Blondel's Cours d'Architecture of 1777.[25] Blondel, an eighteenth century theorist and teacher of architecture, appreciated the truthful representation of the classical style.[26] He found in the tale of Phidias, a Greek sculptor of the fifth century B.C., and his protege Alcames, an example of the fundamental skills and understanding required to effect truthful representation -- the master knew to exaggerate features in a sculpture which would stand atop a building, for instance, so that when in place it would look realistic; the student did not grasp the need to allow for the different visual impression.

Wheeler saw in Blondel's recitation a parallel to his own understanding of reality and truth in art, and rather immodestly compared himself to Phidias. Regardless of his smugness, his concern was consistent with Ruskin's philosophy of truth and fitness, which he claimed to adhere to.

Finally, the diverse examples of references to current affairs suggest Wheeler's ongoing attention to contemporary literature and period thought. In several instances in Rural Homes, Wheeler made use of the findings of Dr. Bell, of the McLean Asylum for the Insane, who wrote a treatise in 1848 on the importance of proper ventilation and practical applications.[27] He applied the information for his own description of the proper, healthy ventilation of domestic residences.

A passage from Rural Hours, the work of "a lady," in fact identified as Susan Fennimore Cooper, published less than a year earlier, gave Wheeler an opportunity in Rural Homes for oblique commentary on the merits of American architecture.[28] Wheeler concurred with Cooper's assessment of the American tendency to mimic architecture which resulted in many homes of the exact same pattern. By pulling this selection into Rural Homes, Wheeler added impetus to his argument for picturesque domestic designs. The rather popular reminiscences of America by Frederika

Bremer, The Homes of the New World, was also mentioned by Wheeler in Homes for the People. [29] He neither quoted nor discussed specific material, but simply noted the interest of the work's contents.

As could be expected in works of mid-century, A.J. Downing's contributions in both landscape and domestic architecture were cited. [30] Wheeler's remarks complimented the advances toward picturesque expression in domestic design made possible as a result of Downing's efforts. He could easily praise Downing at this time, for the latter was already dead and therefore not a competitor. But Wheeler seemed to place himself in a different category than Downing and his peers. He referred architects to Downing's "excellent" works to avoid "prettiness, whimsicality and the false picturesque" in the cottage design, implying that his own apprehension of the subject was total and intuitive. In his discussion of gardens for the residence, Wheeler deferred to the expertise of Patrick Barry, a leading horticulturist and pomologist of the mid-nineteenth century, quoting selections from Barry's Treatise on the Fruit Garden. [31]

The literature which Wheeler read also included many of the periodicals of the day. Judging from the references throughout his books, he was interested in an extensive range of topics. It can be inferred from his citations of

articles, that while in America, he maintained familiarity with British trends in art and architecture through the weekly London Art Journal and Mechanics Magazine. Sartain's Union Magazine, The New York Tribune, and the New York issue of Literary World provided sources for more general current information and critical analysis from the American perspective.[32] Wheeler probably also occasionally read journals such as the London Literary World, The Builder and The Home Journal published in New York, since they carried reviews of his work or in some cases written contributions, as shall be discussed.

In the instances noted above, Wheeler actually specified the author or source referred to in his remarks. Comparison of the various works and passages indicates that, while he readily used the information as the basis for his own arguments, he neither misrepresented nor plagiarized to fit his own requirements. But a review of Homes for the People, discussed in chapter V, printed in The Builder in 1855, contended that Wheeler had blatantly plagiarized another work.

It has not been possible within the scope of this thesis to assess the degree of plagiarism on Wheeler's part in his several literary efforts. In his defense, it should be noted that contrary to the impression conveyed by the disdain of the British reviewer, such lifting of material

remained a common practice throughout the nineteenth century.

[1]Jill Allibone to John Ward, Bowdoin College Student, September 21 1982. All correspondence to John Ward was graciously loaned to me for the purpose of my research by Mr. Ward.

[2]Sir Charles Wesley to Gervase Wheeler, August 28 1848, Chapel Papers, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine.

[3]Gervase Wheeler, Homes for the People (New York: Charles Scribner, 1855), 94.

[4]Barrington Kaye, The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), 83. This book provides an overview of the role and position of the British architect over time.

[5]William J. Hoppin to Reverend Leonard Woods, March 8 1847, Chapel Papers.

[6]Architects', Engineers' and Building-Trades' Directory (London: Wyman, 1868), 143. The entry states "Pupil of Richard C. Carpenter, esq."

[7]Phoebe Stanton, Pugin (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971).

[8]Wheeler to Woods, August 14 1847, Chapel Papers.

[9]Stanton, Pugin, 179.

[10]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.

[11]Justin Wintle, ed., Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture, 1800-1914 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 530-1.

[12]Wheeler, Rural Homes (New York: Charles Scribner, 1851), preface, no page number.

[13]Harper's New Monthly Magazine 4 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), 137.

[14]Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967 edition), 209.

[15]Hussey, The Picturesque, 187.

[16]Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971 edition), 258.

[17]Henry Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain (New York: DaCapo Press, 1972), 427. White's Rural Architecture was not available for comparison.

[18]Hussey, The Picturesque, 212. Goodwin's Rural Architecture was not readily available for comparison.

[19]Wheeler, Homes, 93.

[20]Joseph Gwilt, An Encyclopaedia of Architecture (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1842).

[21]Wheeler, Homes, 92.

[22]Wheeler, Rural, 245-55. Gwilt, Encyclopaedia, 595-619.

[23]Bulletin of the American Art Union (New York: American Art Union, 1851), 28-9.

[24]Wheeler, Rural, 196.

[25]Wheeler, Homes, 211-2; Jacques Francois Blondel, Cours d'Architecture (1777) was not seen for comparison of material.

[26]Peter Collins, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950 (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1965), 81.

[27]Wheeler, Rural, 49 and 177; Luther Bell, The Practical Methods of Ventilating Buildings (Boston: Dickenson Printing Est., 1848), 19.

[28]Wheeler, Rural, 145; [Susan Fennimore Cooper], Rural Hours (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 380-5.

[29]Wheeler, Homes, 264; Frederika Bremer, The Homes of the New World (London: Arthur Hall Virtue & Co., 1853).

[30]Wheeler, Rural, 147, and Homes, 264.

[31]Wheeler, Rural, 232; Patrick Barry, Treatise on the Fruit Garden (Rochester: by the author, 1851) was not seen for comparison of material.

[32]Wheeler, Homes, p.314 reference to London Art Journal article; p.194 reference to Mechanics Magazine article; p.408 reference to New York Tribune article; p.133 reference to New York Literary World article. Wheeler, Rural, p.215 reference to Sartain's Union Magazine article.

II. Context in America

Mid-nineteenth century America experienced a period of growth and change: geographically with the move westward, economically with rapidly developing commerce and industry, and politically with a government attempting to face and resolve the concomitant problems associated with this growth.

Most Americans viewed the innovations and progress of the country with an optimism for the future and the achievements made possible. At the same time, some, like the essayist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, reacted against the materialism associated with the new technical and financial possibilities, and turned toward a more spiritualistic view of life, of man in nature. All derived their points of view from an underlying shared belief in the ideal of individual freedom and the democratic ideal.

The perceptions and orientation evident in American society also became manifest in the expression of architectural theories. At the forefront of a new interpretation was Andrew Jackson Downing. Building upon the precepts of the picturesque, the British writer John Claudius Loudon, and themes of the individual as expounded by American contemporaries like Emerson, he believed that

domestic architecture should represent and transmit the political republican values of American society and the aspirations of the individual owner. The theory asserted that the essence of the American experience was rural and suburban, and catered to those who could afford country homes near the great American cities.

As the evolving theory was applied to design, it drew heavily from British precedents. Downing translated the revised view of architecture into statements of form associated with the British picturesque: the house was to relate to its setting, the plan was functional, the elevation adapted to the needs of the plan, and the whole was defined by the character of the owner. In implementing these ideas, American architects such as John Notman, British born Richard Upjohn and Alexander Jackson Davis could no longer be restricted to the vocabulary of the Greek revival, and sought alternative stylistic expressions. The result was a flourishing of other revival modes - Gothic, Moorish, Roman or Tuscan Italian - applied in an eclectic manner as befitted the situation and owner.

Gervase Wheeler arrived in America at a time when these notions were finding voice. He came with the benefit of a background in an environment which had already accepted and refined the picturesque. His initial contributions to The Horticulturist imply an acquaintance

with Downing by 1849, but his role in developing the latter's theories was negligible if at all -- Downing had been exploring the picturesque since 1841, and died in 1850.

Wheeler's contribution to American domestic architecture was primarily in his writing which propagated the picturesque point of view. He shared with Downing an approach to the explanation and application of the picturesque, based in each case on British antecedents. While the vast majority of American architecture texts of the period clung to the format of the traditional pattern book, Downing and Wheeler presented their ideas in essay form. The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) represents a philosophy of architecture, accompanied by renderings by contemporary architects particularly A.J. Davis, and in two instances, Wheeler.[1]

Wheeler published Rural Homes one year later; in it designs and text were integrated into a formulation of the theory made possible by the author's comfortable knowledge of the picturesque vocabulary. By presenting the material in readable chapters, Wheeler conveyed the essence of the picturesque in the choice and construction of a residence. The designs were his own, and were intended as models. Despite occasional technical explanations, in which he displayed ease, Wheeler stated that an architect should be

retained for the actual execution of a design. In this way, he promoted not only himself, but the architectural profession.

The ten subsequent editions of Rural Homes, Homes for the People published in 1855 with five additional editions to 1868, and reprints of Wheeler's writing, spread to the general public information regarding the new domestic architecture. Reviews and advertisements for Wheeler's works appeared not only locally in New York, but throughout the Northeast, in Philadelphia, Rochester, Albany, Hartford, and even in St. Louis in the Midwest.[2] Further, some publications in which excerpts from Wheeler's work appeared, were distributed in areas of the country beyond that of publication. The editor of The Genessee Farmer, a popular magazine for the gentleman farmer published out of Rochester, New York, responded to a correspondent in Fairfield, Illinois with a recommendation for the use of Rural Homes. [3]

By far the most widespread method of obtaining architectural commissions in the mid-nineteenth century was through personal contact and influential acquaintances. Having erected buildings, the architect's designs, when well known and publicized, could speak for his talents. In addition, possibilities for self-promotion included contributions of designs or articles to publications, and

advertisements in these same journals or volumes, and meant reaching a broader audience. Entries in design competitions and exhibitions provided another forum for display of the architect's work. As shall be seen in the course of his career, Wheeler tried all of these approaches as he sought to establish a reputation.

Having found work, the domain and limits of responsibility of the architect were by no means clearly accepted in the 1840's and 1850's. The American client was still loathe to recognize the differentiation which the architect drew between himself and master builder, while the master builder resisted the encroachment on his trade. The frustrations felt by the architect as a result of this were magnified for the English trained architect, like Wheeler. An anonymous one, quoted by Constance Greiff in her biography of John Notman, stated that "the US offered the potential for economic improvement, but little comprehension of the role of the professional." [4] From the outset of his career in America, Wheeler had considered himself a professional. The first documented correspondence from him, in 1847, is signed "Gervase Wheeler, Architect." [5] This self-conscious differentiation of the title and qualifications it implied may have accounted for some of the tensions evident during Wheeler's stay in America.

It was not until 1857, ten years after Wheeler's arrival in America, that a group of men gathered in New York to attempt for the second time to create a body of professional architects, the American Institute of Architects. Thirteen practicing architects, led by Richard Upjohn, agreed to the aims of the society, and invited "other reputable members of the profession" to a meeting to adopt a constitution.[6]

Attendees at that later meeting included Calvert Vaux, Fred C. Withers, John Notman, Thomas U. Walter, Alexander J. Davis, and seven others. Interestingly, Wheeler, though known by Upjohn and at least heard of by many of the others, was among neither group, nor did his name appear at a later date.

Wheeler's absence from the rolls was significant. A man who claimed a high level of proficiency and professionalism, as he often did in his printed work and undoubtedly in person, would hardly have declined an opportunity to sit on such an association. The conclusion then is that his peers either did not consider him or did not accept him. Membership in the A.I.A. was contingent on the "honorable practice" of the profession. Candidates for membership had to be proposed by two existing members and voted on by the remaining body; three negative votes were sufficient to blackball an architect.[7] Possible reasons

for such action against Wheeler will be shown in later chapters.

The newly established American Institute of Architects sought to encourage education both of the profession in artistic and technical matters, and of the general public in the significance of architecture and the role of the architect. The extent of an architect's control over design and construction, and the matter of fees were often points of contention, and were among the first issues for which the A.I.A. attempted to find a resolution.

Members of the A.I.A. could not in the beginning agree upon a schedule of fixed rates for architectural services. Some of the more prominent architects had attempted on their own to standardize the rate of compensation. By the late 1840's, John Notman, in an effort to define professional procedures, sought a 5% commission on buildings which he supervised. He was not always successful, and sometimes met with resistance.[8] Similarly, Richard Upjohn established an average fee of 5%, but not infrequently had to dispute the rate with clients.[9] Upjohn was among those, together with Richard Morris Hunt, who took their cases to court for settlement in the 1850's.[10] Typically for the period, Wheeler also experienced difficulties.

The first indication that Wheeler had codified his fees can be found on the letterhead used in 1857: for city building, "as agreed," and for country building, 5% plus traveling expenses.[11] This postdates some of the litigation on the issue, and may reflect Wheeler's confidence in the possibilities of obtaining such compensation.

Prior to this however, Wheeler seems to have contented himself with flat rates. In 1848, he was voted \$100 by the Governing Board of Bowdoin College to design a new President's House, though apparently never executed.[12] With the design of a new corporate office for the Insurance Company of America, in Philadelphia, Wheeler asked for the "regular charge of 3% on the cost," but was paid \$75, which represented less than 2% of the final cost.[13] The documentation on the Patrick Barry House commission in Rochester, New York, and the erection of Goodrich Hall at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, indicate that again Wheeler received a flat fee for delivery of the design plans. The Barry House cost a total of approximately \$27,500 to erect, but the Ellwanger and Barry nursery journals record a \$95 payment to the architect -- less than one half a percent of the construction cost.[14] At Williams College, the information is unclear, but Wheeler apparently received a one-time payment of \$250.[15]

Wheeler offered another option in his professional

services. In 1852, he advertised in The Genessee Farmer, published in Rochester, for commission work, and offered to supply "such information as can be given by letter" for \$2.[16] The type of information to be provided is unclear, but Wheeler may have considered this approach a means of reaching potential clients.

The Institute discussed not only questions of client-architect relationship but the ethics of the profession itself. A code of ethics was not in fact promulgated until the early twentieth century, but the issues probably had their genesis in the years leading up to the association. Areas of concern included competition on the basis of fees, and slighting other architects' reputation or work. Wheeler from the outset seemed to typify the very deportment which the society castigated. During his engagement at Bowdoin in 1847-1848, he not only criticized the work of Upjohn, the contracted architect, but proffered his own services for areas of alleged deficiency on Upjohn's part.[17] Correspondence indicated Upjohn's indignation against Wheeler, and such behavior may have kept him out of the A.I.A. years later.

Exclusion from the American Institute of Architects may have had an adverse impact on Wheeler's career. The lack of documentation uncovered for the period makes any realistic assessment of his success tenuous. However,

Wheeler's last known commissions occurred in 1857 (the year of the A.I.A.'s formation), with the Patrick Barry House, in Rochester, New York, and Goodrich Hall at Williams College, in Williamstown, Massachusetts; in 1858 his landscape design entry for Bushnell Park, in Hartford, Connecticut, won first place, but was never executed.[18] The last indication of Wheeler's presence in New York City was 1860, and his whereabouts during the Civil War are undocumented.

[1]See chapter IV for a discussion of Wheeler's contributions to Downing's works.

[2]See the charts of ads, reviews and editions in Appendixes D, E, F.

[3]The Genessee Farmer 13 (Rochester: Daniel Lee, 1852), 260.

[4]Constance M. Greiff, John Notman Architect, 1810-1865 (Philadelphia: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), 40. The quote was taken from an anonymous British architect with 15 years experience who had come to America in the 1830's to practice.

[5]Wheeler to Bowdoin College, "Design for Decoration of Side Walls of Bowdoin College Chapel," April 6 1847, Chapel Papers.

[6]Henry H. Saylor, The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years (Washington: The Octagon, 1957), 4.

[7]Saylor, The A.I.A., 29. While Saylor discusses the process for membership, he does not indicate whether there is existing evidence in the A.I.A. papers for proposed and rejected candidates. This may be an area of further research.

[8]Greiff, John Notman, 41-3.

[9]Everard Upjohn, Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 134-156.

[10]Saylor, The A.I.A., 54.

[11]Wheeler to Reverend Calvin Durfee, July 14 1857, Williamsiana Collection, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

[12]John Ward, "Gervase Wheeler, a Progressive Architect in Brunswick, Maine, 1847-1848," (Paper presented at Fifth Annual Student Symposium, Society of Architectural Historians, Boston, Massachusetts, 1982), 15.

[13]Insurance Company of North America, Directors' Minutes, 1850, (CIGNA Corporate Archives, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), 90.

[14]Natalie B.E. Stewart, "George Ellwanger and Patrick Barry, Romantic Builders," (Masters Thesis, University of Rochester, 1985), 60.

[15]Bruce B. McElvein, "Williams College Architecture, 1790-1860" (Bachelors Honors Thesis, Williams College, 1979), 177-9.

[16]The Genessee Farmer 13 (June 1852), 197.

[17]See chapter IV for a more detailed discussion.

[18]See chapter V for a discussion of these works.

III. Personal Affairs

The first years of Wheeler's arrival in America were marked by poor health. He alluded to his difficulties regularly in letters. In December 1847, "ill health which for some time confined me to the house" detained him from his duties with regard to the library decoration at Bowdoin College, in Brunswick.[1] The following May, he complained of "a return of my attacks, the liability of reoccurrence of which will forever prevent my enjoying in any laborious or sedentary pursuit." [2] That same month, "an unfortunate severe pain in my side" again meant that he could not work as much as hoped.[3]

His problems did not relent as the year passed, for in September, having relocated to New Haven, Wheeler complained that "the weather is bitterly cold and I being (and have been for some time) very unwell with continual attacks of cold on my chest and dysentary [sic], feel it very much." [4] Two months later, in November 1848, he again lamented: "I am sorry to say I have been really ill, and have more than once arranged a change of scene for a while and each time been frustrated by bad health." [5]

Dysentery was not uncommon in the nineteenth century, and manifested itself in attacks. The early descriptions

of Wheeler's symptoms indicate that dysentery may have been the cause of his troubles from the outset. How he fared in later years is not clear for lack of documentation.

Though Wheeler's poor health is clear, the severity and frequency with which he was affected are subject to doubt. His statements were invariably made within the context of work, and all too often have a pitiable tone to them -- as though convenient excuses for not having prepared a design. The remarks hint at Wheeler's manipulative nature.

Wheeler probably came to America a bachelor, and the first suggestion that he would soon marry was derived from correspondence with Reverend Woods of Bowdoin College in Brunswick in May 1848:

"But I hope that once I am in my new and sacred relations to gain a friend who will never change and a support which will never fail and that I may be able to make myself worthy of them and may draw peace and happiness from the directing influence of the other." [6]

A letter from Sir Wesley later that year further supported the insinuation, relating how Wheeler's mother had "hinted something which we were all especially anxious to hear more of..." [7] Though vague, it may not unreasonably imply marriage. By March 1851, a wedding had taken place, for Wheeler referred to "Mr. Hyde, my wife's father". [8]

After Wheeler's return to England, in 1884, he made out his last will and testament, naming his wife, Catherine Brewer (not Hyde) executrix. The difference in names may imply that Wheeler had married a second time. Records regarding his private affairs have not been located to confirm or refute any assumptions.

Wheeler apparently had several children; only the names of two are known, Frederick Ledsam Wheeler, and Jarvis Wheeler. Only the first was named in the will, but the latter was found to reside at Wheeler's address in Hove after his death.[9]

Comments made during Wheeler's career by those he encountered all paint the same initial impression of an educated, refined man. Though for the most part concerned with questions of professional ability, William Hoppin of New York, Wheeler's first noteworthy contact, seemed impressed with his knowledge and manners. Discussing polychromy work for the Bowdoin College Chapel, he wrote that Wheeler's "information respecting it is extensive and accurate and accompanied furthermore with much taste and discrimination." [10] Hoppin later expressed his confidence in Wheeler, noting "I think I should have been able to detect any considerable disparity between his powers and his pretensions." [11]

A few years later, in December 1849, when Wheeler was in Philadelphia, he dined with a prospective client, Henry Fisher, and his brother Sidney. Sidney described Wheeler in his diary: "He is young, good looking, of gentlemanlike manners and appearance and converses with ease and elegance. His mind is evidently cultivated and he has a taste for literature and art." [12] This worldly aspect of Wheeler's character was manifest during his career, in the social position of his acquaintances and clients, and in his own literary work.

While Wheeler seemed able to charm people upon meeting them, a lack of discretion in financial matters sometimes led to strained relations. His living habits, suited to city life, caused embarrassment in the small New England town of Brunswick, Maine, where he undertook his first commission. As early as September 1847, the Reverend Woods lamented Wheeler's handling of money matters and his "want of gentlemanly propriety" in this regard. [13] Some months later, in February 1848, an uncomfortable situation resulted in settling Wheeler's room bill. He had spent considerably more in living expenses than the arrangement with the trustees of the college had called for. While he recognized the "somewhat more expensive scale that the committee ... might have deemed necessary," [14] he did little to alleviate the problem.

Wheeler was also manipulative in his dealings with people. When the previously mentioned matter of expenses came up, Wheeler pleaded his case by implying that he had been "unduly influenced by the inducements held out ... for the future." [15] He was referring to the commission for the interior design of the chapel, contingent upon approval of his work in the library, which was never given to him.

On an occasion when Woods was in Boston on business, Wheeler wrote him to ask that he purchase a crucifix. He cleverly referred to his pro bono commission for the library interior, knowing the effect it would have: "I do not mean that I am making certain drawings for this, or that this would be considered a return for them ... [but such a gesture] would amply compensate for this expenditure of time and skill on my part..." [16]

It has already been pointed out in chapter I that Wheeler was known to exaggerate with regard to his professional training. This tendency was manifest in other areas as well, particularly as Wheeler sought to impress contacts and prospective clients. Having met the Fisher brothers in Philadelphia, Wheeler mentioned his acquaintance with Currer Bell, author of Jane Eyre, and divulged "that these works were chiefly written by his sister Ann Bell." An undated margin note alongside the entry noted that Wheeler was an imposter: Fisher

evidently found out that Bell was in fact the pseudonym of a woman, Charlotte Bronte. The same entry had noted that "he knows also Miss Bremer now in this country, a Swedish lady," though no marginalia accompanied the statement.[17] Perusal of Bremer's writings yielded no mention of Gervase Wheeler, though she had mentioned her meetings with A.J. Downing.

The above information derives almost entirely from correspondence in the first years of Wheeler's career in America. It is impossible to know whether he changed over time. But whatever his character flaws, Wheeler must have had an engaging personality. He associated throughout his residence in America, at least in a business capacity, with socially prominent people, as the sketch of the years 1847 through 1860 will reveal.

[1]Wheeler to Joseph McKeen, December 12 1847, Chapel Papers.

[2]Wheeler to Woods, May 5 1848, Chapel Papers.

[3]Wheeler to Woods, May 12 1848, Chapel Papers.

[4]Wheeler to Woods, September 27 1848, Chapel Papers.

[5]Wheeler to Woods, November 23 1848, Chapel Papers.

[6]Wheeler to Woods, May 2 1848, Chapel Papers.

[7]Wesley to Wheeler, August 28 1848, Chapel Papers.

[8]Wheeler to Richard Upjohn, March 17 1851, Upjohn Papers, box 4, New York Public Library, New York.

[9]The knowledge that Wheeler had descendants may prove valuable for future research: Wheeler is known to have kept certain of his designs, which may yet exist, for he specifically noted looking through plans of American commissions in The Choice of a Dwelling, published in England in 1871.

[10]Hoppin to Woods, April 10 1847, Chapel Papers.

[11]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.

[12]Sidney Fisher Diaries, December 12 1849, Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Excerpts of the diaries were published by Nicholas B. Wainwright as A Philadelphia Perspective (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), but did not include these.

[13]Statement by Woods, no date, Chapel Papers.

[14]Wheeler to Woods, February 20 1848, Chapel Papers.

[15]Wheeler to Woods, no date (probably spring 1848), Chapel Papers.

[16]Wheeler to Woods, no date (probably 1848), Chapel Papers.

[17]Fisher Diaries, December 12 1849.

IV. Early Practice (1846-1850)

A. New York, New York (1846-1847)

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty the date of Wheeler's arrival in America, but it can safely be assumed to have occurred in late 1846 or early 1847. The first actual documentation of his presence can be found in a letter dated March 8 1847, from William J. Hoppin of New York City to the Reverend Leonard Woods in Brunswick, Maine, a prospective client: "a young English gentleman by the name of Gervase Wheeler was introduced to me the other day... As he has but lately arrived [he] has to make a name for himself..."[1] Later correspondence between the two however suggests that he had not directly taken up his profession upon his departure from Britain: "for a year or two after he left England he devoted himself to engineering in preference to architecture." [2]

In the 1840's, Professor Donaldson, a professor of architecture at University College in England, had espoused the belief that architects needed also to be engineers to fulfill their role to its greatest potential.[3] Though it is not clear to what degree this sentiment was shared by the profession at large, it had its adherents, among them apparently Wheeler. The opinion had been expressed when

Wheeler was still in England, developing his skills and professional outlook, readying himself for the field.

The correspondence is the first documentation of Wheeler's acquaintance with William Hoppin. Hoppin was well educated, with degrees from Yale, Middlebury and Harvard, and had founded the Century Club in New York. A frequent traveler to Europe, he eventually resided in London as Secretary of the US Legation from 1876 to 1886.[4]

Hoppin's activities in New York indicate that his primary interest was the art world. He authored numerous articles on art subjects; by 1850, he was a member of the Committee of Management of the American Art Union, and the new editor of the organization's bulletin.[5] Although there is no documentation to confirm a continued relationship between the two, it is not unlikely that Wheeler cultivated one. Wheeler not only began his American career in New York, but later practiced there some eight years, as shall be seen in chapter V.

After his arrival in America, and by April 1847, Wheeler had taken rooms at 29 Greenwich Street, New York City.[6] He apparently sought to make a name for himself by turning away from the more practical aspects of engineering and architecture, instead promoting his

decoration skills at interior design work, particularly polychromy. In a letter from Richard Upjohn, architect of the Bowdoin College Chapel, to the Reverend Woods, President of the college, Upjohn noted that Wheeler desired "to turn his attention exclusively to decorative art." [7] An undated 1847 exhibit at the National Academy of Design in New York City included the following entry by Wheeler: "#371. Section of a Room with Gothic Furniture." [8] As will be seen, his first documented commission was for the interior decoration of the College Chapel at Bowdoin.

Wheeler's acquaintance with Hoppin, who would before long introduce him to the Reverend Leonard Woods, has already been mentioned. Shortly after this introduction, during the summer of 1847, Wheeler traveled through New England, particularly Connecticut, at which time he established relations with Henry Austin, a practicing architect in New Haven. According to Wheeler, the two were to join business as of the first of September. In correspondence with Woods at this time, he implied a certain success in obtaining commissions, as he wrote: "I am happy to say I have so much to do both presently and in future I can afford to undertake a little 'fancy work'." [9]

It should be pointed out at this juncture however that Wheeler's optimistic account of his prospects may have been

an artifice for convincing prospective clients, perhaps even himself, of his evolving success in America. For having pronounced a wealth of upcoming work, and an engagement with Austin, he proceeded to Brunswick, Maine, a commercial, manufacturing and college town, on a speculative gamble where he remained at least until May of the following year, or some ten months. His work there was only sparingly compensated for by the client, as he knew it would be. But during that time, there is no evidence to suggest that he pursued his relations with Austin, or that he even conducted work for other clients.[10]

The 'fancy work' mentioned in Wheeler's letter refers to the interior decoration of the Bowdoin College Chapel, and marks another strategy by which Wheeler sought to establish himself in the field in America. In this instance, he proffered his services at cost in order to be given the opportunity of proving himself. He offered to furnish coloring designs for the Chapel, and supervise their execution, in return for payment only of his expenses.

B. Brunswick, Maine (1847-1849)

1. Banister Hall, Bowdoin College Chapel

Reverend Woods oversaw the design and construction of the college chapel. From the outset, the chapel building was to serve the usual religious function, and to contain as well an art gallery, library and the president's office. A theologian and teacher, well read and well traveled, Woods had developed an interest in the latest trends in art and architecture.[11] He was convinced of the appropriateness of polychromy work for the decoration of the interior.

The contract for the design of the building itself had been obtained by Richard Upjohn, and construction had begun in 1845. In response to the multiple uses of the building, Upjohn had planned a double spire design based on German precedent, with a large Romanesque hall, to be constructed of granite quarried locally.[12] As for the interior design, contrary to Wood's own aspirations, he considered that the interior walls should be pale, subdued and without figured polychromy.

Woods had apparently sought Hoppin's advice on the matter. He hoped to find support for his idea of interior polychromy, and wondered whether it was within the limits

of propriety to consult another architect for this aspect of the design. Hoppin, in the letter introducing Wheeler to Woods, confirmed that the latter "will materially assist us in our inquiries as to the proper mode of decorating the chapel at Brunswick... He is certain that [polychromy] will increase rather than diminish the solemnity of the effect of your Chapel." [13]

By July, Woods had interviewed and clearly been impressed by Wheeler, particularly as Wheeler espoused just that method of decoration which Woods so longed to display at Bowdoin. Upjohn at this time was still being recalcitrant about adopting any coloring for the chapel, but had agreed to draw up some designs, though Woods considered that "nothing ... will come up to the standard of Mr. Wheeler." [14]

Upjohn was himself a British immigrant, whose earliest background was in cabinet-making and carpentry. He had arrived in America in 1829, and belonged to a slightly older generation than Wheeler, having progressed from carpenter to architect without the benefit of formal training. At the time of his commission at Bowdoin, he was still endeavoring to establish and define his role as architect, with much difficulty as the profession was yet in its infancy. [15] There can be little doubt that he resented the interference of a newcomer like Wheeler, and perhaps

even more the very fact that Woods had challenged his authority on the job by seeking outside advice and expertise.

Wheeler was very much interested in the possibility presented by the President of Bowdoin, not only as a step toward establishing a reputation, but as an opportunity to demonstrate the type of architectural decoration prescribed by the Ecclesiologists. As a result, he agreed "in the most generous way" to submit renderings, "and superintend their execution, making no other charge than for his mere expenses." [16] Wheeler's amiability in this exchange had the desired effect; Woods thereafter chose to secure the services of both Upjohn and Wheeler.

Aware of the potential awkwardness of such a situation, Woods once again appealed to Hoppin for advice. Both men were agreed that "Mr. U. is so sensitive upon this point that if he should know it was projected, he would throw up the whole affair." [17] Woods wondered whether Wheeler's own qualifications vindicated such an intervention:

"... how far should we be justified by custom, by common opinion, and strict propriety, in adopting a style of decoration not recommended by the architect? ... would it be safe for us, if we approved of Mr. Wheeler's designs, and felt authorized to adopt them, to entrust the execution of them to him? His scientific attainments, and his fine taste, cannot be doubted; but has he experience enough to entitle him to perfect

confidence in introducing a new style which will be open to every species of criticism?"[18]

In a conciliatory move, Woods proposed that Wheeler be hired to decorate the library (named Banister Hall in 1850) in an experimental way prior to any decision regarding the chapel proper.

Hoppin responded to Woods' query by attempting to balance the abilities of each architect against the requirements of the job. He declared that from an ethical standpoint, Upjohn should have the option to submit the first design, but, in the event that the college committee reject it, another architect's rendering could be adopted. The alternate architect of course would be Wheeler, for Hoppin knew "no other person in the country as competent to carry them out."[19]

Woods was sufficiently informed about the profession to question the areas of responsibility subject to an architect's control, and to recognize that the consultation of another architect might be considered a transgression of propriety. And Hoppin admitted being "unable to come to a decision entirely satisfactory to myself."[20] But the hesitation went no further.

By mid-September, Wheeler had met Woods in New York City and together they traveled to Brunswick. The fact that Wheeler took the commission, even on such a tentative

schedule, showed a disregard for the circumstances of his fellow architect. With all due consideration for his own needs, the ease with which he accepted the work, knowing of Upjohn's commitment to the project, reflected a lack of professional deference.

Upon his arrival in Brunswick, Wheeler took up residence in a boarding house run by Miss Weld at 7 Federal Street [21], on the understanding that he would remain in town some four to six weeks to accomplish his task, now defined as the decoration of the library. In the event that the latter were well received, and pending Upjohn's agreement, he would have the opportunity of decorating the chapel itself.

Wheeler was not content simply putting forth his proposals for the library decorations. He also felt compelled, not always in the most tactful way, to express his views on the work which had already been planned by Upjohn. Wheeler regarded uniformity of mode to be extremely important in the overall development of the structure. As Upjohn had designed the hall in a Romanesque mode, Wheeler felt that the detailing throughout should be consistent and of "characteristic ornament". He communicated his reservations about Upjohn's use of Gothic motifs in the interior design to Hoppin who in turn conveyed them to Woods: "Mr. U. has introduced many

details in the pointed style and Mr. Wheeler desires you to understand that he should materially vary his designs if any thing besides the Romanesque should be used." [22]

Later remarks by Wheeler expressed more blatantly his disapproval of Upjohn's designs. In September, shortly after his arrival in Brunswick, he stated that the existing proposals for the chapel showed a lack of understanding of the principles of honest architecture and "unity of effect," both concepts integral to the new Ruskinian approach. The construction included "a mass of workmanship useless for purposes of strength", and interior details were designed in such a way as to insufficiently "allow of the play of light and shade". [23]

Another bold criticism followed closely on the last, this time relative to the design of the library gallery. Wheeler submitted remarks dated October 1, to the effect that "a very important disadvantage will be found if the work be carried out in the manner there indicated" in Upjohn's designs. [24] Again, the complaints had mainly to do with the play of light, hindered according to Wheeler by the heaviness of the balusters and upper gallery floors. He went so far as to offer his own services in this regard should the committee agree with his assessment.

Such criticism by an architect toward a peer was very unusual. In Wheeler's case, it may have been a mark of his own self-conscious sense of education and training compared to his American counterparts. But it also reflected a lack of ethical behavior, and suggests the root of his future problems in America. The unsolicited advice caused dissention and discomfort amongst members of the committee and, quite naturally, antagonized Upjohn.

While any correspondence from Upjohn to Wheeler in this matter has not been uncovered, a letter written later that month indicates Wheeler's attempt to reconcile with Upjohn. After providing him with a lengthy description of his designs for the library decor, he applauded the overall effect of the chapel. The letter closed with the following reconciliatory paragraph:

I am sure that you will approve of what is being done in the Library and I am equally sure that you will do me the justice to say so, and to acquit me of any intention in this matter to act otherwise than in the most perfect good faith toward yourself.[25]

The episode hints at a manipulative inclination in Wheeler's character. Having interfered in Upjohn's work, he sought to disembarass himself by appealing to Upjohn's good nature.

How effectively relations were smoothed over is dubious, however Wheeler himself apparently thought that any unpleasantness had been resolved. In January 1848, he

noted "I am glad that Mr. Upjohn seems amiable and shall be pleased to put myself in communication with him on the subject of the Chapel when the time comes." [26]

It is difficult to gauge with accuracy the implications of the situation, for while Wheeler appears to have acted aggressively and somewhat dishonestly, general correspondence indicates that Upjohn's dealings with the college were marked by tension as well. Certainly part of the trouble may be attributed to the lingering obstinacy of the client, typical for the period, in his unwillingness to yield full control to the architect.

By October 1847, the work on the polychromy of Banister Hall had begun. In late October, Wheeler submitted a description of his project to Upjohn. Ceiling, walls, hood moulds, arches and columns were to be covered with decoration in fresco (on the plaster) and tempera (on the wood). [27] The scheme was a complex one, and the design was not completed until December. Wheeler described the decoration in detail in a report to the committee; each surface area was treated somewhat differently, but all shared a palette of deep, rich colors, dark red, warm gold, blue, subdued golden brown, and "shades of colour from warm and brightest white and deepest shadow" (see fig. 1). [28] The interior of the chapel has since been repainted, and all traces of Wheeler's work have been obscured; though it

may still be possible through paint analysis to recapture at least a portion of the polychromy work.

With work underway in the library, Wheeler pursued his aspirations of designing the interior treatment of the chapel itself. In February 1848 he submitted a proposal to Dr. Woods and the committee. It seems to have been accepted, as he was engaged in drawing in May.[29] Wheeler did not however remain in Brunswick to see that his plans were carried out.

Construction of the College Chapel took some eleven years to complete. In 1851, when Wheeler had already removed from Brunswick and assumed other commissions in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, an article in the Bulletin of the American Art Union reviewed the interior polychromy of Banister Hall. The work was considered "very successful both in form and color", and it was suggested that the designs for the chapel, completed by Wheeler, if carried out, "would be even more extensively admired." [30] For reasons which remain unclear, the final design was never implemented.

2. The President's House

Wheeler's time in Brunswick was not entirely consumed by work on the College Chapel. He was also engaged to

design at least two residences, including a house for the President of Bowdoin College.

The original President's House had burned down in 1839. In November of 1847, the Governing Board of Bowdoin voted \$100 to pay for the commission of the design of a new house.[31] The decision to rebuild after so many years had no doubt much to do with the fact that Reverend Woods was President. In an undated statement signed by Woods, he noted that following his initial negotiations with Wheeler for the Chapel, he had suggested that Wheeler "might obtain one or two jobs with which he might be able to clear his expenses." [32] The President's House may have been one such job.

It would seem that Woods felt obligated to aid Wheeler. He therefore asked that renderings for the new residence be prepared. Wheeler submitted two alternate designs. As there is no evidence to date that either design was executed, details of their configurations are minimal. All that is known is that the Board accepted the design for a house with tower and two dining rooms en suite for entertaining.[33]

The debate over the compensation for the designs disclosed Wheeler's concept of the architect, presumably rooted in his British training. He was having financial

difficulties, and tried to offset his expenses with the income from the commission. He had submitted rough drawings, with the intention of drafting full renderings once the design choice had been made. The committee frowned at paying the allotted \$100 for such work. Wheeler responded:

"Though I do not pretend to say the drawings are worth \$50 to you, because they are not ample enough; but they are to me, there is the same amount of thought and rearrangement exhibited on them as if I had fully worked each plan out, and the rest would have been only mechanical labour for which the remaining sum of \$50 would well have paid me." [34]

3. The Henry Boody House

Wheeler's other known commission in Brunswick was a house for Professor Henry Hill Boody, a teacher of rhetoric. The design was erected, and has been on the National Register of Historic Places since 1975 (fig. 2). The house has also been the subject of a Historic American Building Survey.[35] It is by far the best known of Wheeler's designs today.

Not long after it was built, illustrations of the Boody House appeared in several publications, including the August 1849 issue of The Horticulturist and A.J. Downing's The Architecture of Country Houses in 1850 (fig. 3, 4).[36] The design was copied, with modifications to the

plan, in 1853, in the residence of Benjamin Butman, of Worcester Massachusetts, and published by the architect, William Brown in The Carpenter's Assistant, revised by Lewis Joy that same year.[37] More recently, in the 1970's, the house plans were reproduced by Architectural Period Houses Inc. as one in a series of contemporary adaptations of period designs.[38]

The double gables and steeply pitched roof emphasize the verticality of the design, further enhanced by the vertical board and batten siding. Wheeler claimed to have formulated the scheme in response to the local constraints of material and weather. The availability of wood meant that the picturesque design, constructed in timber, would be "the result, as all architectural beauty must be, of fitness and harmony." [39] The chimneys are on the interior for optimal heat retention, and the drawing room and parlor suite, opening to verandas, were designed to enable the closing off of one or the other. The floor plan is arranged in an H shape, with a kitchen and service wing projecting at the rear.

The Boody House represents a union of themes of the picturesque and Ruskinian fitness. The house when designed blended with its surroundings, by virtue of material, varied massing and a somewhat asymmetrical plan -- hallmarks of the picturesque. The honest expression of

timber construction conformed with ideas of truth in architectural expression.

4. The Richardson House

There is speculation by Earle Shettleworth of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission that the Captain John G. Richardson House, at 964 Washington Street, in Bath, Maine, may have been based on a design by Wheeler (fig. 5). The two and a half story structure, with projecting rear ell, is roofed with steeply pitched cross gables, and sheathed in vertical board and batten. The configuration of the plan and the construction material and technique are similar to the Boody House. The date of construction has been estimated as 1850, several years after Wheeler had left the area.

Unsigned plans for the house are in the collections of the Bowdoin College Library; but the written notations are in a hand different from Wheeler's. The Richardson House may simply be a local interpretation of the Boody House. Research for the Historic American Buildings Survey completed in 1971 yielded no documentation of either architect or builder.[40]

C. New Haven, Connecticut (1848-1849)

As has already been mentioned, Wheeler had had the occasion of traveling in Connecticut in 1847. He had met Henry Austin, an architect of local renown in New Haven, and had established an agreement to work with him in 1847, only to renege in order to complete the Bowdoin commission. His association with Austin was apparently successfully postponed, as Wheeler wrote in 1848 of working in Austin's office. Other than the correspondence from Wheeler himself, there has been no documentation of a working relationship between the two architects.[41]

Austin had apprenticed under Ithiel Town in the 1820's, and started his own office in 1837. The work produced during the fifty four years of his practice reflected the eclectic modes of the time and included commissions both public and residential. Austin's reputation and later recognition were based primarily on his handling of the Italian villa. Austin's practice peaked in the 1850's, so that his office was very much on the upswing when Wheeler worked with him. Among the commissions on the agenda during 1848-1849 were the James Dwight Dana House in New Haven, which sported oriental motifs, and the New Haven Railroad Station, which incorporated both Italianate and Oriental elements. [42]

In September 1848, Wheeler wrote of his collaboration with Austin for a project at Trinity College: "They talk of erecting a college chapel and Mr. Austin and myself are I suppose certain of doing it." [43] The commission however apparently never materialized, as no chapel was erected during this period. An understanding was apparently reached for some unspecified work "in connection with [the] organ at Trinity College," [44] and in 1850 was contracted to Austin. It is unclear, but doubtful, whether Wheeler, who by then was in Philadelphia, remained associated with the job. [45]

Wheeler worked on another project while in Austin's employ, a large hotel erected in New Haven. His own comments on the building suggest that he had previously only worked in the picturesque modes of residential dwellings or the vocabulary of Ecclesiology. As he prepared the drawings for exhibit, he called them "rather an experiment on my part the style being very chaste and purely worked but Italian; one of the fronts being very like Barry's Travelers Club House in London" (fig. 6). [46]

The commission, the New Haven House, now demolished, on the Green at the corner of Chapel and College Streets, is credited to the office of Henry Austin, though Wheeler's involvement has not been documented. "It was five stories high... [with] short second story balcony and clean concise

proportions with string courses." [47] It is not clear if Wheeler designed the structure or was only the draftsman. If corroborated as Wheeler's design, it would represent one of the few public buildings attributed to Wheeler, later assertions to the contrary. In 1851, introductory comments to an article written by Wheeler for The Home Journal, a weekly general paper published in New York City, noted, "though he has been eminently successful in the large public buildings he has designed and erected, yet rural architecture is his preference." [48]

It has not been possible within the scope of the present work to assess the influence of Wheeler's own designs on Henry Austin's work or the converse. At any rate, Wheeler's association with the New Haven architect was relatively short, lasting some ten months. During that time, as was his wont, Wheeler expressed dissatisfaction with the nature and composition of several commissions coming out of the office. It would not be implausible to suggest that his condescending manner again led to uncomfortable relations.

In addition to his association with Austin, his previous acquaintance with the Reverend Woods may have proved helpful to Wheeler in New Haven. In the same correspondence in which he told of working with Henry Austin, he asked Woods' help in introducing him to the

minister's peers in the New Haven and Hartford areas. He specifically requested "a few lines of introduction to Dr. Williams" as well as "amongst the professors" in New Haven.[49]

Dr. John Williams was the recently elected president of Trinity College. Like Woods, his background included several advanced degrees, travel in France and England, and teaching experience.[50] Wheeler, may have already been familiar with Williams through the chapel project at Trinity. There is no evidence however that the introduction led to further commissions for Wheeler.

The correspondence during this phase of Wheeler's career helps to elucidate his own aspirations and frustrations as architect. With his background training in England under Carpenter, it is not surprising to discover that he had hoped to work on church architecture. Through Reverend Woods, Wheeler sought connections in the ecumenical and educational world. According to correspondence between Woods and Richard Upjohn, Wheeler was introduced to Dr. Williams mentioned above, Dr. Croswell of the Church of the Advent in Boston, Dr. Sumner, a professor of botany at Trinity, and the Rev. Andrew Dunning, a Bowdoin graduate and minister of Congregational Churches in Thompson CT.[51] To date, there has been no evidence to suggest that any commissions evolved from these



introductions.

Also at this time, Wheeler apparently hoped to establish contacts through an acquaintance in Britain, Sir Charles Wesley, Chaplain of St. James. A letter from Wesley in August of 1848 is an obvious response to a plea from Wheeler for assistance: "I regret exceedingly that I have no personal acquaintance with any of the Bishops of Clergymen of the Episcopal Church in America or it would have given me sincere gratification to have served you in any way by such introductions... but I will make every endeavor to procure you some amongst my clerical friends..."[52]

The section on Brunswick, Maine, portrayed Wheeler's attempts to convince the Bowdoin College committee and Upjohn of the appropriateness of a more current mode of design for the chapel. Wheeler must have had great hopes of disseminating his firsthand knowledge of the recent innovations in church architecture and decor associated with the Cambridge Camden Society. His letters mention his regret at not being responsible for any church designs while in Austin's office.

Not only did Wheeler lament the lack of church commissions, but he also denounced the one church design which Austin's firm was completing at the time, as being

"of a character that I am glad to have escaped any connection with." It can be inferred from this that Wheeler's views regarding the proper design of church architecture were firmly ingrained. The letter continues:

"It will be a long while before I dare attempt to introduce anything of the kind here and as it is, on the whole I am rather glad perhaps that there are no churches going on as I know I should be cruelly mortified in having to shape my ideas of propriety and beauty and correctness in accordance with those of the 'critics' about me."[53]

Wheeler clearly considered that neither the American public nor even the architectural profession were sophisticated enough to appreciate the more advanced thoughts of an architect with his British training. Yet contrary to what might have been expected, his attitude seemed to betoken a lack of conviction and determination; he renounced his pursuit of Ecclesiological architecture only two years after his arrival in the United States.

D. Hartford, Connecticut (1849)

Having spent approximately a year with Austin, Wheeler must have felt confident enough of his design reputation or perhaps sufficiently frustrated with the interpretation and execution of modes in that office to establish his own practice. He had moved to Hartford by April. With rooms at the American House, he opened an office in the Janes' Building on Main Street.[54] Ironically, though very

sparse documentation as to his stay in Hartford exists, the legacy of his executed designs indicates that this was among the most prolific periods of his career.

In June of 1849, Wheeler wrote to Upjohn for his assistance in procuring a draftsman. Upjohn had earlier referred him to a Mr. Jordan, who spent several months in Wheeler's Hartford office on the terms of a temporary engagement. With business "steadily increasing", Wheeler found himself in need of permanent help. Two young men in his employ, apparently qualified only as copyists, could not meet the exigencies of the position of design assistant. Wheeler required someone he could rely upon to develop drawings from his designs; he was sufficiently busy and "called away so much that I can hardly settle down to anything myself in the way of drawing." [55]

While there may be doubts about the accuracy of earlier statements of his activities, the case can readily be made that Wheeler produced an extensive amount of work in Hartford. Output at this time ranged from the publication of designs to actual commissions.

The first known example of Wheeler's written work appeared in a book for students of art, published out of Hartford early in 1849. Entitled The Columbian Drawing Book, this little volume by C. Kuchel comprises a series of

plates of sketches with accompanying written directions for their reproduction. The eloquent directions were Wheeler's contribution to the endeavor. The closing sentence evokes the pleasure and fulfillment to be derived from the art of drawing:

"... let his eye, his heart, and his hand work together, and he will be repaid by the increased keenness of the one, the emotions of the other, and the skill of the third, for the time and thought he has bestowed." [56]

The work was well received, with reviews in several period journals, including The Horticulturist and The Literary World. [57] In each case it was recommended as a useful tool for the amateur desirous of learning the essentials of drawing.

Wheeler's participation in the endeavor may indicate a need for work and an initial lack of design commissions. The contribution may also have been a recognition of the benefits of self-promotion, even in a field peripheral to architecture. Wheeler wrote convincingly of his subject, in articulate and expressive prose. As his career progressed, his ability to write would serve him well.

The year 1849 also saw the publication of two residential designs in A.J. Downing's journal The Horticulturist: in June, a design for a Villa in the Tudor Style, and in August, an English Cottage (the Boody House

in Brunswick, Maine, fig. 3, 4).[58] The date of Wheeler's signature on each contribution, May 16 and April 2 respectively, suggest that Downing and Wheeler had established contact by spring of that year. The business relationship between the two men would lead to further publication opportunities for Wheeler.

The inclusion of Wheeler's work in a respected monthly magazine could not help but have beneficial effects for his career and reputation. The magazine had great appeal among country 'gentlemen' of the period. Articles in the publication dealt mainly with plants and landscaping; but as Downing espoused the picturesque integration of home and grounds, the magazine also provided a forum for architectural design. A.J. Davis, architect of many residences in the romantic eclecticism of the period, had already collaborated with Downing to supply plans and elevations.

Downing's use of Wheeler in his publications suggests that the latter appreciated his comfortable handling of the picturesque. Greek revival design still lingered in the hands of many architects, and the vocabulary of the picturesque was only beginning to gain acceptance in America. Downing may have seen in Wheeler a peer who could understand and express the formulations of the American picturesque.

Of the two designs, the Boody House has already been described in section B.3 of this chapter. It is interesting to note that while Downing himself evidently considered Wheeler's designs competent, a regular correspondent to The Horticulturist, Mr. Jeffreys of New York, rather condescendingly critiqued the English Cottage: "Are we never to have any American cottages? ... Try it again Mr. Wheeler..."[59]

The other design for "a Villa in the Tudor Style," was intended as a gentleman's country residence. With its irregular but harmonized massing, Wheeler considered the design, executed in stone or brick, to be "peculiarly adapted to those localities where the scenery was rather sylvan than wild."[60] The plan, reflected in the exterior profile, provides for large communicating drawing and dining rooms en suite, a small conservatory for plants, and a library (fig. 7, 8).

1. The Olmstead House

The Henry Olmstead House, in East Hartford, Connecticut, was one of at least two important commissions to come into the office during the year. As its name implies, this residence was designed for Henry Olmstead, whose family was prominent in the East Hartford area. The plan, essentially cruciform, dictates the exterior profile

of intersecting gables (fig. 9, 10). Constructed of wood and sheathed in board and batten, "the major decorative elements arise from structural necessity," as in the extended framed front veranda and arched chamber floor ceilings.[61]

Like the Boody House, the Olmstead House combines in no uncertain terms the qualities of the picturesque and of Ruskinian honesty: a varied silhouette, extension of the house to the surrounding landscape through verandas, rational construction. The design has been the subject of study by Vincent Scully, who considered that it "reinforced with a new and more incisive logic the practical and aesthetic principles of Downing's cottage style." [62] The house purportedly stands, though altered beyond recognition, but its continued existence has not been confirmed.

The design was published two years after its erection in Rural Homes. It would also provide the model for the Willows, a house built in Morristown, New Jersey, in 1854, by Joseph Warren Revere (fig. 11, 12). The Willows is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, as well as the New Jersey State Register. The plan, elevation and architectural details follow those of the Olmstead House very closely. Modifications include the opening of the front stair hall, enlargement of the dining room and

parlor, and the addition of a rear stair and kitchen ell. Wheeler was practicing in New York at the time that Revere began the Willows, but documentation linking the two men, or revealing that Wheeler had an active role in the adapted design, has not been discovered.

The Olmstead House may have inspired another variation, the Hartwell Carver House in Pittsford, New York, a suburb of Rochester (fig. 13).[63] Built in 1853, the plan is a somewhat foreshortened cruciform, resulting in less exaggerated gable extension and verandas. The uneven intersection of the gable roof lines, the enclosed gable above the veranda, and the roof slope interrupted by dormers, all diminish the overall effect of the original design. The origins of the Hartwell Carver House were not investigated for this paper.

2. Rockwood

While the Olmstead House was designed to harmonize with its surroundings, Rockwood was an imposing stone mansion, prominently located atop a hill overlooking the Hudson River in North Tarrytown, New York. The owner, Edwin Bartlett, a successful merchant, had gathered several hundred acres to form his estate and commissioned Wheeler to design his home.

The asymmetrical scheme was in the castellated Gothic mode, and expressed in grey gneiss (fig. 14, 15). The front facade of the house, one hundred and forty feet long, was dominated by a four story corner tower rising above the living room. The tower was balanced, across an arched carriage porch, by an advancing two and a half story octagonal bay. The major living spaces opened onto verandas with fine views of the Hudson (fig. 16). The interior finishes included walnut and oak panelling and a richly carved stair balustrade with Gothic motifs.

Completed in 1849, the house was first pictured in a sketch by Edwin Whitefield, an itinerant artist who solicited patrons 'door to door' in the early 1850's. In a rendering of a neighboring estate, the profile of Rockwood's tower rose clearly over the trees on the hillside (fig. 17).[64]

From the start, Wheeler's design received critical acclaim from popular journals and authors. Rockwood was featured in an 1856 issue of The Horticulturist, in a column entitled "Visits to Country Places," and was described as a "princely mansion." [65] Henry Sargent, editor of the sixth edition of Downing's Landscape Gardening, lauded it again, calling it "the most marked place which has been created since the first edition of this book." [66] A pictorial essay of the finer residences

along the Hudson, compiled by A.A. Turner in 1860, opened with two photolithographs of Rockwood.[67]

Also in 1860, Knickerbocker Magazine ran two articles entitled "The Hudson." Though essentially a descriptive history of the landscapes and legends of the area, a few homes were highlighted -- Sunnyside, residence of Washington Irving, and "the beautiful chateau of Rockwood." [68] The design withstood the vagaries of time, as it again appeared among the beautiful "Homes of America" by Martha Lamb in 1878: "not only a fine specimen of mechanical skill, but a work of art and architectural propriety... [it] challenges comparison with the best homes of any country." [69]

The enduring popular appeal of Rockwood for some thirty years after its construction, was a testament to the facility of the architect. The estate changed hands only three times, and in the late 1880's, the new owner, William Rockefeller, nearly doubled it in size. In 1922, three years after his death, the once "princely mansion" was destroyed. The site is now the regional headquarters of I.B.M., and the only reminder of the elegant estate is the gate house on the Albany Post Road.[70]

Wheeler himself was proud of the design; he would display it in an exhibition in Philadelphia the year after

designing it, and would include some aspect of it in two of his three books, Rural Homes and The Choice of a Dwelling. He never published an elevation however, perhaps in deference to his client's privacy.

At this point in his career, Wheeler seems to have concentrated on domestic architecture as his predominant occupation. The immediate recognition and relative success of private works such as the Boody House and Rockwood no doubt pushed him toward that path.

E. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1849-1850)

1. Brookwood

Wheeler's contributions to The Horticulturist may have resulted in direct contact with A.J. Downing, although there is only circumstantial evidence to support this. At the end of 1849, Downing sponsored Wheeler as he traveled to Philadelphia. Because he had a seemingly healthy practice in Hartford, his trip may have been undertaken in anticipation of a commission. Downing had been in Philadelphia the month before, helping Henry C. Fisher choose a site for his house.[71] He may then have recommended Wheeler as an architect. At any rate, in December, Wheeler presented himself to Fisher with a letter from Downing.[72]

Fisher had recently purchased fifty acres of land in the countryside to the north of Philadelphia, and wanted a comfortable and luxurious country estate. With the help of Downing, he had chosen a site for his home and a landscaping plan; all that remained was the structure itself. Fisher and Wheeler first met at dinner on December 12 1849. By December 23, Wheeler had submitted two designs for Fisher's approval, one Italianate, the other Elizabethan. Sidney Fisher, a close relative, wrote in his diary: "the latter is not only in itself the handsomer by far, in my judgement, but accords well with the picturesque character of the surrounding scenery." [73] The Elizabethan was apparently the design adopted. As the construction of Brookwood progressed over the next two years, it was invariably described as elegant, convenient, and luxurious. [74]

Much as had been the case with Rockwood, Brookwood too was applauded for its thoroughly considered plan and pleasant aspect. In the appendix to the sixth edition of Landscape Gardening, after the sketch of Rockwood, a brief entry noted that Brookwood was a "very extensive and complete establishment" sure to become "one of the most striking places near Philadelphia." [75] The building was demolished in the 1960's, and no images have as yet been uncovered. There is reason however to speculate, as the next section will do, that Wheeler's design for the Fisher estate was printed in The Architecture of Country Houses.

2. Design Contributions

In 1850, A.J. Downing's The Architecture of Country Houses was published. In it, the author featured two designs by "Gervase Wheeler, Esq., of Philadelphia, an architect of reputation." [76] In introducing Wheeler, Downing expressed his respect for the architect, and complemented the designs their "artistic ability, combined with an excellent knowledge of all that belongs to domestic life in its best development." [77] In just a year, Downing's enthusiasm would wane somewhat (see chapter IV).

The first design, Number XXV, "A Plain Timber Cottage-Villa," was a slightly modified version of the Henry Boody house erected in Brunswick, Maine, already familiar to the reader. The second design, Number XXX, "An American Country House of the First Class," was prepared specifically for the book, according to Downing.

The "Large Country House," as number XXX is alternately labeled, was considered a simple design by its author, catering to the gentleman of average means (fig. 18, 19). The mode of expression, "without being a copy of any of one of the well-known Tudor or Elizabethan types, has as distinct a character as they have." [78] In a scheme similar though less elaborate than Rockwood, the configuration of the plan balances the main living quarters

with the kitchen and service wing, on either side of a carriage porch and entrance hall. The library, drawing room and dining room open onto verandas and thus to the grounds. Wheeler suggested that the interior decor be simple, but continued with a prescription for stained glass for the windows of the halls, staircase and library.

Country Houses appeared at approximately the same time as Fisher began to build Brookwood. Though no mention of an actual commission is made in the descriptive text accompanying number XXX, it is possible that this was the design proposed to Henry Fisher.

Both designs were of Elizabethan character. A comparison of the floor plan of a Large Country House with the footprint of the Fisher residence from period insurance survey atlases, shows the same general configuration, with two and a half story high main block, and a service wing projecting off the right of the main entrance. In the atlases, the placement of verandas is expanded, but this may have occurred naturally over time (compare fig. 19 and 20).[79] The type of residence, country home for a gentleman, was the same in each case. And it should be remembered that the design would have been submitted for publication some time prior to the printed date of the volume, thereby allowing for the lack of identification as to actual construction.

3. Philadelphia County Court Building

The meeting between Wheeler and the Fishers led to an introduction which, had the timing been slightly different, might have provided Wheeler with an opportunity to work on a public commission. Sidney Fisher invited Wheeler to dinner on December 13 1849; among the other guests was Ben Gerhard, a member of the Common Councils of Philadelphia. The purpose of the introduction, Fisher stated, was to afford Wheeler "a chance of competing for the buildings about to be erected by the County for Courts, etc., on Independence Square." [80]

As early as 1823, members of the Philadelphia county government had considered the existing space for courts and offices to be insufficient, and requested additional facilities. The pleas were for the most part dismissed, until 1849, when the Common and Select Councils sought design submissions for a new court house. On December 5 1849, the county solicitor forwarded a letter requesting approval of erection of a new court house; enclosed were proposals and estimates from three architects, John Haviland, Thomas U. Walter and Napoleon Lebrun. [81] Fifteen days later, the Select and Common Councils resolved that a county court house could be erected at the corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets on State House Square, provided architectural plans were approved.

The resolution drew continued controversy, and by June 27 1850, the building committee of Common Council had rescinded the resolution of the previous December.[82] It was not until April 1866 that a site was selected on Sixth below Chestnut and Common Council approved and initiated the erection of a new court house, completed in February 1867.

At no point during the intervening years do the journals and ledgers mention Wheeler. With the submission on December 5 of the various proposals, Fisher's introduction to Gerhard may have been too late to benefit Wheeler.

4. Insurance Company of North America

After completion of the designs for Brookwood, Wheeler was not without occupation. The Insurance Company of North America had simultaneously resolved to erect new office headquarters, and a building committee of three was appointed on January 14 1850 to find an acceptable plan.

By February 26, Wheeler had been chosen for the job. The method for the selection process was not discussed in company documents, and a survey of the corporate directors did not immediately suggest a contact for Wheeler. However plans were drawn at the request of the building committee

and the sum of \$75 was paid for services rendered.[83]

Wheeler offered to superintend the construction of the commission, but was apparently not hired for that particular aspect of the project. Abraham Masson was awarded the contract to build the new office located at 60 Walnut Street (now the two hundred block of Walnut).[84] Upon its completion, in December 1850, the company minutes record it as a "beautifully appropriate building." [85] A history of the company published in 1885 included an engraving of the building as it appeared in 1879 (fig. 21).[86]

The masonry building was a three bay, three story configuration with an eclectic use of motifs. A broad flat set of steps, the entire width of the office, led customers up to the entrance. Above the incised first floor architrave, more classically detailed columns supported the segmental arches of windows with Gothic tracery. The third floor openings were squared off, and though repeating the tracery, had much flatter frames and reveals. A shaped gablet centered over the middle bay, adding still more variety to the line of the bracketed roof cornice.

The office was subsequently demolished in August 1880, together with the adjoining Farquar Building to the east, in order to allow the erection of Cabot and Chandler's more spacious accommodations for the growing company.

Another project apparently undertaken at this time, but for which there is no information, involved the design of a townhouse. The only known reference to this building is in Wheeler's The Choice of a Dwelling of 1871. The author supplied only a floor plan, showing a side hall configuration (fig. 22). The address and date of the commission are not listed, and further documentation of the structure has not been possible to date.

Similarly, a design for a "Small Cottage," featured in Rural Homes, was erected in two different locations according to Wheeler. The board and batten structure carried a steeply pitched roof with intersecting gables in a T shaped plan (fig. 23). No information regarding the client or the site was provided.[87]

In addition to his contact through Downing and Fisher, Wheeler sought to promote his abilities by exhibiting his work at the twenty-seventh annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, in 1850. He wisely chose a design which would meet with approbation: Rockwood, near Tarrytown, commissioned and constructed the previous year.[88] The entry indicates that Wheeler's address at this time was 70 Walnut Street, near the newly designed I.N.A. building.

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- [1]Hoppin to Woods, March 8 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [2]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [3]Nicholaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 83.
- [4]James Grant Wilson, ed., Appleton's Cyclopoedia of American Biography 3 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888), 261.
- [5]The Literary World 6 (New York: Osgood & Co., 1850), 353.
- [6]Letterhead, Wheeler to Bowdoin College, April 6 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [7]Upjohn to Woods, May 4 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [8]National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860 2 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1943), 195.
- [9]Wheeler to Woods, August 14 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [10]John B. Kirby to Ward, October 8 1982.
- [11]Wilson, Appleton's 6, 604.
- [12]For a history of the College Chapel and its construction, see Ernst Christian Helmreich, Religion at Bowdoin College: A History (Brunswick: Bowdoin College, 1981).
- [13]Hoppin to Woods, March 8 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [14]Woods to Hoppin, July 31 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [15]See chapter II for a discussion of the atmosphere in the field of architecture and Upjohn's participation in the development of the A.I.A. For information on Upjohn's career, see Everard Upjohn, Richard Upjohn.
- [16]Woods to Hoppin, July 31 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [17]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [18]Woods to Hoppin, July 31 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [19]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [20]Hoppin to Woods, August 4 1847, Chapel Papers.

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- [21]Ward, "Gervase Wheeler," 12.
- [22]Hoppin to Woods, April 10 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [23]Wheeler to the Building Committee, September 29 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [24]Wheeler to the Building Committee, October 1 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [25]Wheeler to Upjohn, October 26 1847, Upjohn Papers, Box 3.
- [26]Wheeler to Woods, January 23 1848, Chapel Papers.
- [27]Wheeler to Upjohn, October 26 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [28]Wheeler, "Description of Decoration of the Library," December 15 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [29]Wheeler to Woods, May 12 1848, Chapel Papers.
- [30]Bulletin of the American Art Union (1851), 62. This article was brought to my attention by Earle Shettleworth of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, and Arlene Palmer Schwind, of Yarmouth, Maine.
- [31]Ward, "Gervase Wheeler," 15.
- [32]Woods, undated statement, possibly end 1847, Chapel Papers.
- [33]Wheeler to Woods, May 10 1848, Chapel Papers.
- [34]Wheeler to Woods, May 10 1848, Chapel Papers.
- [35]Denys Peter Myers, Maine Catalog (Portland: Maine State Museum, 1974), 118-9.
- [36]The Horticulturist 4 (Albany: Luther Tucker, 1849), frontispiece and 77-79; A.J. Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: Dover Publications, 1969 reprint of 1850), design XXV.
- [37]William Brown, The Carpenter's Assistant (Boston: Edward Livermore, 1853), 42, design 11. Pointed out by Earle Shettleworth, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.
- [38]Architectural Period Houses Inc. (Princeton, Massachusetts: 1978). Courtesy of Earle Shettleworth.
- [39]The Horticulturist 4 (August 1849), 77.

[40]Earle Shettleworth, Director, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, to Ward, September 15 1982; confirmed in letter to author, January 4 1988. See also Myers, Maine Catalog, 202.

[41]Kirby to Ward, October 8 1982; confirmed in letter to author, November 16 1987.

[42]Kirby, MacMillan Dictionary 1: 117-8.

[43]Wheeler to Woods, September 27 1848, Chapel Papers.

[44]Wheeler to Woods, September 27, Chapel Papers.

[45]Kirby to Ward, September 29 1982.

[46]Wheeler to Woods, September 27 1848, Chapel Papers.

[47]Kirby to Ward, September 29 1982.

[48]The Home Journal (New York: Morris & Willis, 1851), June 14.

[49]Wheeler to Woods, September 27 1848, Chapel Papers.

[50]Wilson, Appleton's 6: 526-7.

[51]Woods to Upjohn, July 17 1851, Upjohn Papers.

[52]Wesley to Wheeler, August 28 1848, Chapel Papers.

[53]Wheeler to Woods, September 27 1848, Chapel Papers.

[54]Wells' City Directory for Hartford (Hartford: J. Gaylord Wells, 1849), 138. The entry was accompanied by an ad which stated, "more than two years in America," and further substantiates an estimated arrival date of 1846.

[55]Wheeler to Upjohn, June 18 1849, Upjohn Papers.

[56]C. Kuchel, The Columbian Drawing Book (Hartford: Belknap & Hamersley, 1849), 10.

[57]The Horticulturist 3 (June 1849), 573; The Literary World 4 (April 1849), 337.

[58]The Horticulturist 3 (June 1849), 560-1 and 4 (August 1849), 77-9.

[59]The Horticulturist 4 (September 1849), 144.

[60]The Horticulturist 3 (June 1849), 560.

[61]Robert P. Guter, "The Willows at Fosterfields"
(Historic Structures Report, Morristown, New Jersey, 1983),
45.

[62]Vincent J. Scully Jr., The Shingle Style and The
Stick Style (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), lii.
Scully used the Olmstead House as an example in developing
his theory of the "Stick Style"; for a discussion of the
term and its significance, see also Robert Jensen, "Board
and Batten Siding and the Balloon Frame," JSAH 30
(1971):40-50, and Sarah Landau, "Richard Morris Hunt, the
Continental Picturesque, and the Stick Style," JSAH 42
(1983):272-289.

[63]Jean R. France, Professor of Fine Arts, University
of Rochester, to Ward, November 29 1982; image courtesy of
Ms. France.

[64]John Zukowsky, Hudson River Houses: Edwin
Whitefield's "The Hudson River and Railroad Illustrated"
(Croton on Hudson: North River Press Inc., 1981 facsimile
of c.1850), 50.

[65]The Horticulturist n.s.6 (November 1856), 497.

[66]A.J. Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice
of Landscape Gardening (New York: A.O. Moore & Co., 1859,
6th edition), 552.

[67]A.A. Turner Villas on the Hudson (New York: DaCapo
Press, 1977 reprint of 1860).

[68]Knickerbocker New York Monthly Magazine (New
York: Samuel Hueston, 1860), 137 (image) and 142.

[69]Martha J. Lamb, The Homes of America (New York: D.
Appleton & Co., 1879), 162 and 224.

[70]John Zukowsky, Hudson River Villas (New York:
Rizzoli International Publications Inc., 1985), 107.

[71]Fisher Diaries, November 5 1849.

[72]Fisher Diaries, December 12 1849.

[73]Fisher Diaries, December 23 1849.

[74]Fisher Diaries, August 16 1850, June 16 1851,
December 31 1851.

[75]Downing, Landscape Gardening, 555.

[76]Downing, Country Houses, 330.

[77]Downing, Country Houses, 330.

[78]Downing, Country Houses, 338.

[79]Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, 22nd ward (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1862); Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, 22nd ward (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins C.E., 1885); Insurance Map of the City of Philadelphia, 33, 22nd ward (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer & Son, 1898).

[80]Fisher Diaries, December 12 1849.

[81]Journal of the Select Council (Philadelphia: Cressy & Markley, 1850), 45.

[82]Journal of the Common Council (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1850), 170.

[83]I.N.A., "Directors' Minutes" (February 26 1850), 189.

[84]I.N.A. "Directors' Minutes," (March 12 1850), 191.

[85]I.N.A. "Directors' Minutes" (December 24 1850), 216.

[86]Thomas H. Montgomery, A History of the Insurance Company of North America (Philadelphia: Press of Review Publishing & Printing Co., 1885), opposite 90.

[87]Wheeler, Rural, 161.

[88]Anna Wells Rutledge ed., Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues; the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1807-1870 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 251.

V. Popular Success, New York and Norwichtown (1851-1860)

By February 1851, Wheeler had moved away from Philadelphia and returned to New York.[1] Awaiting more permanent offices, he rented rooms at 304 West Fourteenth Street; by May he was listed in the city directory as Architect, University, Washington Square.[2] Wheeler, as was clear in Hartford, recognized the advertising possibilities of listing in the directory. In a letter written in March, Wheeler appealed to Richard Upjohn, whom he had met in the context of the College Chapel commission at Bowdoin, for potential odd jobs, only until May, the date of issuance of the directory.

As the above suggests, Wheeler began immediately to seek contacts for commissions. He apparently met early on the editors of The Home Journal, Nathaniel Parker Willis and George Morris, for on March 1 1851, the first in a series of sixteen articles authored by Wheeler appeared in this popular weekly magazine (to be discussed in a later part of this chapter).

Wheeler's letter to Upjohn in March announced his new location, and was written with the aim of enlisting Upjohn's help. The relationship between the two men is somewhat ambiguous. During the project at Bowdoin, Wheeler

had antagonized Upjohn and a great deal of tension had resulted. Still, the contact was established, and in apparent recognition of Upjohn's influence in the field of architecture, Wheeler turned to him. He offered his services and expertise for any commissions which Upjohn might find himself unable to fulfill: "if at any time you ... have work you cannot from press of business undertake I shall be very happy to have it placed in my hands and will do my best..."[3]

Wheeler claimed that his practice had thrived in the intervening years since the Bowdoin Chapel commission: "Since I last saw you, I have done a great deal in various parts of the country and very successfully." By this time, he was referring to his designs for the Olmstead House, Rockwood, Brookwood, and the I.N.A. Building.

The accuracy of Wheeler's assurance of activity may have been slanted by a tendency to exaggeration evidenced previously. A half dozen designs in approximately two years could not have been considered prolific. Further, a successful and busy practice, as related to Upjohn in the above excerpt, would hardly require him to actively seek work from his peers. An architect would be inclined to pass over only commissions in inconvenient locations, with difficult clients, or which presented no particular design challenge.

On the other hand, the simple question of geography should be recognized in understanding Wheeler's new need for contacts in New York. Having worked first in Maine, then Connecticut, and later Philadelphia, whatever clientele and reputation were established would have remained in those areas. Letters of introduction, recommendation or regular correspondence would then have formed the basis for the development of a new clientele; the existence of any such documents is unknown. Under the circumstances, the most natural response for Wheeler was to turn to previously made associations, like Upjohn and in all likelihood Hoppin, for assistance and references.

After only some six months in New York, something occurred to propel Wheeler to Norwichtown, Connecticut. Richard Upjohn was working on a church design in Norwich in the summer of 1851, and it may be that, despite previous difficulties, as a gesture of good will he proposed Wheeler to have a look at it. However, by July of that year, Wheeler had once again tactlessly insinuated himself into Upjohn's affairs. Upjohn wrote Reverend Woods in Brunswick of Wheeler's presence in Norwich, beseeching his help in keeping him at bay.[4] If previous experience is an indication, Wheeler undoubtedly did not restrain his own criticism of the evolving project. Upjohn considered Wheeler's interference "mischievous... pranks and favours." [5]

Woods promptly replied that while he himself would not volunteer information on Wheeler's past track record, he could suggest a long list of names to whom the people of Norwich might address their inquiries as to Wheeler's reputation: Dr. Croswell of the Church of the Advent in Boston, Dr. Sumner in Hartford, George F. Dunning of the Mint of Philadelphia, his brother Reverend Andrew Dunning in Thompson, Connecticut, whom Woods had introduced to Wheeler over the course of their acquaintance in Brunswick, and William Hoppin of New York and Professor Smyth and Mr. McKeen of Brunswick. These men, if asked, would "put them on their guard about Mr. Wheeler." [6]

The exchange between Upjohn and Woods was an unequivocal disapproval of Wheeler's character, and a reflection of the difficult relations at Bowdoin. Despite this, Wheeler not only remained in the area, but established an office in Norwichtown. It seems probably that Wheeler became busy with his own work, and no longer disturbed Upjohn. By the end of May, Wheeler had decided to expand the articles he had been writing for The Home Journal into a book, published in the summer, which he signed from Norwichtown, Connecticut.

In June 1852, an advertisement in the Genessee Farmer solicited "professional engagements from those desirous of building," for Gervase Wheeler, Norwichtown, Connecticut.

The services offered included "designs for residences, churches, schoolhouses, arrangement of grounds and out-buildings and for internal decoration." [7]

Documentation regarding the execution of projects during this period is sparse, and as shall be seen in section 5 of this chapter, is limited to Wheeler's own word on the subject.

Wheeler continued to travel during these years as he had done since his arrival. Most notable among his trips was a return to Europe, tentatively placed at the end of 1852. Little is known of this trip, though Wheeler specifically mentioned having been in London. [8] By July 1853, he was back in the United States. A notice in The Horticulturist announced: "The friends of Gervase Wheeler, the accomplished architect and author of Rural Homes will be glad to learn that he has returned from Europe and resumed the practice of his profession." [9] The notice was supplemented by ads placed by Wheeler himself, in the August and November issues of the magazine. [10]

Wheeler chose at this time to settle in New York, where he would remain until 1860. His office was initially established at 55 Trinity Building, and he worked out of these premises from July 1853 through 1854. [11] During his time in New York, Wheeler relocated offices on the average every other year. The city directories listed his practice

at 16 Nassau Building in 1855, 430 Broome Street in 1856-1857, 18 William Street in 1858-1859, and the Post Office Building in Brooklyn in 1860. Such continual changes in location appear not to have been particularly unusual or significant for a professional at this time. Other architects, Robert Mills and Minard Lafever, for instance, had done the same; Lafever's biographer, Jacob Landy, affirmed "there is no basis for assuming ... poor business judgement ... to explain the many changes of office location." [12]

While frequent moves marked the professional side of Wheeler's life, his private residence was unchanged from 1854 to 1860. The city directories consistently listed 1 Elm Place in Brooklyn, at the northwest corner of Livingston Street, a few blocks from the Brooklyn Borough Hall, in a middle class residential neighborhood. [13]

No primary source information regarding the staffing of Wheeler's office during these years has come to light, however one architect is alleged to have apprenticed under him. A group photo of the members of the American Institute of Architects taken in 1883, and illustrated in the pages of the February 1884 issue of The American Architect and Building News, included New York based Henry Hudson Holly. The brief biography associated with the picture stated that Holly had begun his study of

architecture under Wheeler in 1854, leaving the latter's office in 1856 to train in Britain.[14] In the introduction to the 1977 reprint of Holly's books, Country Seats (1863) and Modern Dwellings (1878), Michael Tomlan logically, although without documentation, attributes Holly's decision to travel to England to his employer's urging.[15]

Holly worked with Wheeler at the time when the latter was writing his second book, Homes for the People (1855). It is safe to assume that, if Holly did not in fact collaborate on the volume, he was familiar with the ideas and designs which Wheeler elaborated. Holly himself wrote and published a pattern book in 1863, Country Seats. In the preface, the author noted that "the work was fully prepared for the press some two years since," but its publication was hindered by the outbreak of the Civil War.[16] In other words, Holly had drafted his book in late 1860, early 1861, immediately following Wheeler's departure for England.

The contents and organization of Homes for the People will be discussed in the later on, but some of the similarities between the two architects' work bear mention. Both books addressed and appealed to the general public as opposed to a specifically professional audience. Country Seats began as had Homes for the People with a

brief history of architecture, and devoted several pages to a differentiation of the types of homes sought by differing classes of people. Several of Holly's designs, though modified in plan, presented combinations of motifs or proportions reminiscent of Wheeler's work in Homes for the People. [17]

As the book's audience represented prospective clients, Holly, like Wheeler, championed hiring an architect for the planning of a country house. He also followed Wheeler's example and noted that the designs were "not intended for model houses, to be copied for all localities, but simply to show how important it is to have an original design adapted to the peculiarities of site." [18]

In addition to the parallels between the architects' books, the manner in which each defined his professional course was similar. Holly, like Wheeler, had designed actual commissions, but both relied rather more heavily upon the publication of writings and popularization of domestic designs. Repeating a pattern set by Wheeler in 1851, Holly began contributing a series of articles entitled "Modern Dwellings, Their Construction, Decoration and Furniture" to Harper's New Monthly Magazine in 1876. The series would become the foundation for his book, Modern Dwellings, published in 1878. [19]

The most conspicuous difference between the careers of the two men lay in organizational associations. Unlike Wheeler, Holly was from the outset involved in the A.I.A., and was elected to Fellowship in 1858, even before Wheeler's departure.

Of particular importance in Wheeler's practice at this time were his published writings. He contributed essays to period journals, foremost among them The Home Journal, and compiled his own books for publication.

The Home Journal was described by its editors, George Pope Morris and Nathaniel P. Willis, as a chronicle of fashion, society, theatre and the arts, leaving "the details of politics and heavier matters to the daily newspapers." [20] Like most journals of the period, contributors were seldom paid for their pieces, and articles were often printed anonymously. [21] But The Home Journal was considered somewhat more sophisticated than its competitors, with writing which often approached the level of literature.

The recitation of events with regard to Wheeler's association with The Home Journal is purely conjectural. Willis, who sought out new contributors to maintain a fresh magazine, may have met Wheeler in person. Willis may have encouraged Wheeler to submit a series of articles making

use of his knowledge of architecture. As can best be ascertained, with the exception of the introduction to the Columbian Drawing Book and the submissions to The Horticulturist in 1849, this was the beginning of Wheeler's writing career. While the articles were not signed, the initials "G.W." may have been enough to identify Wheeler from other architects practicing in New York. This subtle means of recognition may have meant a possible source of future commissions.

The articles for the most part belonged to a segment entitled "On Perfecting a Home".[22] The editors introduced the series with enthusiasm and confidence, promoting its author as "an eminent and practical architect" and "emphatically commend[ing] our correspondent and his views to the reader's attention" (March 1). Though a pitch for Wheeler, the compliment also was a promotion for the paper itself. The editors of The Home Journal, years later in 1855, when reviewing Wheeler's second book, would "claim an interest" in the success of the architect as a result of having provided their periodical as a forum.[23]

"On Perfecting a Home" addressed the definition of fitness and realization of comfort in the American home. The first article in the series appeared on March 1 1851. Entitled "Home, How to Build One Cheaply and Well," it

began with the distinction between a house and a home. The latter, Wheeler asserted, was different for its being suited to the client, and depended greatly on the skills and abilities of a professional architect. As usual, there was a self-promotional tone in the work. Wheeler, having defined the need for "practical statements, easily understood directions, evident reasons, common sense determinations," proceeded to provide them.

The basic considerations in building any house included "convenient arrangement, facility of construction and of repair, perfect protection from heat and cold, adequate means of warming and ventilating, congruity with the scenery around" (March 1). Having stated these points at the outset, they provided the impetus for the series.

The discussion in the first article was the choice of site (March 1), derived from principles of shelter, shade, access to water and views, not distant, but of "the familiar objects near the eye that are varying ever..." The arrangement of a house concentrated specifically on the compass orientation of rooms for maximal comfort and convenience. The kitchen, for instance, belonged at the north side, "leaving more desirable points of the compass for the main building"; if the main meal of the household was midday, the dining room was to be oriented east, or if evening supper was preferred, west, for best natural

lighting. North was to be avoided for the entrance because of the threat of penetration of cold and winds; the southern exposure was reserved for the most often used room, the parlor or salon. As a factor of fitness, Wheeler considered that the rural or suburban house required no formal parlor, "too party-ish and pretentious for the country" (March 1).

Each article or grouping, when the subject necessitated, tackled a particular topic, such as building to suit the landscape, materials and their treatment in construction, ventilation and heating, outbuildings, furniture, and examples of home types. Wheeler described several designs, the "Modern Italian Bracketted Style," "Summer Lodge," "Suburban Villa" and "Southern Home."

Concerns which paralleled the picturesque point of view and the theories of Downing were evident in the articles. Full consideration of the house within the landscape meant that "the building and the grounds, the natural objects and the result of art, are in perfect congruity" achieving "home beauty" (April 19). And "a home in the sunny south is a very different thing to arrange to one suited to a northern clime" (July 5).

In addition to the series "On Perfecting a Home," Wheeler submitted an article which, though not directly

related to architecture, was again a subtle form of self-promotion. "The Hudson and the Rhine" (June 14) really had nothing to do with the Rhine, other than raise a romantic parallel. Wheeler described the beauty of the Hudson River Valley and the numerous ideal locations for country dwellings. Signed simply "G.W.," by this time regular readers were probably familiar with the correspondent.

A similar article, "Upstream," by G.W., appeared years later, on June 2 1855. It coincided with the publication of Wheeler's second book, and shared the pages of The Home Journal with a review of this latest volume. Once again, the subject matter was the Hudson River Valley, and provided the opportunity for planting the germ of association between constructing a country home and hiring an architect like Wheeler.

The continuing editorial comments which accompanied Wheeler's articles seem to indicate that the pieces were favorably received. With the second article in the March 8 issue, the editors noted that "we find that we responded to a want of the Public Mind, by introducing our writer." A month later, the April 12 article opened with the following tribute: "his ideas have been so suited to the Public Want, that most of them, as they have appeared, have taken shape in the plans of projected houses in the country."

The basis for these statements is never clear, nevertheless the continuation of the series does suggest its popular appeal.

The success of the articles in The Home Journal emboldened Wheeler to publish a compiled version of his thoughts. At the end of his article describing an Entrance Lodge, Wheeler said, "urged by many friends, I have enlarged upon the topics that have now connected me with the readers of The Home Journal more than three months, and shall shortly publish a volume upon 'Rural Homes'..." (May 24). He had already chosen the title, and the resulting work was published later that year by Charles Scribner, New York.

Comparison of the two groups of material shows that the book was essentially an elaboration of the articles. In fact, many of the articles were transcribed verbatim or with a minor transposition of paragraphs, and correspond to chapters or parts thereof. Others were refined, edited or expounded for the consolidated version. For example, chapter II, "General Arrangement of a House Upon the Ground," corresponded to the second article in the series, but included a disclaimer to the effect that Wheeler's designs were "not for actual embodiment and execution," rather to serve as models which an architect might translate for the client. In another instance, the

depiction of "A Suburban Villa," the tense was changed from article to book, implying that the house was erected in the interim between publication of the two.

Rural Homes was naturally fuller than The Home Journal series, and several chapters and sections were added. These included descriptions of "The Homestead," "The Parsonage," "Cottages," "Artificial Warming," "Practical Directions to Amateurs Before Proceeding to Build," "Rural Architecture as Fine Art," and addenda to three other chapters.

In introducing the book, Wheeler indicated his intention of presenting, in organized fashion, considerations in the choice and construction of a country home which his audience might find useful. He stated, "I claim no title to originality," recognizing perhaps his debt to the British picturesque and the precedent of Downing's influential books.

Rural Homes was well received by the popular press. Of nine known reviews only two voiced negative comments. The reviews appeared in popular journals for the home, such as Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Godey's Home Journal, in somewhat more literary publications, such as the American Whig Review and the Literary World, and in gardening and country oriented magazines like the Genessee Farmer and The

Horticulturist (see Appendix D for citations). An ad for the book in The Genessee Farmer quoted from two religious reviews in the Philadelphia Presbyterian and Hartford Religious Herald, and two daily journals, the NY Evening Mirror and Albany Spectator. [24]

In every case, the reviews applauded the usefulness of the volume and the practical, comprehensive information contained therein. An enthusiasm for the quality and clarity of the presentation of material and the attractive, flowing style pervaded even the negative reviews. The American Whig Review opened their critique of Rural Homes with the following representative commentary: "This is not only elegantly written, but an exceedingly sensible book... Within a short compass, Mr. Wheeler has gracefully sketched off what may be done to recognize and realize the highest demands of taste, comfort and elegance, even with moderate means." [25] The Genessee Farmer concluded that "the pleasure and instruction we have derived makes us feel grateful to the author, and bespeak for his book a place in the library of every intelligent person whoever expects to build or improve a suburban, village, or country house." [26] In August of that year, in response to a reader's inquiry for good source references on rural domestic architecture, landscaping and fruit gardening, the editor of The Genessee Farmer suggested, "Three good works for you -- Downing's Landscape Gardening, Wheeler's Rural

Homes, Barry's Fruit Garden." [27]

One of the negative reviews was found in Sartain's Magazine, published in Philadelphia. Though recognizing Rural Homes to be an "intelligent work" in "straightforward, intelligible" language, Wheeler was criticized for being "unfortunately deficient in fine artistic taste," with the exception of the "unquestionable elegance in effect" of a design for a "Southern Home." [28]

The uncomplimentary comments in the pages of The Horticulturist came from A.J. Downing, who but a year earlier had been promoting Wheeler. [29] Downing, generally recognized as the leading authority on American picturesque domestic architecture, took exception to Wheeler's description of his designs as "suited to American Country Life." Downing specifically attacked the frontispiece of Rural Homes, a composition called "The Homestead," for "how transparent is the fiction which covers Mr. Wheeler's English education." Calling it a bastard style of Elizabethan, he lamented, "Oh Mr. Wheeler! this may be sweetly pretty and it may be built for twelve thousand, but it is not a house suited to the American climate." The most blatant attack on Wheeler came in a discussion of the influence of foreign architect in America; Downing called Wheeler a "pseudo-architect" with "too small a smattering of professional knowledge" and an "incapacity to understand

our people or their wants."

Downing may have been reacting to the competition presented by Wheeler's book. Works by both men were popular, however Rural Homes was "of less bulk and cost than Mr. Downing's book, but contains much that is valuable on the subject." [30] In other words, the book provided much the same information for the general reader and was more accessible.

In spite of his reservations, Downing found two areas in which the book excelled. He conceded that Wheeler evidenced culture and aesthetic discrimination, and he concurred with the other reviews as to the quality of Wheeler's presentation: "eminently readable, abounds with many excellent suggestions, especially as to matters of taste."

What made Downing's critique particularly interesting was the prior rapport the two gentlemen had shared. As discussed in chapter IV, Downing had earlier been a supporter of Wheeler's work. He had from the outset recognized the English tradition inherent in Wheeler's designs and views, and commended them for their distinctiveness. In this same context, it is ironic to note that a review of Downing's The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) in the Literary World, though lauding his

work as invaluable to those considering building, criticized it for its inability to present an American style of country architecture in lieu of modified European styles.[31]

In addition to the reviews for Rural Homes, editors of what were termed eclectic journals exhibited sufficient general interest in Wheeler's work to reprint excerpts in their publications. Among these, the North American Miscellany reprinted "The Suburban Villa," one of several essays from the pages of The Home Journal, "which paper very decidedly and very justly commends them to its readers." [32] Similarly, the Genessee Farmer, reproduced Wheeler's design and description for "A Suburban Cottage." [33] And The Home Journal, true to its cause, excerpted "The Present Metallic Age" from the pages of Wheeler's "admirable little book." [34]

Several years later, in 1855, Wheeler was again ready to publish another book, Homes for the People. He had in fact been working on a volume in 1854, but the manuscript and all related papers, including the etchings, were destroyed in a fire prior to going to press. [35] The work was taken up again, from memory, according to the author. Wheeler noted that the impetus for publishing anew lay in the numerous requests for assistance and professional advice "from all parts of the country," which suggest his

popular appeal and the considerable success of his first book. But Wheeler's desire to publish may also have meant a lack of actual commissions in his practice.

Generally, Homes for the People differed from Rural Homes in its more concise and strictly organized format. When Wheeler wrote his first book, he was at the forefront of picturesque architectural expression in this country. The book had mirrored the romanticism of the mode in its stylistic presentation. Four years later, Wheeler adopted a more practical format. The variety of architectural motifs began to decrease, and the crisp, dramatic profiles of the earlier designs gave way to more uniformly massed silhouettes. The homogeneous character of the models lent itself to a more rigid treatment of the descriptive text. Substantially larger than Rural Homes, this second effort contained half again as many pages, plates and designs. It reflected Wheeler's broader experience in the American market, including twice as many executed residences as the first book.

In Homes for the People, Wheeler devoted a separate chapter to the historical background and development of various architectural manifestations such as the Gothic and Italian modes. In discussing the patterns themselves, he stressed the importance of achieving "unity of effect" within the design and between house and landscape, a theme

carried through from his first writings. Drawing on his interest in interior decoration to a greater extent than in Rural Homes, Wheeler sketched in detail his ideas for the interior plan and decor of many of the designs.

Several of the designs illustrated had appeared previously, such as a design for a Suburban Villa, erected near Norwich Connecticut, illustrated in the August 1853 issue of The Horticulturist. [36] Others were reprinted in other publications, for instance "A Villa Mansion in the Italian Style" which appeared months later in the pages of The Horticulturist. [37]

The reviews for Wheeler's second book were once again fairly consistent, with approbation for the style and presentation of the material and its practical contents. The Horticulturist for instance remarked upon the attractive, illustrations and practical arrangement of chapters; the review continued with a compliment on Wheeler's writing skills, and his "faculty of expressing his ideas in refined and very agreeable language." [38] Another review in a popular journal considered the work a compendium of useful suggestions on construction and "carefully-digested plans." [39] The Knickerbocker praised Wheeler's juxtaposition of designs with text, thereby keeping the interest of the general reader. [40] And showing their continued support, The Home Journal editors

included a portion of the work in their columns and commended "the ease and graceful style of Mr. Wheeler's writing" (March 12 1855). Willis and Morris also made reference to the popularity of Homes for the People, by noting that Scribner had published the book at a low price, anticipating high sales (June 2 1855).

The only hostile review, and a serious one at that, came from the editors of The Builder, out of London. It scathingly accused Wheeler of plagiarism. Copyright laws did not exist at this time, and though many authors like Dickens lobbied for them, the practice of appropriating source material for one's own texts was widespread. The Builder apparently considered Wheeler's plagiarism unusually bold: "the author has appropriated the writings of others in the most extraordinary manner, without the slightest acknowledgment." [41] The anonymous critic substantiated his accusation by running passages from Homes for the People side by side with the anonymous work entitled "History in Ruins -- a Handbook of Architecture for the Unlearned," previously published as a series in the magazine. Indeed, in each case, Wheeler's words reproduce in remarkably similar terms, though with vocabulary embellishments, the running thoughts of the original work.

In addition to his two books, Wheeler occasionally submitted designs and articles for publication in other

journals and works. Reference has already been made to Wheeler's English Cottage and Villa in the Tudor Style reprinted in the 1849 volume of The Horticulturist; this was followed in 1853 by inclusion of a Design for an Italian Villa, and in 1855 with "A Villa Mansion." [42] Downing had criticized Wheeler's Rural Homes, and may have been disappointed by the latter's professional conduct. His sponsorship had ended in 1849, and the other contributions did appeared only after Downing's death in 1850.

The Design for an Italian Villa was alternately called a Suburban Villa (fig. 24, 25). [43] It was said to have been recently erected in Norwich, Connecticut. The design, constructed of brick dressed with Portland stone, featured a tower from which could be seen a "commanding prospect," and wooden verandas. In describing his design, Wheeler used the terms picturesque and bold, and thought that the mass harmonized with the surrounding scenery -- all notions in keeping with the picturesque and with Wheeler's own presentation of appropriate domestic architecture.

In May 1855, The Horticulturist reproduced a Villa Mansion from the pages of Homes for the People (fig. 26, 27). [44] The house was supposed to have been erected by Wheeler, on a site overlooking the Long Island Sound, between Rye and Portchester, New York. In the Italian

style, it was designed with the very specific needs of the client in mind: a sloping prospect which required terracing, a plan which catered to and allowed for the family's entertaining.

The year 1853 saw the publication of A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages.^[45] This volume was an integral part of a program of purification and consolidation begun by the Congregational Churches of America. At a convention held in Albany, New York, in October 1852, the Congregational Ministers, authorized the assemblage of designs with specifications and estimates for possible use in the construction of frontier churches. The committee responsible for procuring and presenting these designs solicited them from ten practicing architects, including Henry Austin, Henry Cleaveland, James Renwick, Richard Upjohn and Gervase Wheeler.

The entries by Wheeler included a church and two parsonage designs. The church plan was for a frame building which could hold one hundred and fifty people. It provided for the needs of a village or frontier town by allowing for timber construction, which Wheeler considered would be the most readily available construction material. The various community activities were gathered under a single roof: worship space, school adjunct areas including a schoolroom, library, lecture room, and on the opposite

side a study and vestry for the minister. The whole was spread over two stories, behind the nave.

This plan is the only known published church design of Wheeler's career in America,[46] although in 1858 he undertook the design of the Stone Chapel at Williams, which was similar in program to the College Chapel at Bowdoin College (see section 2 in this chapter). The front elevation was asymmetrical, with belfry tower rising on the left, and paired main entrance doors. Gothic motifs pervaded the exterior in the form of pointed arch windows, and drip mouldings.

The parsonage houses were adaptations of designs prepared for Homes for the People. Design No.III, in an Italian mode, corresponded to A Small Villa, while No.IV represented A Rustic Parsonage.[47] In concluding his contribution to the book, Wheeler offered his services to those considering erecting one of his buildings: "if any further explanation can help its erection in the numerous church settlements of the growing west, a letter to the publishers of this work, addressed to G. Wheeler, Architect, will cheerfully be replied to."

As the contributions to A Book of Plans indicated, Wheeler did not at this time limit his activities to domestic designs. In 1856, The Banker's Magazine and

Statistical Register, published out of New York by I. Smith Homans, printed "The Architecture of Country Banks" by Wheeler.[48] The Bankers' Magazine was the leading financial periodical of its day.[49] Catering to a broad banking community, it provided contiguous services, such as designs for banking facilities.

The article featured two alternate designs for country banks, which addressed the sorely neglected need of rural banking for an architecture reflecting its environment. Invoking the theme of fitness, Wheeler proposed that country banks acquire their own architectural expression, instead of applying traditionally used urban motifs. The building design was to achieve "individual character," adaptation to "circumstances of locality," "convenient and sensible building" and "harmony with its expressed intention."

The list of known commissions during this period derives from two separate sources. On the one hand are those structures for which there is evidence of participation or construction in the form of primary documents, on the other are the miscellaneous residential works referred to by the author in his writing. The first group comprises but five known examples during the nine years of Wheeler's residence in New York; all of these clustered between 1857 and 1859. The second group, after

taking into account repetitive references, consists of no more than eighteen designs.

1. The Patrick Barry House

Wheeler's contributions to The Horticulturist and The Genessee Farmer suggest the means by which he obtained the contract to design the Patrick Barry House in Rochester, New York. Patrick Barry, an Irish teacher, turned his attention in 1840 to horticulture, and established with George Ellwanger a nursery in Rochester. His enthusiasm and abilities, undoubtedly enhanced by his experience as educator, led by 1844 to the editorship of The Genessee Farmer, a position held until 1852. After Downing's death, Barry resigned from The Genessee Farmer to assume the same post at The Horticulturist from 1852 to 1854.[50] Wheeler was published by Barry during his tenure as editor of both magazines.

When Barry's house burned down in October 1856, he turned to Wheeler for the design of his new house. It is not clear whether the two men had actually met, or if Barry's familiarity with Wheeler's work led him to the commission. The Ellwanger and Barry Nursery records show that construction was begun early in 1857, and with final payments made in January 1859. For his submission, Wheeler was paid a lump sum of \$95 "for paym. of a/c." [51] In

other words, Wheeler's commission was limited to drawing up the designs. The inference is further supported by documented payment of \$300 to Austin and Warner, architects (not the Henry Austin under whom Wheeler worked in New Haven), in 1858; they supervised the actual construction.[52]

The design erected is an Italianate villa in rose-red brick with a tower resembling a campanile, verandas, and irregularly massed profile (fig. 28, 29). The eaves are bracketed, and windows framed by distinctive arched limestone mouldings. Much as in previous plans, the communicating library and parlor, which open onto verandas, are balanced across the entry hall by the service wing. Interior appointments include marble fireplaces, grained woodwork, and ornamental plaster ceilings. The house has been restored and is now the residence of the President of the University of Rochester.

The ledger entry for payment to Wheeler included a sum in addition to the \$95 for the Patrick Barry House: \$70 for George Ellwanger. Although there is no description or documentation to clarify the reason for this payment, it may indicate that a set of drawings was also supplied to Ellwanger.[53]

2. The Stone Chapel (Goodrich Hall), Williams College

Ten years after his experience with Bowdoin College, Wheeler had the opportunity of again working for an institutional client in 1857. Much as had been the case at Bowdoin, the Trustees of Williams College, by mid-nineteenth century, were in need of enlarged facilities. In 1856, they resolved to commission an architect for the purpose.

Correspondence from Gervase Wheeler to the Reverend Calvin Durfee in July 1857 indicates that Wheeler had been contacted for his services. No evidence has been found to indicate how he acquired the commission.[54] It may have been through prior acquaintances with either Reverend Woods, at Bowdoin, or Reverend Williams, at Trinity College, despite their apparent mistrust of Wheeler discussed earlier. Both ministers were active, well known, and may have corresponded with their peer at Williams.

At any rate, by June 1857, Wheeler had submitted a plan for the chapel, to be called the Stone Chapel (renamed Goodrich Hall in 1906). In July, the plan having been reviewed by the Trustees, it was requested that the length of the chapel be increased by five feet. In order to accommodate this change, Wheeler advised that the design submitted could simply be adapted, in plan by extending the

building out the extra five feet, and in elevation by raising the height of the gable. In this way, the chapel would retain the appropriate pitch and proper architectural proportion.

One week later, Reverend Durfee and Professor Hopkins, President of the college, indicated that the Trustees had decided instead upon a rear addition, measuring 33 feet by 28 feet, and changing the building to a cruciform plan. Wheeler at that time stated that whether one story or two, such an addition to the existing scheme would so alter it as to require new detailing and redrawn plans: "In view of these additions and alterations, I must in justice to myself insist that before any thing in the way of actual commencement be made of the building, I be instructed to prepare new plans -- these alterations so materially affecting the whole spirit of the design." He continued, "with this under my control, I see no difficulty in reconciling such additions with architectural propriety and beauty." [55]

The Ruskinian theme of fitness evidently continued to guide Wheeler in his design. The quote also hints at Wheeler's somewhat arrogant attitude as to his own abilities as architect, particularly with regard to church design. After many years of predominantly residential work, Wheeler had an opportunity to express his own notions

of propriety based on the Ecclesiological concepts of his training. Still in the final analysis, his willingness to make changes may simply indicate his desire to be paid for his work.

Wheeler requested that the first set of plans be returned to him, before advancing a revised design. The Trustees of Williams College apparently complied, and he submitted his revisions. By October 1857, contractors were hired for the job. Wheeler's involvement ended with the design process; typically for his career, he did not supervise the execution of the plan. The location of the original plans for the chapel is not known, nor are the specific characteristics of Wheeler's design.

Construction began in April 1858, and contrary to the described 33 feet by 28 feet addition to the rear of the chapel, the addition built was in fact 36 feet by 56 feet, running the length of the building and resulting in a T shaped plan instead of the cruciform plan noted by Wheeler. It is not clear whether Wheeler later submitted a final revision, or whether the changes were made during construction without the architect's assistance.

The chapel, in a rural Gothic mode, was built of blue gray limestone, laid in rough ashlar, with supportive buttresses. The pitched roof was covered in slate, and a

stone tower rose off to the side of the altar, projecting heavenward with its wooden steeple, and providing access to the addition. Window openings and doorways were expressed as arches (fig. 30). The interior detailing included exposed chestnut roof trusses, chestnut woodwork, marble floors and marbled walls.

The building has undergone alterations over the years, from enlargement of the windows to renovation of the stairs and tower. In the 1920's, changes in use and substantive changes to the structure, including the removal of the northwest vestibule and porch, have altered the expression of Wheeler's original design.[56]

The train of events at Bowdoin seemed to repeat itself at Williams. Wheeler had apparently managed to establish relations with members of the college community while working on the plans for the Stone Chapel. In his letter of July 14 1857 to Reverend Durfee, he referred to a project for Professor Tablock at the college. The commission was a landscaping plan for the grounds of Professor Tablock's residence. It seems that Tablock was not interested in Wheeler's proposal, for he had not accepted the design. Wheeler remarked, "I am under the impression it may have miscarried." [57]

3. Bushnell Park

Wheeler had advertised, years earlier, in 1849 in the Hartford City Directory,[58] and in The Genessee Farmer in 1852, including among his skills the "arrangement of grounds." [59] The correspondence regarding Professor Tablock is however the first documented example of his work in this particular design area. It was followed a year later by another landscaping effort, this time for the city of Hartford, Connecticut.

In 1858, Hartford proposed the creation of a public park, to be named after Horace Bushnell, eloquent teacher and minister of the North Congregation Church in Hartford from 1833 to 1859.[60] A design competition was established to solicit ideas. Wheeler submitted a plan which was awarded first prize from among twelve participants. It may be that his familiarity with Hartford from years before helped him to formulate a winning entry.

Despite its aesthetic merits, the city committee considered it too expensive to implement, and recommended that it be combined with the design of the second place entrant, Seth Marsh, city engineer. The plan also integrated elements from a third proposal. As construction of the new park progressed, the commission considered that it lacked an overall unity and beauty, and in 1861 hired a

professional landscape architect, Jacob Weidenmann.[61]

Wheeler's original plan for the park is no longer extant. A map in the Hartford Park Papers, thought to have been rendered in 1858, shows what may have been the revised version by Marsh. It is unfortunately impossible to evaluate the merits of Wheeler's ideas, however it would have been interesting to know if his plan, unaltered, might not have been considered a worthy addition to the city's parks.

4. Chancel Improvements, Church of the Holy Trinity

The following year, in 1859, Wheeler obtained the commission to enlarge and improve the chancel of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, New York, designed in 1844-47 by Minard Lafever.[62] The plan involved primarily interior alterations to the reading desk and the addition of pews in the front "in accordance with the original plan". The means by which Wheeler obtained the commission is unknown, and a search of the church's archives is required to understand the nature of the changes designed by Wheeler.

This work at Holy Trinity was among the last known commissions of Wheeler's career in America, and marks a return to his point of departure: he had begun with the

interior decoration of the Chapel at Bowdoin College, and now ended with interior alterations to the Church of the Holy Trinity.

5. Miscellaneous Executed Designs

The commissions previously discussed have all been documented by primary source material other than Wheeler's writings. In addition to these, there are a number of residential designs which Wheeler claimed in his writings, particularly Homes for the People, to have undertaken. Wheeler cited nine different residences which were executed, presumably in the years intervening between Rural Homes and Homes for the People, or from 1851 to 1855. The commissions were located in areas such as the Housatonic Hills of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, the outskirts of Norwich, Connecticut, Orange, New Jersey, along the Long Island Sound, New York, and overlooking the Hudson River.

Due to their location geographically, and knowing of his advertisement in The Genessee Farmer at this time, which might have reached an audience in the Berkshires for instance, it may be speculated that a number of these designs were undertaken while Wheeler was practicing in Norwich. They included a country mansion in the "Venetian Italian style," below the hills of Berkshire County (fig.31 and 32), a "Cottage Ornee" on the summit of a peak along

the Housatonic in the Berkshires (fig.33 and 34), a "Cottage Villa," one mile from Stockbridge on the Lenox Road also in Berkshire County (fig.35 and 36), a gatehouse (fig.37 and 38), and a "Suburban Villa," one mile from the small city of Norwich, Connecticut (fig.24 and 25).

Unfortunately, because of the ambiguity with which Wheeler described each location, it has not been possible to discover any of these residences. The local research facilities did not have readily accessible material on Wheeler, and a thorough search and photographic comparison would be necessary to confirm these commissions.

Other designs, which were probably completed while Wheeler was in practice in New York City, included a townhouse in New York, mentioned in The Choice of a Dwelling (fig. 39), a "Southern Mansion" in a "midland state" (fig. 40 and 41), a "Rustic Villa" in Orange, New Jersey (fig. 42 and 43), a "Villa Mansion in the Italian Style" on Long Island Sound between Rye and Portchester (fig. 26 and 27), a "Square Cottage," twice erected near the Hudson River (fig. 44 and 45), and the remodelling of a country home overlooking the Hudson River (fig. 46 and 47). Again, the difficulties of locating these vague descriptions has prohibited any confirmation of execution, but would suggest future research possibilities.

[1]The first in a series of articles for The Home Journal, March 1 1851, was signed "GW, New York, February, 1851."

[2]Letterhead, Wheeler to Upjohn, March 17 1851, Upjohn Papers, Box 4. For city directory listings, see Dennis Steadman Francis, Architects in Practice in New York City 1840-1900 (New York: The Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records Inc., 1979).

[3]Wheeler to Upjohn, March 17, 1851, Upjohn Papers, Box 4.

[4]Upjohn to Woods, July 15 1851, Chapel Papers.

[5]Upjohn to Woods, July 15 1851, Chapel Papers.

[6]Woods to Upjohn, July 17 1851, Chapel Papers.

[7]The Genessee Farmer 13 (June 1852), 197.

[8]Wheeler, Homes, 307.

[9]The Horticulturist n.s. 3 (July 1853), 325.

[10]The Horticulturist n.s. 3 (August 1853), 393 and (November 1853), 537.

[11]The city directory listing for May 1854 is 111 Broadway, and corresponds to the actual address of the Trinity Building.

[12]Jacob Landy, The Architecture of Minard Lafever (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 45.

[13]The house at 1 Elm Place no longer exists. A search for documentation related to the specific address yielded no information other than confirmation of the fact that Wheeler rented, did not own his house.

[14]American Architect and Building News 15 (Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1884), 75-6.

[15]Henry Hudson Holly, Country Seats and Modern Dwellings (Watkins Glen: Library of Victorian Culture, 1977 reprint of 1863 and 1878), introduction, no page numbers.

[16]Holly, Country Seats, preface, no page number.

[17]Compare design no.1 p.33 in Country Seats with a stone house remodeled p.384 and a small villa on the Hudson p.85,88 in Homes; design no.26 p.139 with pigeon tower in Country Seats with a summer cottage p.202 in Choice; design no.24 p.128 and no.10 p.66 in Country Seats with a large country house p.332 in Country Houses; design no.16 p.96 in Country Seats with a villa mansion p.195 in Homes.

[18]Holly, Country Seats, 31.

[19]Holly, Country Seats, introduction.

[20]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 350.

[21]Mott, American Magazines 1: 511.

[22]The Home Journal (1851) March 1, 8, 15, 22, 19, April 12, 19, 26, May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, July 5, 19. Citations hereafter will simply refer to the date of the article in question in parenthesis in the text. The complete archives of the journal are available at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts.

[23]The Home Journal, May 12 1855.

[24]The Genessee Farmer 13 (Jan 1852), 89.

[25]The American Whig Review (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1851), 544.

[26]The Genessee Farmer 13 (January 1852), 16.

[27]The Genessee Farmer 13 August 1852), 260.

[28]Sartain's Magazine (Philadelphia: John Sartain & Co., 1852), 102.

[29]The Horticulturist 6 (December 1851), 567.

[30]The Literary World 9 (November 1851), 388.

[31]The Literary World 7 (July-December 1850), 91.

[32]North American Miscellany and Dollar Review (Philadelphia: A. Palmer & Co., 1851), 164.

[33]The Genessee Farmer 13 (February 1852), 47-50.

[34]The Home Journal, November 8 1851.

[35]The Horticulturist n.s. 4 (May 1854), 230; Wheeler, Homes, preface.

[36]The Horticulturist n.s. 3 (August 1853), frontispiece; Wheeler, Homes, 170; Wheeler, The Choice of a Dwelling (London: John Murray, 1871), 186.

[37]The Horticulturist n.s. 5 (1855), frontispiece; Wheeler, Homes, 228.

[38]The Horticulturist n.s. 5 (1855), 294.

[39]Harper's Monthly Magazine (July 1855), 261.

[40]Knickerbocker New York Monthly Magazine (July 1855), 79.

[41]The Builder (August 4 1855), 379.

[42]The pages of The Horticulturist were researched from the 1847 volume through the 1858 volume.

[43]The Horticulturist n.s. 3 (August 1853), 373.

[44]The Horticulturist n.s. 5 (1855), frontispiece.

[45]Congregational Churches in the United States, A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages (NY: Daniel Burgess & Co., 1853). For a detailed article on the Book of Plans, its inception and subsequent influence, see Gwen W. Steege, "The Book of Plans and the Early Romanesque Revival in the United States: a Study in Architectural Patronage", JSAH 46 (September 1987), 215-227.

[46]The plans and elevations from A Book of Plans were reprinted some ten years later, without text, by George Woodward, in Rural Church Architecture (New York: G.E. Woodward, no date, c.1876).

[47]Wheeler, Homes, 50 (A Small Villa) and 348 (A Rustic Parsonage).

[48]The Bankers Magazine and Statistical Register (New York, April 1856), 761-768. The citation was brought to my attention by Arthur Downs, historian.

[49]Mott, 2:93-4.

[50]Wilson, Appleton's 1: 181.

[51]Ellwanger and Barry Daybook No.167, January 29 1858; citation from Stewart, "George Ellwanger and Patrick Barry," 60 (henceforth footnoted as Stewart).

[52]Stewart, "George Ellwanger and Patrick Barry," 64.

[53]Stewart, "George Ellwanger and Patrick Barry," 75.

[54]McElvein, "Williams College Architecture," 176. McElvein found no documentation in this regard in the Williamsiana Collection.

[55]Wheeler to Durfee, July 22 1857, Williamsiana Collection.

[56]McElvein, "Williams College Architecture," 195.

[57]Wheeler to Durfee, July 14 1857, Williamsiana Collection.

[58]Well's City Directory for Hartford (1849), 138.

[59]The Genessee Farmer 13 (June 1852), 197.

[60]Wilson, Appleton's, 1:474.

[61]John Alexopoulos, The Nineteenth Century Parks of Hartford (Hartford: Hartford Architecture Conservancy, 1983), 16. This information was brought to the work by David Ransom, architectural historian, in a letter to the author, November 25 1987.

[62]Landy, Minard Lafever, 270.

Conclusion

Wheeler had spent at least fourteen years in America before deciding to return to Britain. After 1860, he no longer resided in New York City, nor has documentation of further career activities in America come to light. He is completely unaccounted for during the years of the Civil War. By 1865, he had returned to England and established residence in the area of Margate, Kent, his family home.

Wheeler resumed his practice, billing himself architect, surveyor and civil engineer, with offices at 16 Hawley Square, Margate, until 1869. The following excerpt from an entry in the 1868 Architects, Engineers and Building-Trades Directory, published in London, summarized the range of his practice: "His works comprise railway buildings, banks, churches, mansions, and private residences in the United States and England; has also been engaged in laying out lands, and in sanitary appliances." The documented catalog of his design work in America includes all of the above except railway stations. No Wheeler designs have to date been located in England.

Unbidden when American architects formed the A.I.A., Wheeler found support for his candidacy in the Royal Institute of British Architects. At this time in the nineteenth century, membership in the R.I.B.A. was limited

to a small fraction of those in the profession, namely the "gentleman architect." [1] Wheeler met the qualifications, for on February 11 1867, recommended by George Godwin, editor of The Builder, William Slater, a fellow pupil of Richard Cromwell Carpenter, and H.A. Darbyshire, he became a member, at the full rank of Fellow. [2] He also at this time moved to Kilburn in London, where he would reside until, in 1873, being dropped from the rolls of the R.I.B.A. for non-payment of dues.

According to Dr. Jill Allibone, architectural historian in London, there is scant information regarding Wheeler's career in England. He did, in February 1868, read two papers before an Ordinary General Meeting of the R.I.B.A.; both concerned the "Peculiarities of Domestic Architecture in America." [3] A summary of part of his address, namely the description of a "New York Up-Town House" was subsequently published in The Builder. [4]

By 1871, Wheeler had once again published a book on domestic architecture. Entitled The Choice of a Dwelling, the volume was far better received by the editors of The Builder than Homes for the People had been sixteen years earlier. The review considered that Wheeler had neatly compounded his knowledge of British domestic architecture with the experience of his practice in America to produce an informative manual for general public and architect

alike. "As we close the book, and turn from its alternate references to New and Old England, we feel it is a gain." [5]

Until other commissions are discovered, The Choice of a Dwelling ranks as Wheeler's final work in the field of architecture. By 1874, he had moved out of London and established himself in Hove, Sussex County. With what must have been "a touch of nostalgia", he named his home in 1881 "Brooklyn." The last directory listing for Gervase Wheeler was 1889, and in April 1890, probate of his will was granted to Catherine Brewer Wheeler, widow of the architect of the Boody House, Rockwood, and the Barry House. [6]

Gervase Wheeler may have come to America, in late 1846 or early 1847, with the aspiration of introducing and practicing newly formulated precepts of Ecclesiological architecture. In the face of both peer and client resistance, however, he did not pursue this path, falling back instead, for the most part, on his skills in domestic design.

Unlike the majority of his American contemporaries, British-trained Wheeler was well versed in the philosophies of the picturesque and Ruskinian "truth and fitness." It was this background which enabled him to take part in the development and interpretation of American domestic

architecture, especially as it inclined toward a picturesque point of view. His design for the Olmstead House is to this day considered a primary example of romantic eclecticism in a timber Gothic mode.

Wheeler tended to design actual commissions for a socially upscale clientele, and, based on the evidence of documented work, such as the Boody and Barry Houses, Brookwood, the I.N.A. and the Stone Chapel, he typically designed the projects, but did not supervise their construction.

Regardless of the several important executed commissions, it was the popular appeal and acceptance of Wheeler's published works which set the tone of his contribution to the domestic architecture of the mid-nineteenth century. Through his works, many of the ideals of the picturesque, such as the relation of house to site and landscape, and Ruskin's fitness, reached a broad public audience. His work appealed at once to the country gentleman looking for a residence expressive of the new philosophies of the age, and the middle class person seeking a comfortable cottage residence.

[1]Spiro Kostof, The Architect: Chapters in the History of a Profession (New York: Oxford University, 1977), 194, 197.

[2]R.I.B.A. Nomination Papers, 1867:36. Courtesy of the British Architectural Library of the R.I.B.A.

[3]Sessional Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects (London: R.I.B.A., 1868), 117-128 and 168-187.

[4]The Builder (April 11 1868), 262-3.

[5]The Builder (December 23 1871), 998.

[6]Information regarding Wheeler's directory listings in England as well as the probated will was provided by Dr. Jill Allibone, correspondence with the author, November 14 1987 and January 29 1988. "A touch of nostalgia" is Dr. Allibone's phrase.

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Appendix A. Illustrations

1. Richard Upjohn: Banister Hall, College Chapel, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1844-55. Interior polychromy decoration in library by Gervase Wheeler, 1847-48. Ernst Helmreich, Religion at Bowdoin College, following p.88.
2. Gervase Wheeler: Henry Boody House, Maine Street, Brunswick, Maine, designed 1848, constructed 1849. Photograph. Virginia and Lee McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses, p.204.
3. Boody House. Elevation. The Horticulturist 4 (August 1849), frontispiece; Downing, Country Houses, 300.
4. Boody House. First floor plan. The Horticulturist 4 (August 1849), frontispiece.
5. Anonymous: John G. Richardson House, Washington Street, Bath, Maine, constructed 1850. Possible adaptation of Boody House. 1858 engraving. Courtesy of Earle Shettleworth.
6. Sir Charles Barry: Travellers' Club and Reform Club, 1830-32 and 1838-40. Referred to by Wheeler in New Haven hotel project. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, p.115.
7. Wheeler: Villa in the Tudor Style, project 1849. Elevation. The Horticulturist 3 (June 1849), frontispiece.
8. Villa in the Tudor Style. First floor plan. The Horticulturist 3 (June 1849), frontispiece.
9. Wheeler: Henry Olmstead House, East Hartford, Connecticut, designed and constructed 1849. Elevation. Rural Homes, p.72.
10. Olmstead House. First floor plan. Rural Homes, p.72.
11. Wheeler: The Willows, Morristown, New Jersey, constructed 1854. Design adapted from Olmstead House by Ashbel Bruen, master carpenter. Photograph. Morris County Park Commission.
12. The Willows. Entry Hall. Morris County Park Commission.
13. Anonymous: Hartwell Carver House, Pittsford, New York, constructed 1853. Possible adaptation of Olmstead House. Photograph. Courtesy of Jean R. France.

14. Wheeler: Rockwood, Albany Post Road, North Tarrytown, New York, designed and constructed 1849. Photolithograph. John Zukowsky, Hudson River Villas, p.107.
15. Rockwood. Photolithograph. A.A. Turner, Villas on the Hudson.
16. Rockwood. First floor plan. A.A. Turner, Villas on the Hudson.
17. Rockwood. Sketch of Pocahoe with profile of Rockwood on hill beyond. John Zukowsky, Hudson River Houses: Edwin Whitefield's "The Hudson River and Railroad Illustrated," p.50.
18. Wheeler: Large Country House, project 1850. Elevation. Possible design for Brookwood, constructed 1850-1851. A.J. Downing, Country Houses, p.333.
19. Large Country House. First floor plan. A.J. Downing, Country Houses, p.332.
20. Survey of Brookwood, 1898. Redrawn from Hexamer's Insurance Map of the City of Philadelphia, 22nd ward.
21. Wheeler: Insurance Company of North America, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, designed and constructed 1850. Sketch by J. Pennell, 1879. Thomas Montgomery, A History of the Insurance Company of North America, p.90.
22. Wheeler: Townhouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, designed and constructed c.1850 according to architect. Floor plans. Choice, p.132.
23. Wheeler: Small Cottage, no location, designed and two models constructed c.1850 according to architect. Elevation and plan. Rural, p.161.
24. Wheeler: Suburban Villa, outside Norwich, Connecticut, designed and constructed c.1851-52 according to architect. Elevation. The Horticulturist (August 1853), frontispiece; Homes, p.170; Choice, p.167.
25. Suburban Villa. Ground floor plan. Homes, p.157.
26. Wheeler: Villa Mansion in the Italian Style, between Rye and Portchester, New York, on the Long Island Sound, designed and constructed c.1851-1854 according to architect. Elevation. The Horticulturist (May 1855), frontispiece; Homes, frontispiece.

27. Villa Mansion in the Italian Style. First floor plan. Homes, p.197.
28. Wheeler: Patrick Barry House, Mount Hope Avenue, Rochester, New York, designed 1857 and constructed 1857-59. Photograph. Courtesy Jean R. France.
29. Barry House. First floor plan of house c.1970's. Courtesy Jean R. France.
30. Wheeler: Stone Chapel (later Goodrich Hall), Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, designed 1857, constructed 1858-59. Elevation. New England Magazine and Bay State Monthly 4 (June 1886), p.500.
31. Wheeler: Country Mansion in the Venetian Italian Style, below the hills of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.229.
32. Country Mansion in the Venetian Italian Style. Ground floor plan. Homes, p.225.
33. Wheeler: Cottage Ornee, summit of peak along the Housatonic River, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.289.
34. Cottage Ornee. First floor plan. Homes, p.285.
35. Wheeler: Cottage Villa, Lenox Road, one mile from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.180.
36. Cottage Villa. First floor plan. Homes, p.177.
37. Wheeler: Gatehouse, no location, designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.297.
38. Gatehouse. Plan. Homes, p.295.
39. Wheeler: Townhouse, New York, designed and constructed c. 1851-60 according to architect. Principal floor plan. Choice, p.140.
40. Wheeler: Southern Mansion, in "midland state," designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.259.
41. Southern Mansion. First floor plan. Homes, p.250.

42. Wheeler: Rustic Villa, Orange, New Jersey, designed and constructed c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.98.
43. Rustic Villa. Principal floor plan. Homes, p.105.
44. Wheeler: Square Cottage, twice erected near Hudson, New York, c.1851-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.324.
45. Square Cottage. Floor plan. Homes, p.326.
46. Wheeler: Country Home remodelled, overlooking the Hudson River, designed and constructed c.1853-54 according to architect. Elevation. Homes, p.246.
47. Country Home remodelled. First floor plan. Homes, p.234.



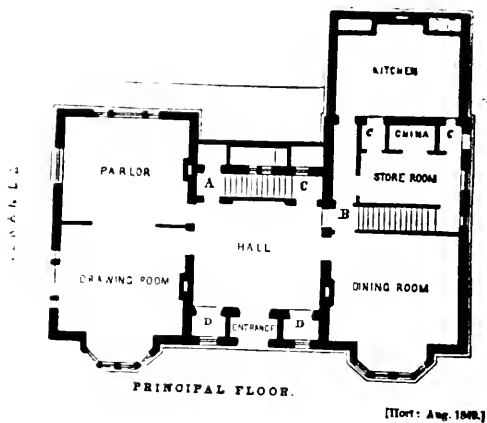
1. Richard Upjohn: Banister Hall, College Chapel, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1844-55.
Interior polychromy decoration in library by Gervase Wheeler, 1847-48.

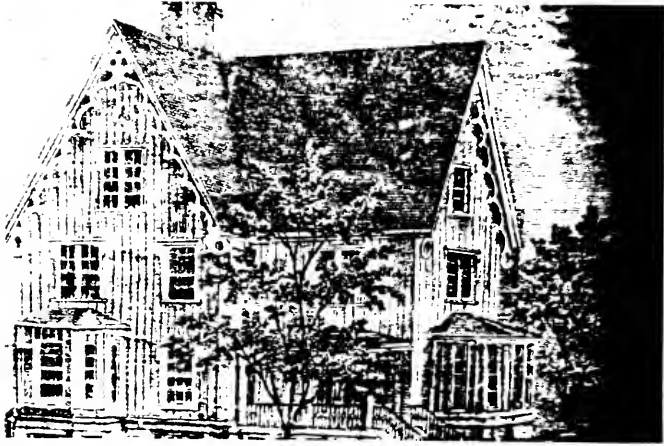


2. Gervase Wheeler: Henry Boody House, Maine Street, Brunswick, Maine, designed 1848, constructed 1849.



Boody House.
 3. Elevation.
 4. First floor plan.





5. Anonymous: John G. Richardson House, Washington Street, Bath, Maine, constructed 1850.
Possible adaptation of Boody House. 1858 engraving.
6. Sir Charles Barry: Travellers' Club and Reform Club, 1830-32 and 1838-40.
Referred to by Wheeler in New Haven hotel project.

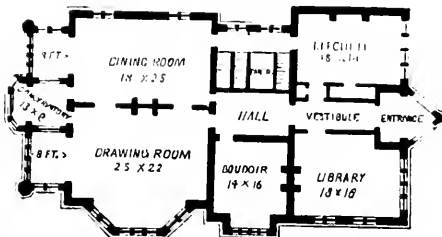




VILLA IN THE TUDOR STYLE.

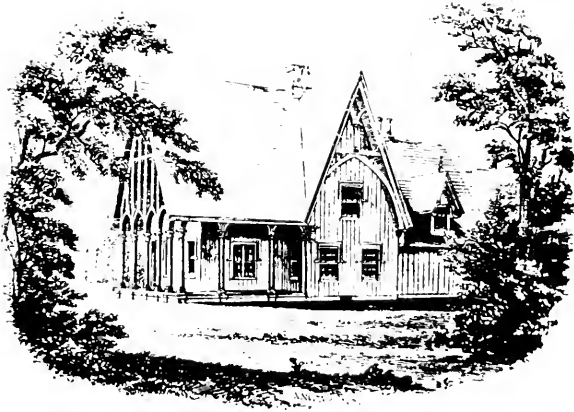
Wheeler: Villa in the Tudor Style, project 1849.
 7. Elevation.
 8. First floor plan.

PRINCIPAL FLOOR PLAN



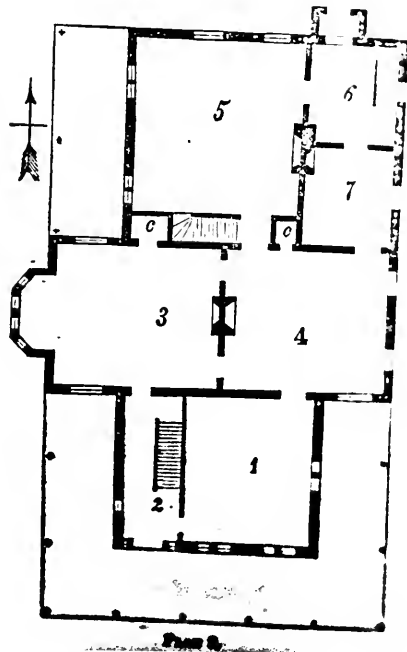
PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

[Hort. Jun. 1849.]



Wheeler: Henry
 Olmstead House, East
 Hartford, Connecticut,
 designed and
 constructed 1849.
 9. Elevation.
 10. First floor plan.

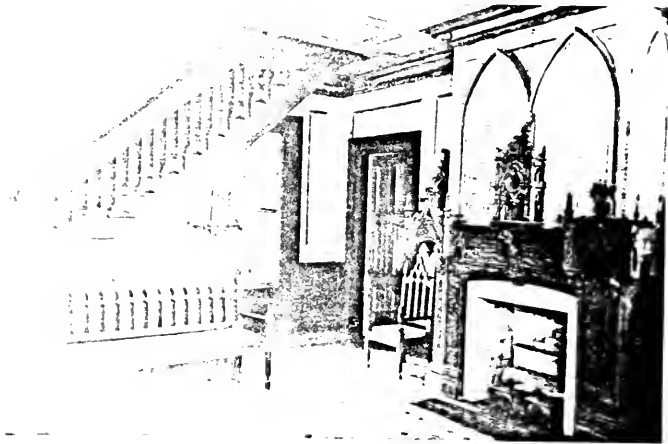
some constructive purpose of design.





Wheeler: The Willows, Morristown, New Jersey,
constructed 1854. Design adapted from Olmstead House
by Ashbel Bruen, master carpenter.

- 11. Main facade.
- 12. Entry Hall.





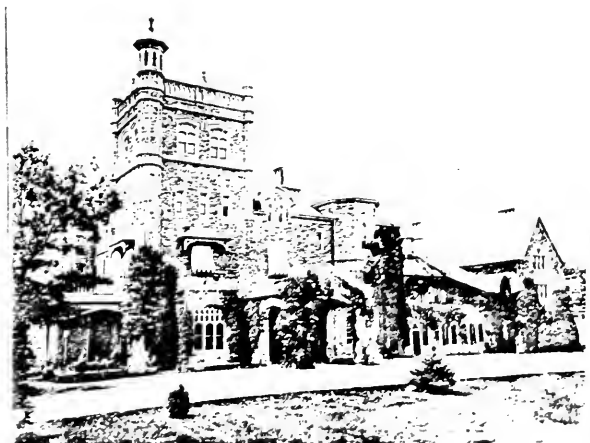
13. Anonymous: Hartwell Carver House, Pittsford,
New York, constructed 1853.
Possible adaptation of Olmstead House.

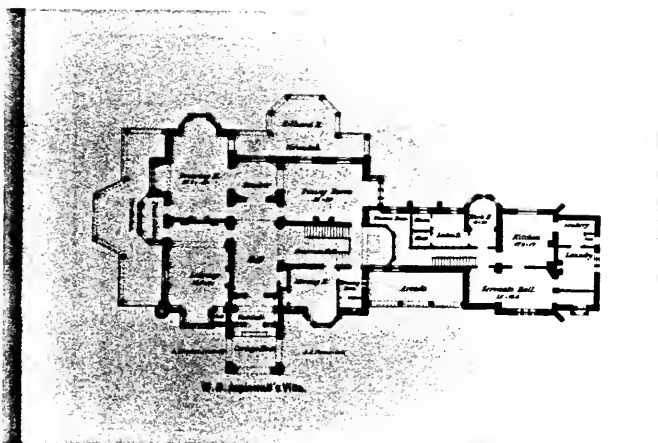


Photolithograph from A. V. Turner, Villas on the Hill.

Wheeler: Rockwood, Albany Post Road, North Tarrytown,
New York, designed and constructed 1849.

14. Photolithograph.
15. Photolithograph.



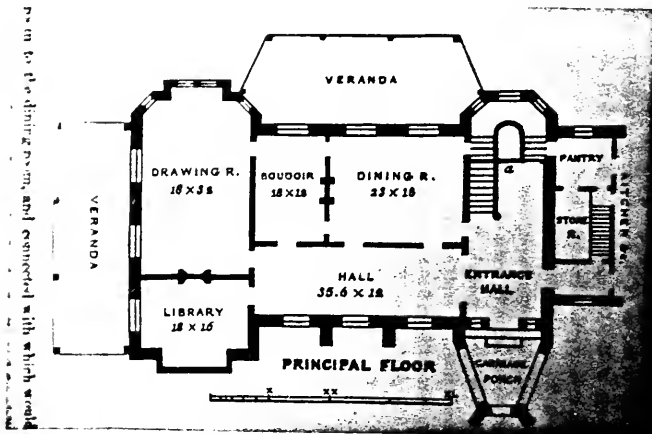


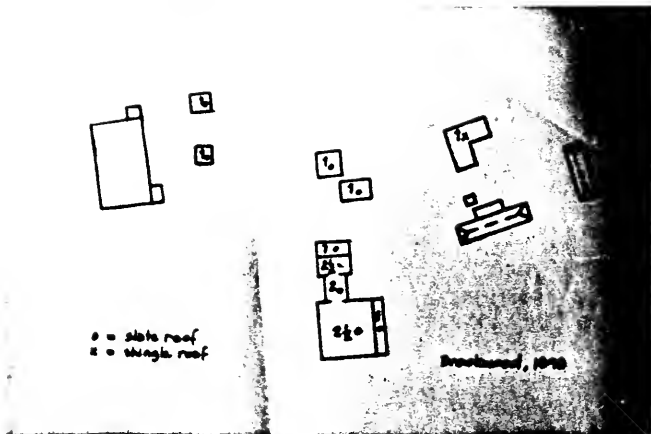
16. Rockwood. First floor plan.
17. Sketch of Pocahoe with profile of Rockwood
on hill beyond.



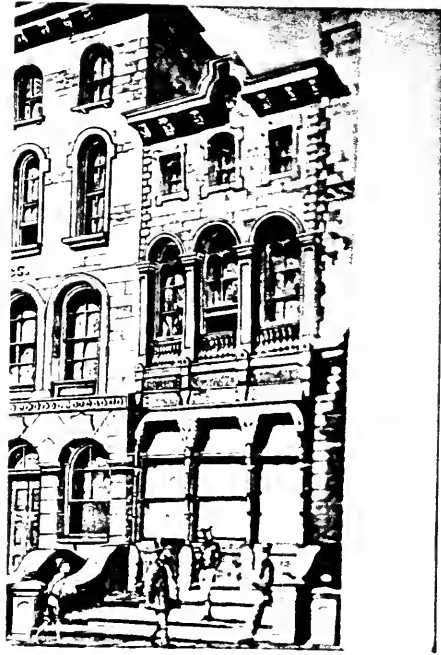


Wheeler: Large Country House, project 1850.
 Possible design for Brookwood, constructed 1850-1851.
 18. Elevation.
 19. First floor plan.

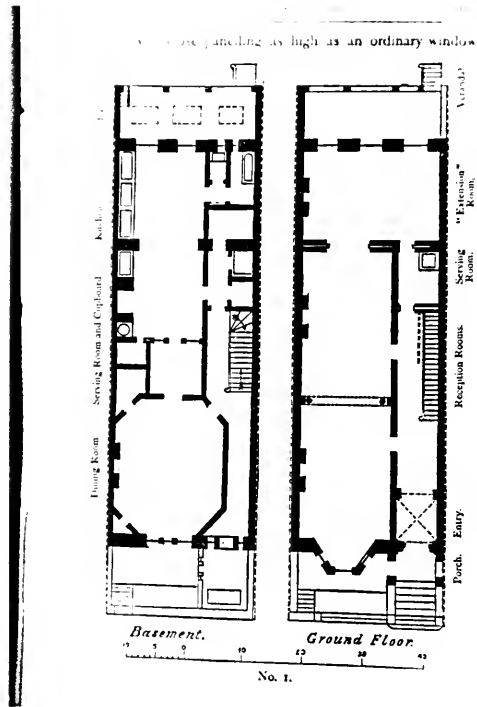




20. Survey of Brookwood, 1898.

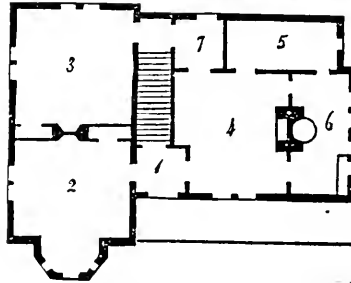
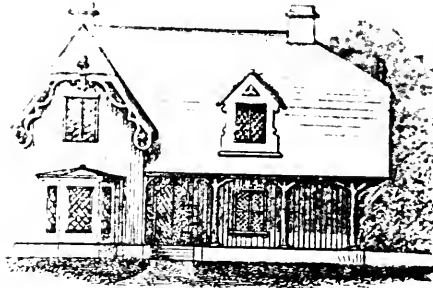


21. Wheeler: Insurance Company of North America,
Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
designed and constructed 1850.
Sketch by J. Pennell, 1879.



22. Wheeler: Townhouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, designed and constructed c.1850 according to architect. Floor plans.

in other instances exceeded eleven hundred dollars



SMALL COTTAGE—ELEVATION AND PLAN.

23. Wheeler: Small Cottage, no location, designed and two models constructed c.1850 according to architect. Elevation and plan.

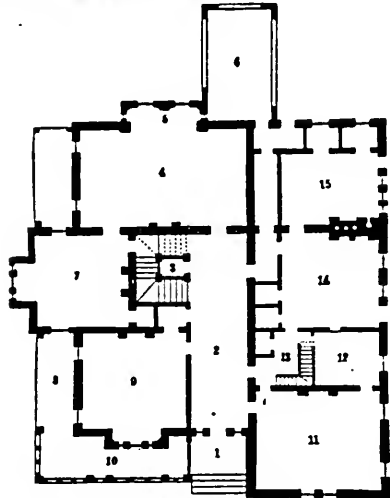


Wheeler: Suburban
Villa, outside
Norwich, Connecticut,
designed and
constructed c.1851-52
according to
architect.

24. Elevation.

25. Ground floor plan.

one side into a conservatory, No. 6, the windows in the
south end opening upon a veranda.



PL. XXXII.—PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

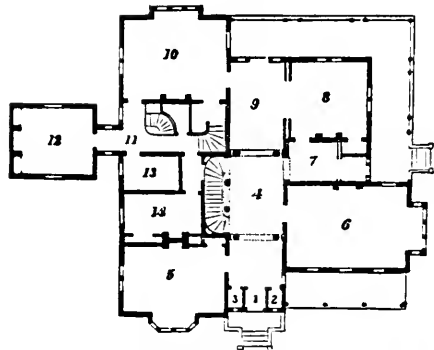
The bay window in the drawing-room looks upon a most
lovely lawn bounded by trees and shrubs, at the end of



Wheeler: Villa Mansion
 in the Italian Style,
 between Rye and
 Portchester, New York,
 on the Long Island
 Sound, designed and
 constructed
 c.1851-1854 according
 to architect.
 26. Elevation.
 27. First floor plan.

THE MANSION.

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PL. XXXVII.—THE VILLA-MANSION—PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

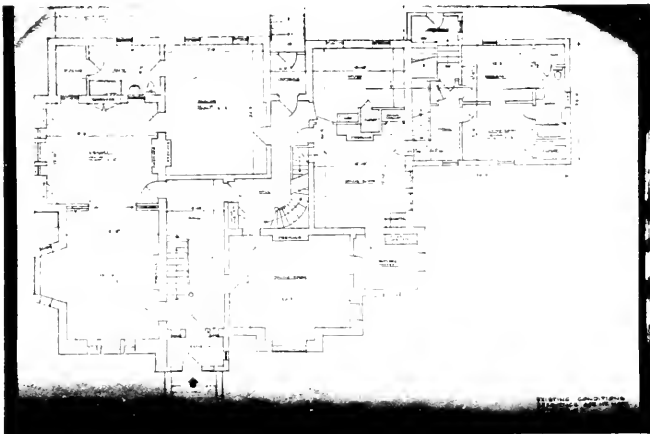
The reader will please remark that the scale to which all the plans in this chapter are drawn, is smaller than that which has been employed before, in order to accommodate the enlarged size of the buildings within the limits of the page. Their scale is one-thirtieth of an inch to the foot, that is an inch represents thirty feet. The previous drawings have been to a scale of one inch



Wheeler: Patrick Barry House, Mount Hope Avenue,
Rochester, New York, designed 1857
and constructed 1857-59.

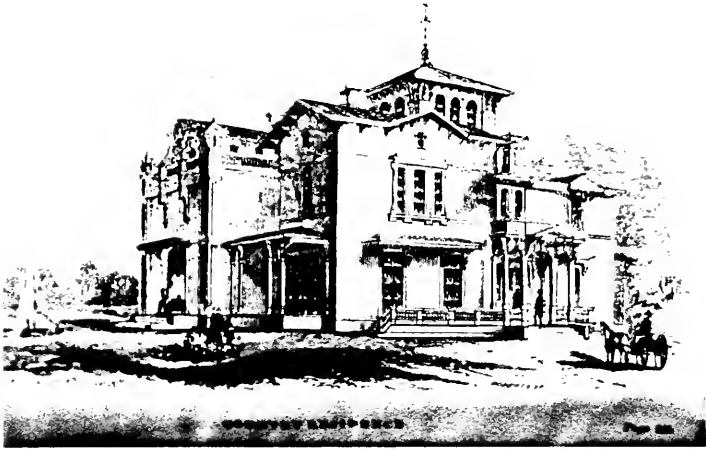
28. Front facade.

29. First floor plan of house c.1970's.





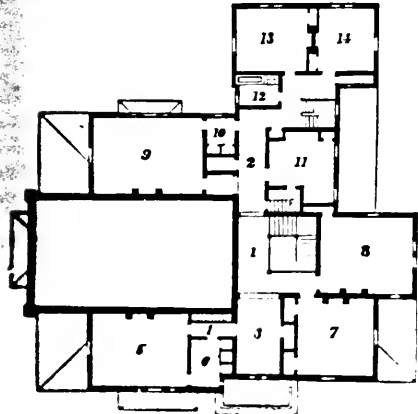
30. Wheeler: Stone Chapel (later Goodrich Hall),
Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts,
designed 1857, constructed 1858-59. 1881 engraving.



Wheeler: Country
Mansion in the
Venetian Italian
Style, below the hills
of Berkshire County,
Massachusetts,
designed and
constructed c.1851-54
according to
architect.
31. Elevation.
32. Ground floor plan.

THE MANSION.

220



N. 12. COUNTRY MANSION - CHERRY HILL

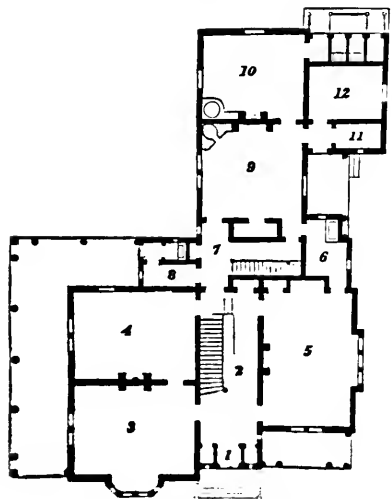
The five stories of the mansion are built of brick and have large windows, and a central tower with a cupola. The ground floor plan shows a large central hall, a large rectangular structure on the left, and several smaller rooms numbered 1 through 14.



Wheeler: Cottage
 Ornee, summit of peak
 along the Housatonic
 River, Berkshire
 County, Massachusetts,
 designed and
 constructed c.1851-54
 according to
 architect.
 33. Elevation.
 34. First floor plan.

THE COTTAGE.

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PL. 12.—COTTAGE ORNEE.—FIRST FLOOR.

Within this is the inner hall, No. 2, and in it the
 stairs, hall to the first floor, and,



PL. XXXV.—ELEVATION.

Wheeler: Cottage
 Villa, Lenox Road, one
 mile from Stockbridge,
 Massachusetts,
 designed and
 constructed c.1851-54
 according to
 architect.

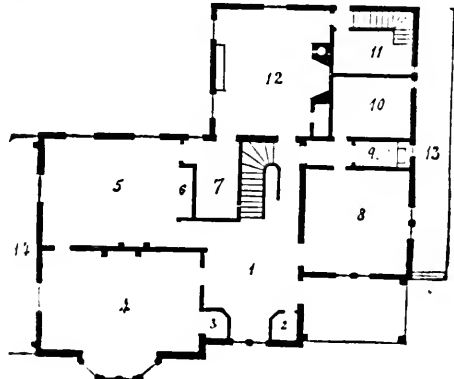
35. Elevation.

36. First floor plan

178

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

is arranged to have a very easy rise and is of ample
 width.



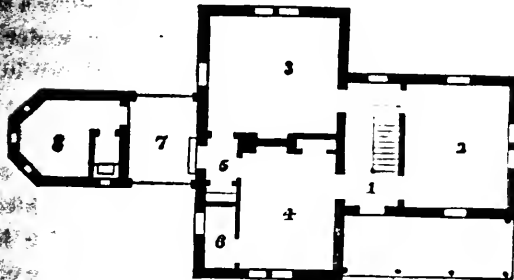
PL. XXXIV.—PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

The drawing-room is a large and cheerful apartment,
 with a bay window in its front and a French window



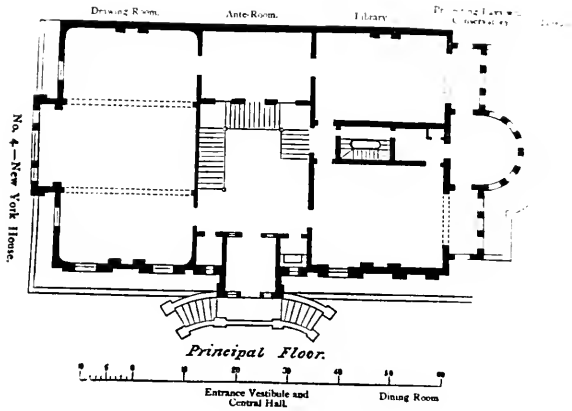
Wheeler: Gatehouse, no location,
 designed and constructed c.1851-54
 according to architect.
 37. Elevation.
 38. Plan.

The masonry roughly laid, and the wood-work of porch,
 windows, &c., of a simple and rustic character.



PL. LIV.—GATE-LODGE PLAN.

The plan of the first of



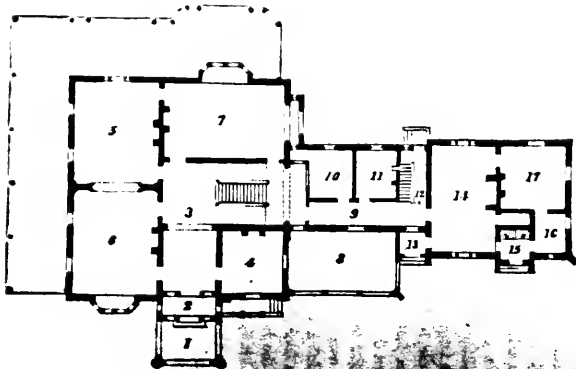
39. Wheeler: Townhouse, New York, designed and constructed c. 1851-60 according to architect. Principal floor plan.



SOUTHERN MANSION

Fig. 40

Wheeler: Southern Mansion, in "midland state,"
 designed and constructed c.1851-54
 according to architect.
 40. Elevation.
 41. First floor plan.



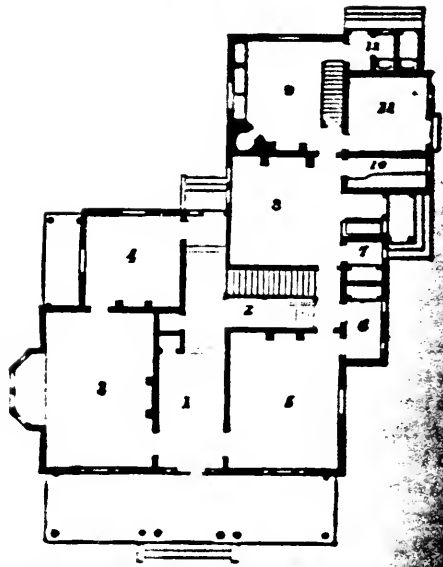
300

ROOMS FOR THE PEOPLE.



Wheeler: Rustic Villa,
 Orange, New Jersey,
 designed and
 constructed c.1851-54
 according to
 architect.
 42. Elevation.
 43. Principal floor
 plan.

ROOMS FOR THE PEOPLE.



P. XX—RUSTIC VILLA—PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.



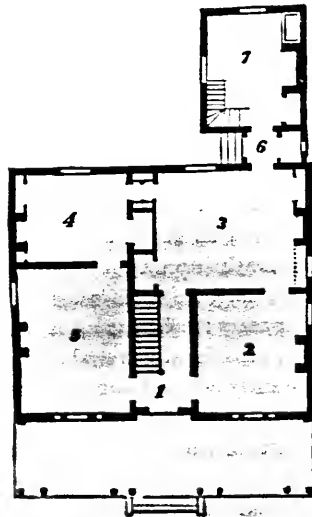
PL. LXX—SQUARE COTTAGE—ELEVATION.

Wheeler: Square
Cottage, twice erected
near Hudson, New York,
c.1851-54 according to
architect.

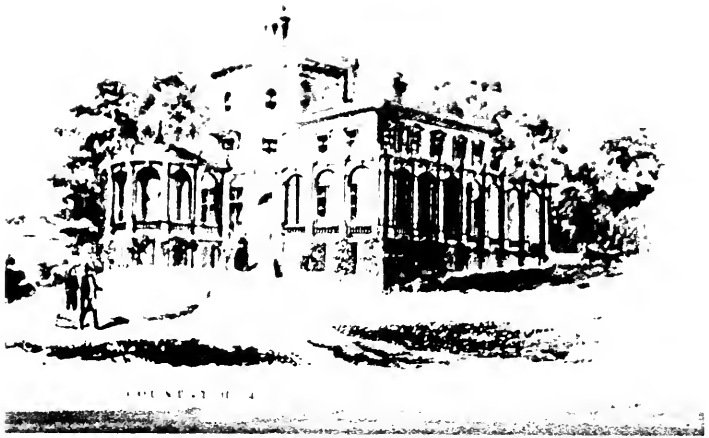
44. Elevation.

45. Floor plan.

ICE HOUSE



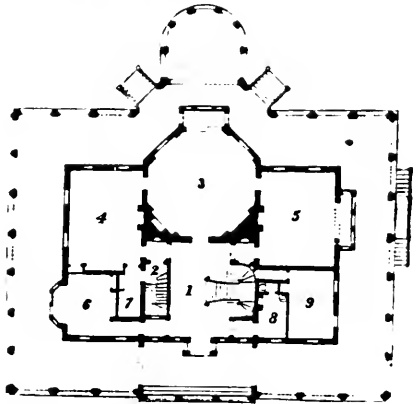
PL. LXX—SQUARE COTTAGE—PLAN.



Wheeler: Country Home remodelled, overlooking the Hudson River, designed and constructed c.1853-54 according to architect.
 46. Elevation.
 47. First floor plan.

25. The entrance building, showing the plan of the building.

It is of an unusual design, and they might be in a separate room, removed from the house, and connected with it by a covered way, which, if the first floor were still retained the same height, could readily be done; the



25. THE ENTRANCE BUILDING, SHOWING THE PLAN OF THE BUILDING.
 25. THE ENTRANCE BUILDING, SHOWING THE PLAN OF THE BUILDING.
 25. THE ENTRANCE BUILDING, SHOWING THE PLAN OF THE BUILDING.

Appendix B. Wheeler's Business & Residential Addresses

The following list traces Wheeler's known business (b) and home (h) addresses in America and upon his return to England. The citations derive from city directories, ads and, where a month is noted, letterheads.

- 1846 (no listings)
- 1847, Apr 29 Greenwich Street, New York, NY (b/h not specified)
- 1847-1848 7 Federal Street, Brunswick, ME (h)
- 1848 New Haven (no listings)
- 1849 Janes' Building, 216-1/2 Main Street, Hartford, CT (b); American House, Hartford, CT (h)
- 1850, Dec 70 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA (b/h not specified)
- 1851, Feb University, Washington Square, New York, NY (b); 304 West 14 Street, New York, NY (not specified; may be address of University)
- 1852, Jun Norwichtown, CT (no details)
- 1853 Europe, specifically London
- 1853-1854 55 Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, New York, NY (b); 1 Elm Place, Brooklyn, NY (h) through 1860
- 1855 16 Nassau Building, 7 Beekman, New York, NY (b)
- 1856-1857 430 Broome Street, New York, NY (b)
- 1858-1859 18 William Street, New York, NY (b)
- 1860 Post Office Building, Brooklyn, NY (b)
- 1861-1864 (no listings)
- 1865-1869 16 Hawley Square, Margate, Kent, GB (b); 32 Cambridge Road, Kilburn NW, GB (h) through 1872
- 1870 RIBA Offices, 9 Conduit Street, London, GB (b); last known business listing
- 1873 (no listings)
- 1874-1880 40 Albany Villas, Hove, Sussex, GB (h)

1881 'Brooklyn', 54 Wilbury Road, Hove, Sussex, GB
(h)

1882-1885 41 Tisbury Road, Hove, Sussex, GB (h)

1886-1889 62 Cromwell Road, Hove, Sussex, GB (h)

Appendix C. Advertisements & Notices

The following is a list of citations of publicity for Gervase Wheeler. Each entry includes the date, the source, the city of publication, and the nature of the ad. See Bibliography for publisher information.

- 1849, May Wells' City Directory for Hartford (Hartford), 138. Ad placed by Wheeler.
- 1851, Nov The Literary World (New York), 399. Notice for Rural Homes in Charles Scribner advertisement.
- 1852, Jan The Genessee Farmer (Rochester), 89. Notice for Rural Homes with excerpts from four reviews.
- 1852, Jun The Genessee Farmer (Rochester), 197. Ad placed by Wheeler.
- 1853, Jul The Horticulturist (Rochester), 325. Notice for Wheeler's practice.
- 1853, Aug The Horticulturist (Rochester), 393. Ad placed by Wheeler.
- 1853, Nov The Horticulturist (Rochester), 537. Ad placed by Wheeler.
- 1854, May The Horticulturist (Rochester), 230. Notice for new edition of Homes for the People to replace original manuscript burnt in office fire.
- 1854, May Tri-Weekly Republican (St. Louis), no page number. Notice for Rural Homes in Edwards & Bushell, booksellers, advertisement.
- 1871, Dec The Literary World (London), 382. Notice for The Choice of a Dwelling.
- 1883, American Agriculturist (New York), 101. Notice for Rural Homes and Homes for the People in Orange Judd Co. advertisement.

Appendix D. Reviews

The following is a chronological list of all reviews regarding Gervase Wheeler's work, located to date. Each entry includes the source, the city of publication, the date, the work reviewed, and an assessment of the review as positive, negative or, in some cases, neutral. See Bibliography for publisher information.

- 1849, Apr The Literary World (New York), 337. The Columbian Drawing Book; positive.
- 1849, Jun The Horticulturist (Albany), 573. The Columbian Drawing Book; positive.
- 1849, Sep The Horticulturist (Albany), 144. "An English Cottage" printed in August issue; negative.
- 1851, May North American Miscellany (Philadelphia), 164. "A Suburban Villa" reprinted from The Home Journal; positive.
- 1851, Jul Bulletin of the American Art Union (New York), 62. Interior polychromy at the Bowdoin College Chapel; positive.
- 1851, Nov The Literary World (New York), 388. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1851, Nov The Home Journal (New York), 4. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1851, Dec The American Whig Review (New York), 544. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1851, Dec The Horticulturist (Rochester), 567. Rural Homes; negative.
- 1851, Dec Harper's Monthly Magazine (New York), 137. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1852, Jan The Genessee Farmer (Rochester), 16. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1852, Jan Godey's Ladies Book (Philadelphia), 91. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1852, Jan Sartain's Magazine (Philadelphia), 102. Rural Homes; positive.
- 1855, Jan The Horticulturist (Rochester), 10. General review of architecture books, including Rural Homes; neutral.

- 1855, May The Home Journal (New York), 1. Homes for the People; positive.
- 1855, Jun The Horticulturist (Rochester), 294. Homes for the People; positive.
- 1855, Jul Godey's Ladies Book (Philadelphia), 85. Homes for the People; positive.
- 1855, Jul Harper's Monthly Magazine (New York), 261. Homes for the People; positive.
- 1855, Jul Knickerbocker, New York Monthly Magazine (New York), 79. Homes for the People; positive.
- 1855, Aug The Builder (London), 371. Homes for the People; negative.
- 1871, Dec The Builder (London), 997. The Choice of a Dwelling; positive.
- 1872, Apr Quarterly Review (London), 295. General review of architecture books including The Choice of a Dwelling; neutral.

Appendix E. Editions of Wheeler's Published Work

The following list, taken from Henry Russell Hitchcock's American Architectural Books, outlines the numerous editions of Gervase Wheeler's two books printed in America and their respective publication locations.

Rural Homes

- 1851 New York: Charles Scribner
1852 New York: Charles Scribner
1853 Auburn: Alden Beardsley & Co.
Rochester: Wanzer Beardsley
1854 New Orleans: Burnett &
Bostwick
Detroit: Kerr & Doughty
1855 Auburn: Alden & Beardsley
Rochester: Alden & Beardsley
1868 New York: Charles Scribner
New York: G.E. Woodward
18?? New York: G.E. Woodward

Note: The Alden & Beardsley companies, Burnett & Bostwick, and Kerr & Doughty were probably subscription publishers.

Homes for the People

- 1855 New York: Charles Scribner
1855 New York: Charles Scribner
(3rd thousand)
1857 New York: Charles Scribner
(4th thousand)
1858 New York: Charles Scribner
(5th thousand)
1868 New York: G.E. Woodward (6th
thousand)
18?? New York: American News
(revised edition of 1867
copyright)

Note: American News generally handled distribution to railroad stations and mid-west cities.

Appendix F. Institutions and Repositories

The following list suggests research facilities for further leads on Gervase Wheeler's career in America.

American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury Street, Worcester, MA 01609; for the full run of The Home Journal.

Berkshire Athenaeum, 1 Wendell Avenue, Pittsfield, MA 01201; for documentation on Wheeler designs erected in the Berkshires.

Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, NY; for documentation of Wheeler's alterations to the chancel.

Columbia University, New York, NY; for Scribner archives.

Connecticut Historical Society, 1 Elizabeth Street, Hartford, CT 06105; for Omstead Papers and information on Bushnell Park.

Hartford Architecture Conservancy, 51 Wethersfield Avenue, Hartford, CT 06114; for information on Wheeler's practice in Hartford and Bushnell Park.

Historical Society of the Tarrytowns, NY; for documentation on designs erected along the Hudson River, especially Rockwood.

National Archives, New York, NY; for passenger lists (Wheeler is not among those already indexed).

New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue, New York, NY; for Upjohn Papers and William Hoppin Diaries.

Stockbridge Library, Stockbridge, MA 01262; for documentation on Wheeler designs erected in the Berkshires.

Anne & Jerome Fisher

FINE ARTS LIBRARY

University of Pennsylvania

Please return this book as soon as you have finished with it. It must be returned by the latest date stamped below.

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