



AMERICAN ARCHITECTS

AND THEIR BOOKS, 1840-1915

Edited by Kenneth Hafertepe

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Edited by Kenneth Hafertepe
and James F. O'Gorman

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VI

EDWARD TOWNSEND MIX

BOOKS AND THE PROFESSIONAL ARCHITECT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MILWAUKEE

Chris Szczesny-Adams

Edward Townsend Mix (1831–1890), a Milwaukee architect working 1855–90, owned a variety of architectural books that enhanced his professional practice (figure 6.1). Although not commonly recognized as a major figure in American architecture, Mix designed and built structures throughout the Midwest and played a critical role in Milwaukee's architectural development. His designs encompassed various architectural styles, including Italianate, Second Empire, Romanesque, and Queen Anne, all of which were reflected in his book collection.

To understand E. Townsend Mix, his books, and his impact on Milwaukee's architectural development, one must consider a variety of issues. It is important, first, to correlate the development of Milwaukee as a city, Mix's place in it, and his architectural designs; second, to observe how his New Haven, Connecticut, background exposed him to the use of books within an architectural practice; third, to discuss the variety and substance of the architectural works in his library. Finally, one must discover how Mix's designs demonstrated the influence of his architectural book collection on his work. As Milwaukee's principal late-nineteenth-century architect, his lineage, training, and architectural books reflected his status as a professional and provided the background for his innovative and cosmopolitan designs for himself, his clients, and the upper Midwest.

Milwaukee is known for its strong cultural heritage derived from the German, Polish, Italian, and Irish communities that developed there during the nineteenth

century.¹ In 1890, the year Mix died, the U.S. census identified Milwaukee as the “Most Foreign City in the United States”: 72 percent of the its 285,315 residents were of German descent.² Its rich German heritage aided in developing Milwaukee into a modern city. Yet it is important to remember that many of its first large-scale real estate developers were *not* German, and those were the men for whom Mix worked.³ Milwaukee’s antebellum architecture was developed by Yankees with ethnic backgrounds primarily from the British Isles, who saw in the city an opportunity to obtain wealth.



FIG 6.1 Edward Townsend Mix, ca. 1880. Photo courtesy of the Milwaukee County Historical Society.

tect, his patented design for a lattice truss in 1820 had made him financially secure and provided him with the means to begin his extensive collection of architectural and fine arts books. Town's library, one of the largest of its kind in the United States at the time, was open to architects, intellectuals, artists, and others. It was from research collected in this library that New Haven resident Louisa Tuthill compiled her *History of Architecture from the Earliest Times* (1848). In 1836 Town built a fire-proof home in New Haven to house his library, which became so well known that it even developed into a tourist site.¹⁵

Although his book collection was dispersed in the 1840s, its influence shaped the architectural profession. Town's library and his interest in architectural education changed the way architects trained and thus advanced the idea of architects as professionals. No longer would training take place completely through apprenticeship. Now it became significant for architects to study other works through books as well as to gain experience in an office and on the job site. Although no current documentation provides a specific association, it is possible that Ithiel Town trained such New Haven architects as Sidney Mason Stone (1803–1882) and perhaps Henry Austin (1804–1891).¹⁶

In 1846 the Mix family returned from Illinois to the East Coast, and Mix completed his education at the Collegiate School in Batavia, New York, after which he held a variety of jobs and perhaps served a brief apprenticeship with architect Richard M. Upjohn (1828–1903).¹⁷ In the summer of 1848, Mix returned to New Haven for a visit, met with church designer Sidney Mason Stone, and stayed to begin his architectural training in Stone's office.¹⁸ Stone, who was considered one of New Haven's "early professional architects," had been exposed to Town's extensive architectural library and recognized its importance as a tool for the profession.¹⁹ Although not much is known about Stone's practice beyond the scant buildings that survive, several of his designs were published in various books, including *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages* (1853), issued by the Congregational Churches of the United States General Convention held at Albany in 1852, and in what looks to be an undated partial reissue of that work titled *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture* (figure 6.2), of which Mix once owned a copy.²⁰ Stone's published designs help confirm his interest in books and provide tangible evidence of their importance in his architectural practice. (And the same might be said of Stone's New Haven contemporary, Henry Austin.)

New Haven and Mix's family background were important to his architectural and scholarly development in at least two ways. First, he was exposed by his

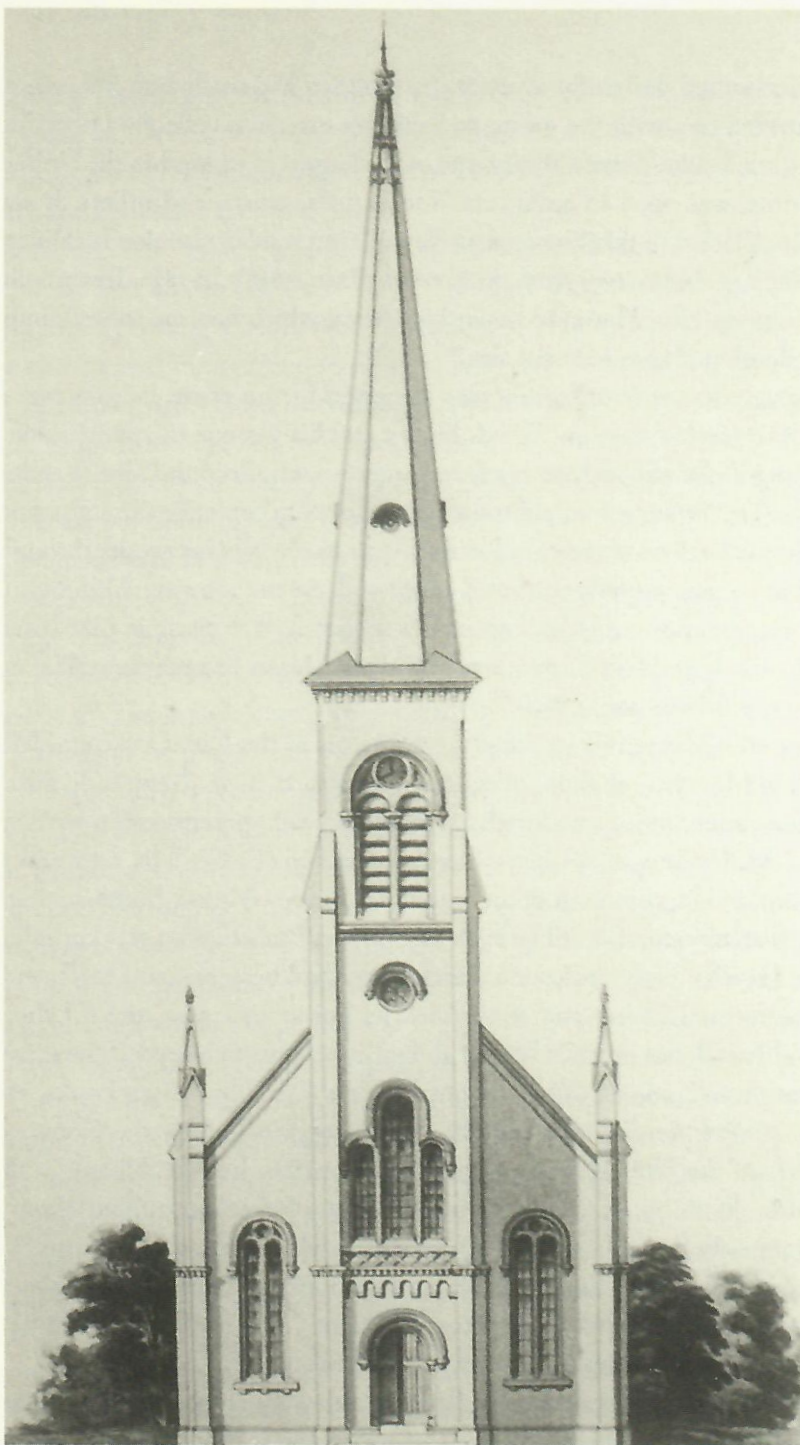


FIG 6.2 Sidney Mason Stone, church facade. Plate 5 from Mix's copy of *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture*, n.d. Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

extended family to the importance of books in various fields. Second, his architectural mentor, Sidney Mason Stone, certainly communicated his personal interest in books through his connection to the architectural library of Ithiel Town (from which Stone acquired several books) and his own published works.²¹

Following Mix's death in 1890, Mary B. Hayes Mix, his wife, donated to the Milwaukee Public Library a collection of twenty-one architectural titles comprising nearly forty different volumes.²² This extensive collection comprises eight books published in France, four English publications, and nine issued in the United States; they include encyclopedias, journals, books on structure, pattern books, catalogues, and architectural histories (see the Appendix to this chapter). These books provided Mix with readily accessible sources of contemporary and historical architectural designs, and since such sources were limited on the frontier, particularly before the Civil War, they also provided design examples for his clients to consider. Eight of these books offer special insight into Mix's architectural practice.

First, César Daly's *L'architecture privée au XIX^{me} siècle sous Napoléon III* was published in three folio volumes in 1864. Daly was the "Architect of the Government" and director of the General Review of Architecture and Public Works in Paris. He dedicated his work to Baron Georges Eugene Haussmann and in the first volume discussed the importance of the architecture of Paris and Haussmann's role.²³ Following the dedication is a one-page response by Haussmann himself. Each of the three volumes highlights a different type of residential building: private mansions, apartment houses, and villas. Each design contained multiple plans, elevations, and views as well as details. The buildings illustrated were all designed by architects, and the book's index lists each building's address.

This series was particularly interesting because of its contemporary nature. Published in the midst of the renovations that Baron Haussmann was orchestrating for Paris, it reflected the city as a growing metropolis utilizing new technology and modern design. It was critical for Mix, as an architect who was transforming the midwestern frontier, to see and understand the new styles and how they could be integrated into his own designs. It seemed appropriate that this type of book would be in Mix's collection because of the contemporary nature of the innovations that were taking place in Paris in the 1860s. The volumes also suggested the importance of understanding how new technology was beginning to play a crucial role in architectural and urban design.

The second work, *Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement*, also by Daly, was published in 1869. Its two folio-sized volumes had been written when

Daly was still "Architect of the Government." In both volumes, opposite the title page, is the handwritten inscription "E. Townsend Mix, Minneapolis, Sep. 23, 1890"—the location and date of Mix's death.²⁴ This work focused on the history of the architecture of France from François I to Louis XVI. Both volumes illustrated architectural details showing stylistic variations and continuities between subsequent periods, encompassing everything from facade views to cornice details drawn to scale. These images were intended as a practical interpretation of how architecture, particularly historical architecture, had been developed. The elaborate French details highlighted in these volumes were a feature that Mix utilized in his commercial buildings, which again reflected his interest in cosmopolitan French design.

The third work consisted of twelve volumes of the *Encyclopédie d'architecture*, with Victor Calliat and Adolphe Lance as editors, published in Paris by Bance between 1851 and 1862. This series was less an encyclopedia than a contemporary architectural journal. It provided the reader with an up-to-date view of architectural issues in Paris and throughout France, as well as presenting images of modern design such as Henri Labrousse's Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève. Although most of the images did not contain numeric details, several were drawn to scale. The images offered the reader a comprehensive view of a design from elevations, sections, plans, and specific details, and many buildings were covered in multiple monthly issues, each highlighting different aspects of a design, how it could be constructed, and its overall architectural importance. This series also provided Mix with the opportunity to understand the contemporary architectural issues and designs of Paris without traveling there.

The fourth work, *L'architecture du Vme au XVIIme siècle et les arts qui en dépendent*, written by Jules Gailhabaud, was published in five volumes in 1858. Although most of the volumes focused on religious architecture, the third consisted primarily of institutional architecture in France and Italy, the building types it depicted including hospitals, baths, crypts, tombs, and funerary chapels. Overall, this series contained a wide variety of buildings and objects that were probably helpful to Mix particularly in his church designs and in adapting stylistic features.

The fifth book was Léon Isabey and Leblan's *Villas maisons de ville et de campagne*. Isabey, the author, was an architect who held the title "Inspector of the Imperial Palace." Leblan, who was known only by his last name, served as architectural draftsman for the book. Following the author's explanation of intent, he focused on the images of domestic architecture in both city and country settings in France.

Single-family dwellings were the dominant type, and most plates showed facades, plans, and roof designs. The houses highlighted in this book reflected a variety of easily recognized styles, including Tudor, Flemish, Renaissance, and Second Empire, although the author did not specifically mention any style. Wood, stucco, brick, and stone were all incorporated to suit the stylistic needs of each design. This book illustrated some of the ideals of the large-scale homes that Mix designed in the upper Midwest as well as the architect's cosmopolitan style. Mix did not seek to create every building in the same style; his book collection was also eclectic.

The sixth book, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, was published in 1849 prior to the completion of Mix's professional education. The book itself was not lengthy but did contain a wealth of images showing various types of timber structures. Most were for parish churches, and each plate contained detailed measurements followed by descriptions of pitch, span, and the size of beams and rafters. This book resembled the pattern books that gained popularity and availability throughout the United States in the nineteenth century. The open timber structure Mix used in several of his churches was probably adapted from this book.

The seventh book, the previously mentioned *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture*, consisted entirely of a series of designs. It was of great interest for several reasons. First, it included designs by Mix's mentor, Sidney Mason Stone; second, marginalia were found on several designs. One by architect J. Wells bore the notations "this is our *plan* [illegible]," "A.W. Morris," and "JJG." The existence of marginalia suggests that Mix possibly used the designs in this book as a starting point for his own work. Third, there is a drawing of a new church design (figure 6.3), which Mix must have thought significant, because it is glued into the book. Although this building has not been identified as one by Mix, and no notations indicate that the design was his, the supposition is that this was one of his student works.²⁵ It shows the facade of a church with two flanking towers. Within each of the towers is a doorway; the central section is punctuated by seven compass-headed windows with the larger paired central windows serving as a focal point. The central section has a gabled roof and a projecting cornice. The towers are identical and separated into three stories. If this drawing was done by Mix, it may provide clues to his subsequent work. Although I have attempted to correlate the design with the work that Mix was doing in Stone's office, however, I have as yet found no connection. Still, *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture* showed contemporary American designs by important nineteenth-century architects—the professionals that Mix

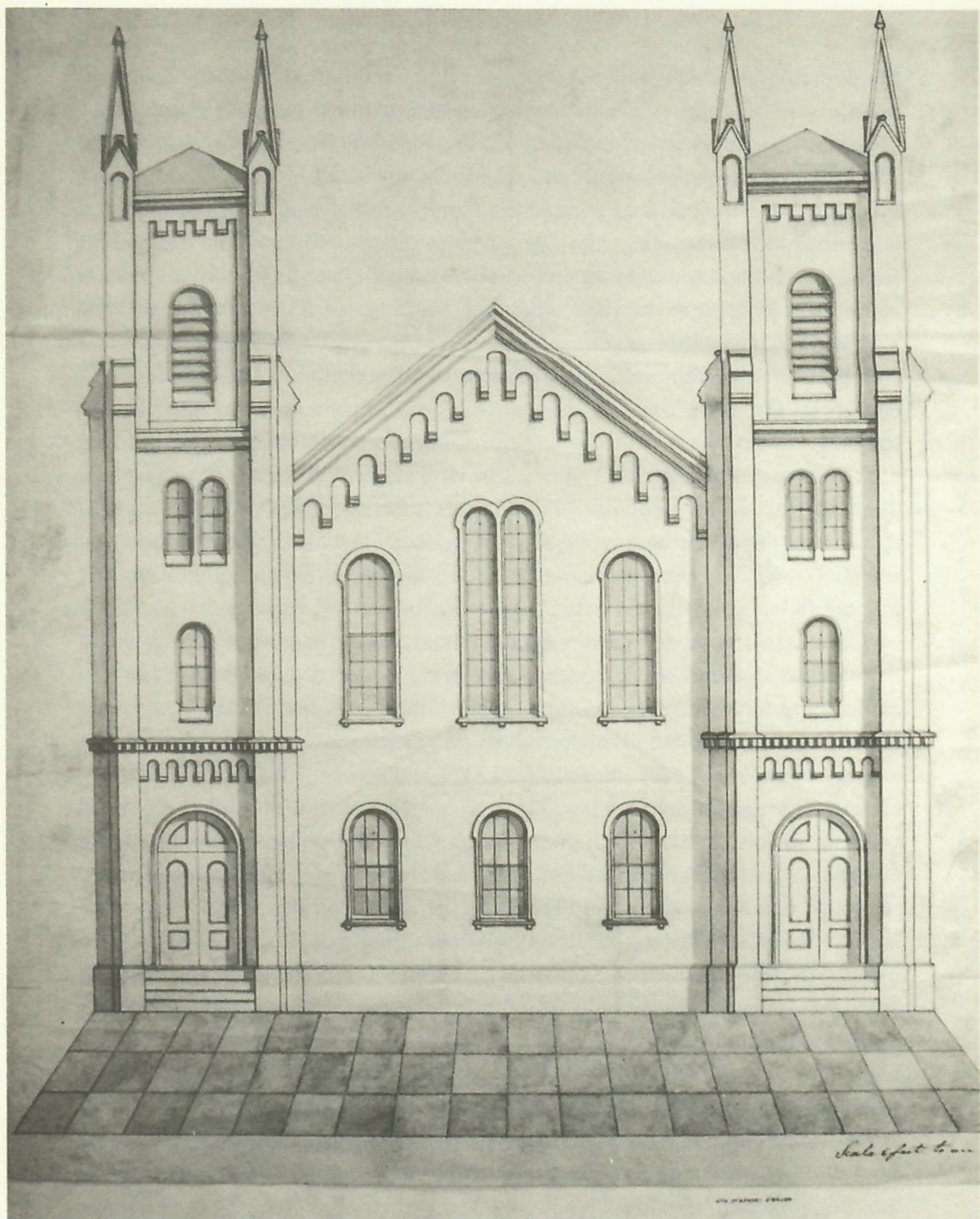


FIG 6.3 Attributed to Edward Townsend Mix, church facade. Pasted into Mix's copy of *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture*. Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

was acquainted with—and thus provided some basic ideas from which to begin his own church designs with reference to his mentor's work.

The final book, Minard Lafever's *The Architectural Instructor, Containing a History of Architecture from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (1856), extends to 526 pages. *The Architectural Instructor* was just that: a book teaching all the information an architect on the frontier could want. It discussed the historical styles from the origins of architecture to the mid-nineteenth century. It highlighted the history and proper use of the orders. It contained the basic information that was needed to construct a building and some designs to assist the architect in his work. This book, which provided a comprehensive examination of architecture from its historical interpretations to the functional aspects of building construction, was no doubt useful to its owner.

To understand how Mix utilized books within his practice, it is important to see how he translated the design ideas in his books into tangible architecture. Two of his commercial buildings, four residential commissions, and several churches can demonstrate his methods.

The Mitchell Building, designed by Mix in 1876, was considered "the pride of Milwaukee, as well as the whole Northwest," wrote James Buck.²⁶ Commissioned by Alexander Mitchell, one of Mix's primary patrons, this commercial structure served as the Mitchell Bank for many years. Its style was Second Empire, and when completed it was one of the tallest buildings in town. Since Mix did not travel to France, and there were no other buildings of its kind in Milwaukee, the style must have been developed from his books, many of which provided ready examples.²⁷ But copying was not in Mix's nature. His adaptations from the books were not mere copies, instead, he reworked the models to make sophisticated creations that were completely his own.

The facade of the Mitchell Building followed the traditional five-part French design constructed of granite and sandstone (figure 6.4). The central section incorporated elaborate gilded griffins and carved cherubs, lions' heads, garlands, and other details, the origins of some of which can be found in Mix's books. The caryatid figures near the top of the facade were similar to the atlantid figures seen in Victor Calliat's *Encyclopédie d'architecture* (figures 6.5 and 6.6). Another feature was the incorporation of faces at the top of the arches. Similar faces can be found in Daly's *L'architecture privée au XIX^{me} siècle sous Napoléon III* and *Motifs historiques d'architecture*, although the expressions are not identical, the forms are similar (figure 6.7). Also attributable to the influence of designs in the *Encyclopédie*

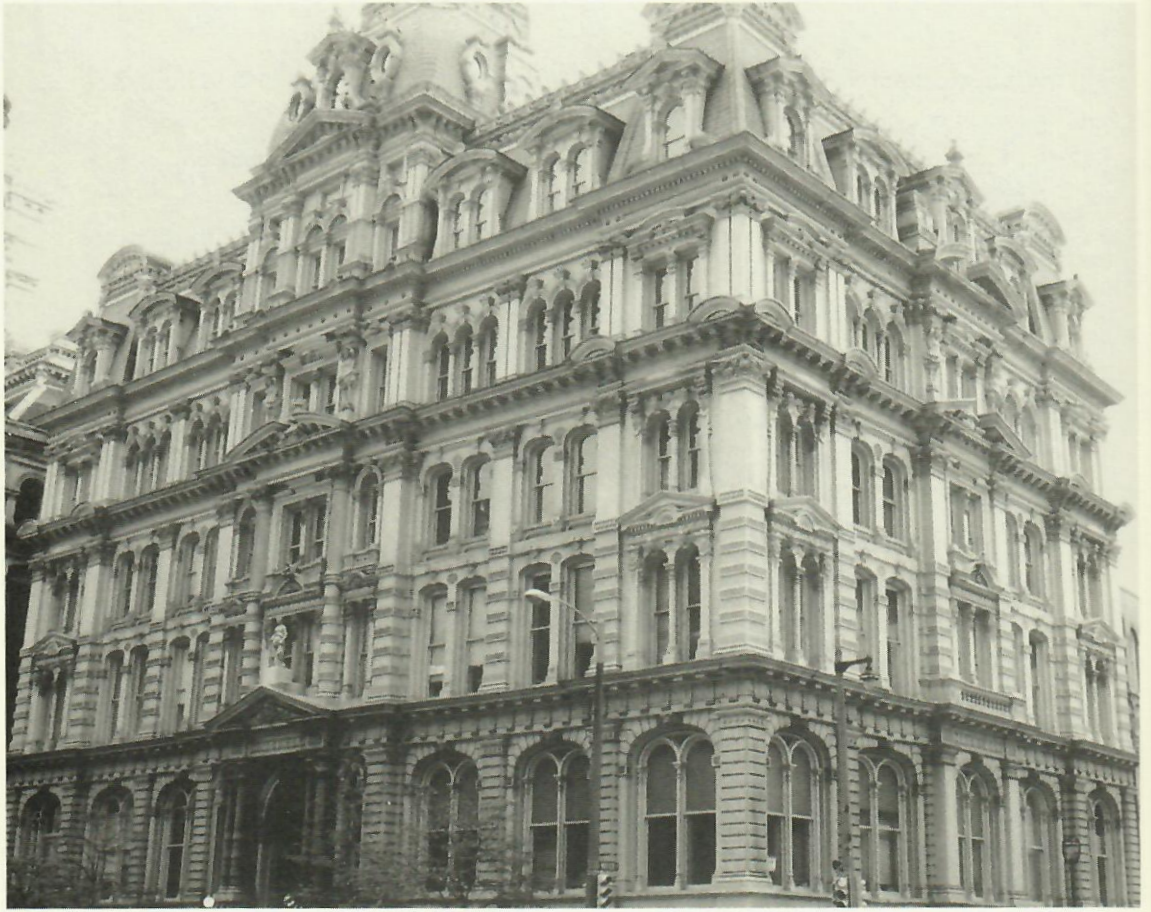


FIG 6.4 Edward Townsend Mix, Mitchell Building, Milwaukee, 1876. Photo by the author.

d'architecture was the use of faces in the metopes on the lower level of the building. All these details reflected Mix's cosmopolitan nature in design and his ability to pull designs together from a variety of sources to create his own interpretation of Second Empire.

Another Mix design was the Grain Exchange Building, also known as the Chamber of Commerce Building (figure 6.8). Completed in 1879, it was at that time the world's largest grain exchange and one of the first fireproof buildings in Milwaukee. Its style was completely Mix's creation; the *Milwaukee Sentinel* referred to the building as "Modern Italian."²⁸ One of its main features can be found in the third volume of Jules Gailhabaud's *L'architecture du Vme au XVIIme siècle*, where a palace in Italy shows the protruding pyramidal stonework that was interspersed

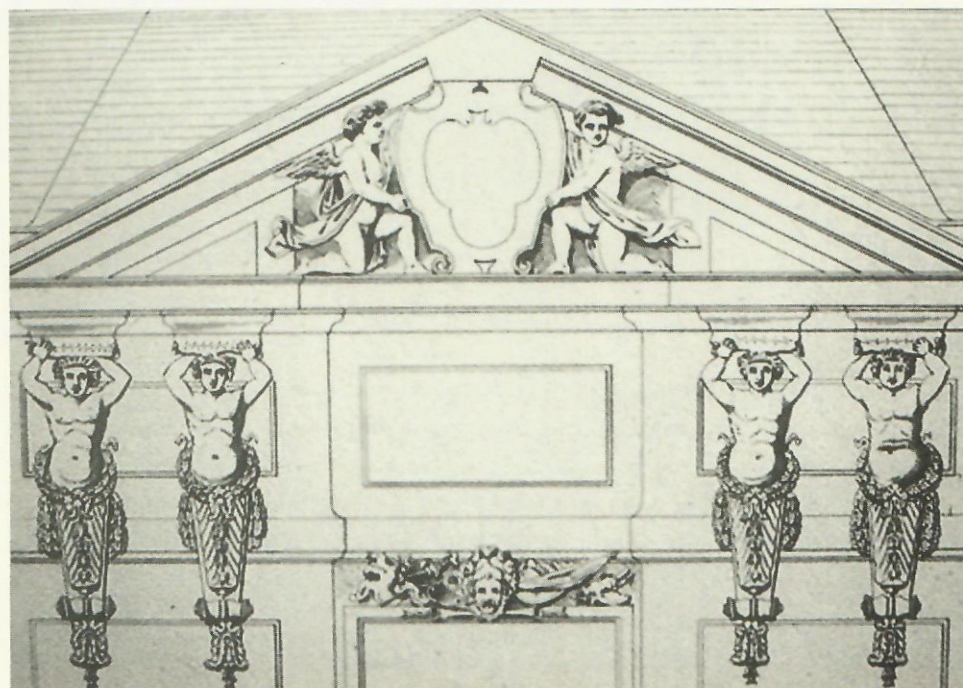


FIG 6.5 Mix, Mitchell Building. Caryatid figures on the facade. Photo by the author.

FIG 6.6 Atlantid figures. From Victor Calliat and Adolphe Lance, eds., *Encyclopédia d'architecture* (1854), plate 79. Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

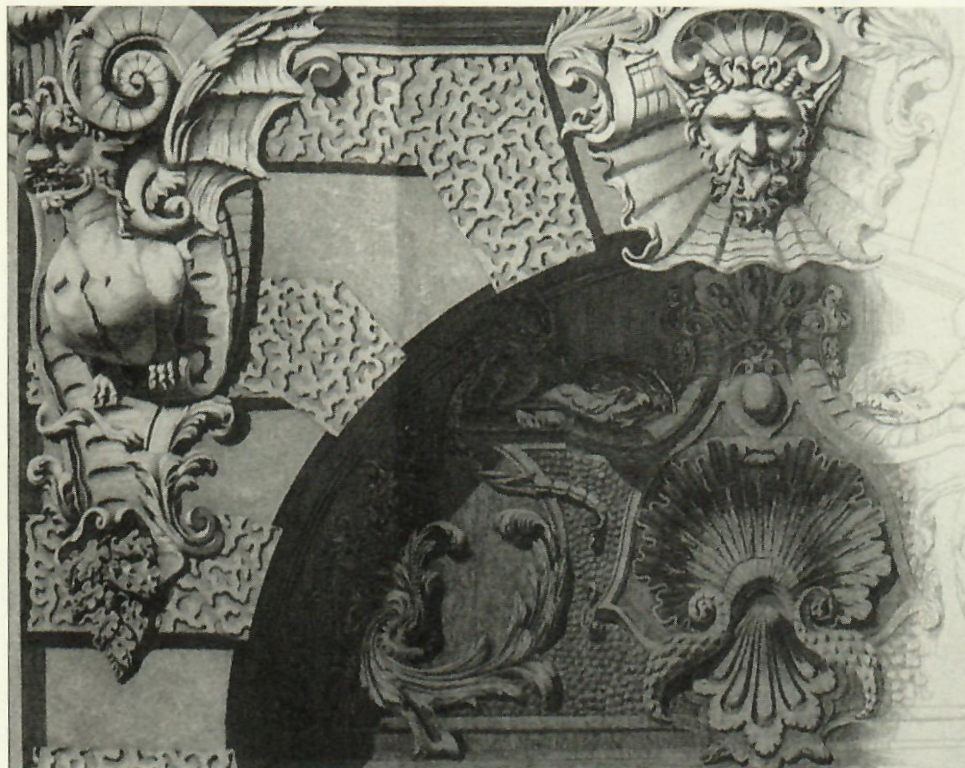


FIG 6.7 Arch. From César Daly, *Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement* (1869). Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

throughout Mix's design (figure 6.9). Further, his exterior also had a vermiculated stone arch of a type that can be seen in Daly's *Motifs historiques d'architecture* (see figure 6.7). The Grain Exchange retains one of the most complete interiors that Mix created, thanks to an accurate renovation in the late 1980s. In examining this interior with its lavish marble columns rising three stories and its series of allegorical paintings depicting "Commerce," one can experience Mix's elaborate design.

In constructing by contemporary accounts "not less than three-fourths of the most costly and ornate private residences erected in Milwaukee," Mix adapted a modified Italianate style for several of his houses.²⁹ This style reflected a trend that he initiated in New Haven and brought to fruition in Milwaukee. Critical elements of it can also be seen in Minard Lafever's *The Architectural Instructor*, Mansion no. 1, which looks very similar to Mix's completed Montauk House in



FIG 6.8 Edward Townsend Mix, Grain Exchange/Chamber of Commerce Building, Milwaukee, 1879. Photo by the author.

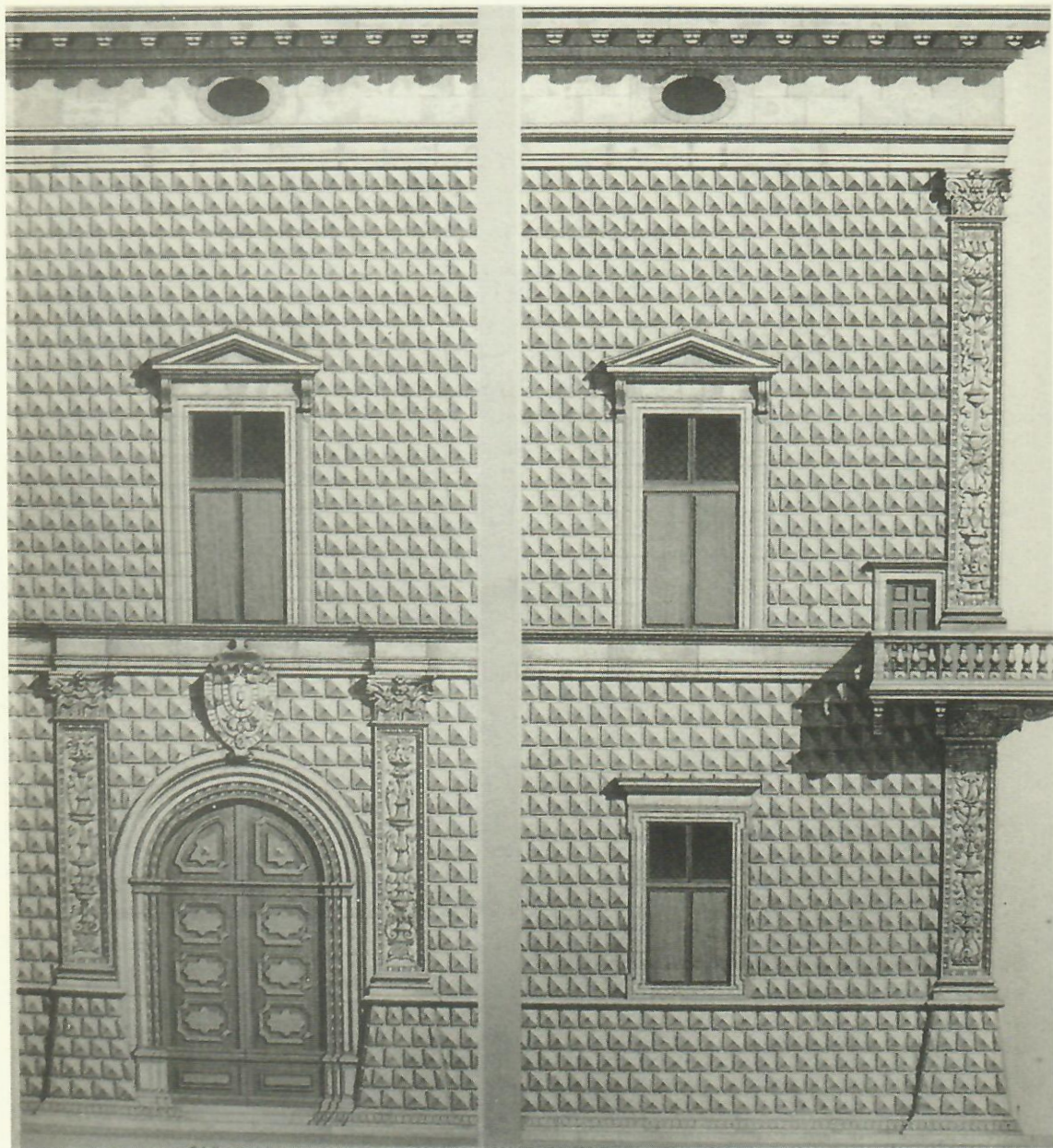


FIG 6.9 Italian palace. From Jules Gailhabaud, *L'architecture du Ve au XVIIe siècle* (1858). Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.



FIG 6.10 Edward Townsend Mix, Robert Patrick Fitzgerald House, Milwaukee, 1874. Photo by the author.

Iowa and the Robert Patrick Fitzgerald house in Milwaukee, both designed in 1874 (figures 6.10 and 6.11). Although he did not copy it directly, Mix referenced the drawing, transforming it into two unique compositions through modifications in the window and compositional arrangement as well as other details.

Throughout Mix's career he frequently adapted to new architectural trends, and the Milwaukee homes for Mrs. Martha Terry in 1886 and A. K. Mayhew in 1888 reveal a change in his domestic designs. These buildings comprised a mixture of styles bordering on the Queen Anne, which was one of the predominant styles Mix worked with in the 1880s. Designs in Isabey and Leblan's *Villas, maisons de ville et de campagne* reflected these stylistic trends (figure 6.12). The design for the Martha Terry House was significant beyond Milwaukee, as it was published in Chicago's *Inland Architect and Builder*, New York's *Sanitary Engineer*, and in

the French periodical *La Semaine des Constructeurs* in 1886. Mix's eclectic nature allowed him to pull ideas from a variety of sources and thus cultivate designs appropriate to each new building project.³⁰

The final buildings reflecting Mix's interest in architectural books were his churches. He frequently utilized open-timber roof structures for his ecclesiastical work. This can be seen in St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Racine, 1866–67; the First Baptist Church in Waukesha, 1872; and three in Milwaukee: St. Paul Episcopal Church, 1883; Holy Rosary Catholic Church, 1885; and the Grand Avenue Congregational Church, 1887. Each of these churches had a different pattern of timber framing, some more elaborate than others, but the form remained a staple of Mix's design repertoire. Although he did not specifically copy from Brandon's *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, there were similarities between some of those designs (figure 6.13) and Mix's constructed buildings, demonstrating that he utilized his books for interior as well as exterior inspiration and construction.

The work of Edward Townsend Mix and his books shows that Milwaukee, although commonly recognized as having a predominantly German heritage, was



FIG 6.11 Mansion no. 1. From Minard Lafever, *The Architectural Instructor* (1856). Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

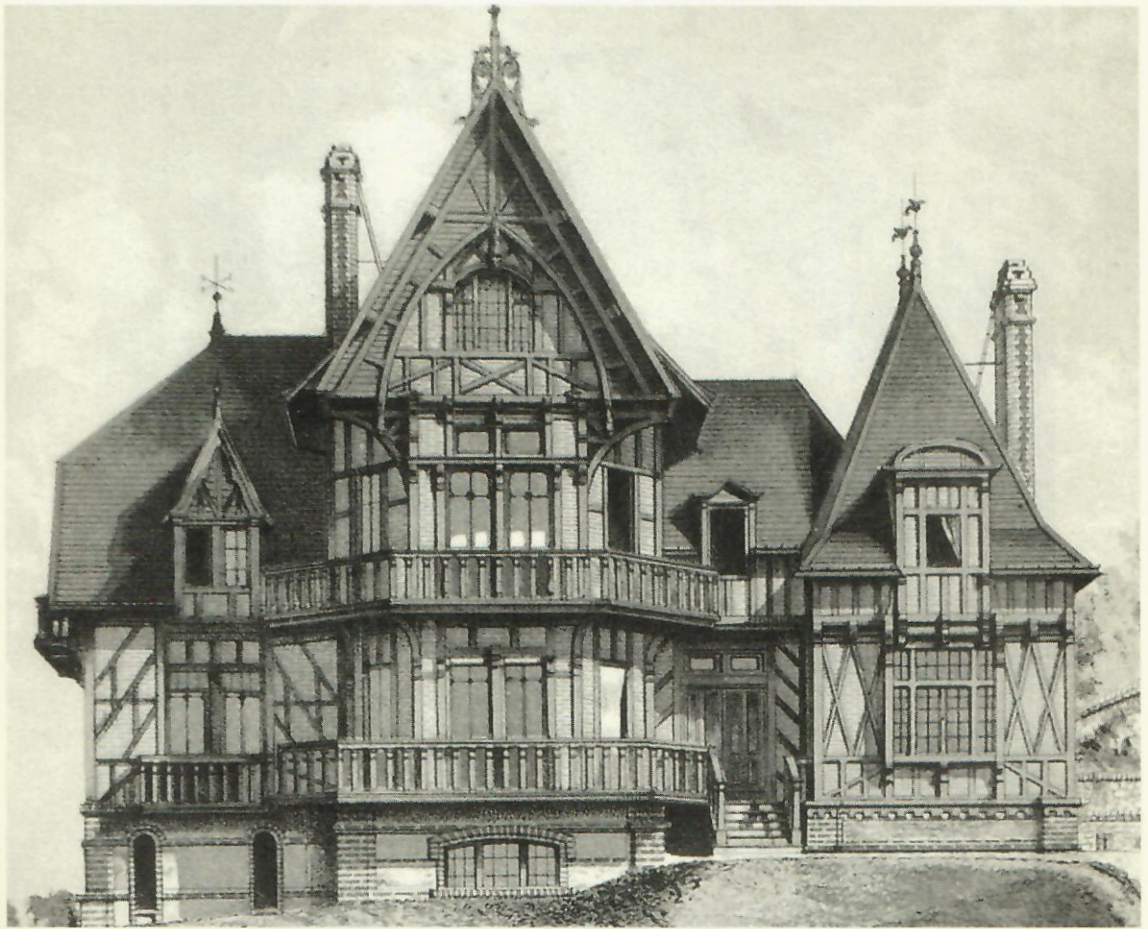


FIG 6.12 Maison. From Léon Isabey and Leblan, *Villas, maisons de ville et de campagne* (1867). Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

originally developed by a significantly Yankee population that has been overlooked. Mix's work also reflects the importance of his New Haven, Connecticut, background and early exposure to the function of books within an architectural practice. A study of the variety and content of his book collection and how it was used establishes that his designs were influenced by, although not copied from, his architectural books. These characteristics merged to provide critical visual cues confirming his status as a professional architect. Did Mix show these books to his clients in order to evoke responses to design concepts they had never seen before, or had seen in other locations and desired to emulate? As a professional architect, Mix utilized his books not to copy the drawings as a builder would but, as a designer, to prime

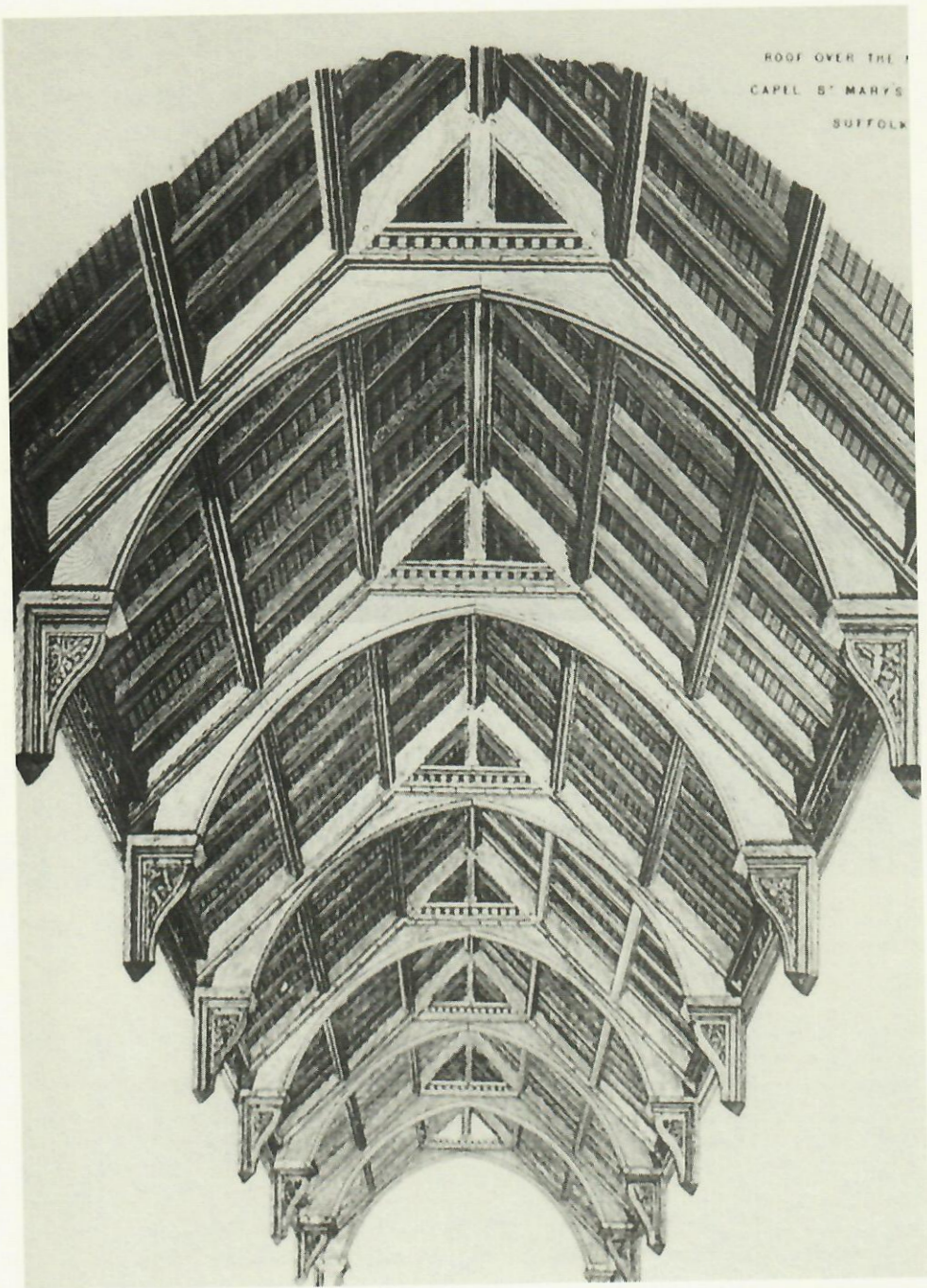


FIG 6.13 Timber framing. From Raphael and J. A. Brandon, *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages* (1849). Photo by the author. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Library.

the flow of his own ideas within a traditional framework. In the mid-nineteenth century, Mix was Milwaukee's primary architect and a founding member of the Western Association of Architects, and his lineage, training, and personal library reflected his status as a professional architect and provided inspiration for his cosmopolitan and innovative designs.³¹

APPENDIX

Edward Townsend Mix Collection of Architectural Books Compiled from the List of Gifts of Mrs. E. T. Mix, 23 June 1891, to the Milwaukee Public Library (in list order)

- Calliat, Victor, and Adolphe Lance, eds. *Encyclopédie d'architecture; Journal mensuel publié sous la direction de Victor Calliat; texte descriptif par Adolphe Lance*. 12 vols. Paris: Bance, 1851-62.
- Daly, César D. *L'architecture privée au XIX^{me} siècle sous Napoléon III; Nouvelles maisons de Paris et des environs, par César Daly*. 3 vols. Paris: A. Morel, 1864.
- . *Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornements, pour la composition et la décoration extérieure des édifices publics et privés*. Paris: A. Morel, 1869.
- Degen, Louis. *Les constructions en briques, par Louis Degen*. Paris: A. Morel, 1864.
- Gailhabaud, Jules. *L'architecture du V^{me} au XVIII^{me} siècle et les arts qui en dépendent: la sculpture, la peinture murale, la peinture sur verre, la mosaïque, la ferronnerie, etc.; Pub. d'après les travaux inédits des principaux architectes français et étrangers par Jules Gailhabaud*. 5 Vols. Paris: Gide, 1858.
- Isabey, Léon. *Villas, maisons de ville et de campagne, composées sur les motifs des habitations de Paris moderne dans les styles des XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXIX siècles, et sur un choix des maisons les plus remarquables l'étranger par Léon Isabey et Leblan*. Paris: A. Levy, 1867.
- Révoil, Henry. *Architecture romane du midi de la France, dessinée, mesurée, et décrite par Henry Révoil*. 3 portfolios. Paris: A. Morel, 1867-74.
- . *Croquis d'architect 5^{me} année*. Paris: G. Raulin, 1876.
- Billings, Robert William. *Illustrations of the Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham: Ecclesiastical, Castellated, and Domestic*. Durham: St. Andrews; London: T. and W. Boone, 1846.
- Brandon, Raphael, and J. A. Brandon. *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*. London: D. Bogue, 1849.
- Charles, Richard. *The Cabinet Maker: A Journal of Designs. For the Use of Upholsterers, Cabinet Makers, Decorators, Carvers, Gilders, and Others, by R. Charles and Other Designers*. London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1868.
- Conway Manufacturing Company. *Sixteen Designs of Fine Mantels; Selected from our Entire Line; Series A*. Milwaukee: Conway Manufacturing, 1856.
- Cundall, Joseph, ed. *Examples of Ornament: Selected Chiefly from Works of Art in the British Museum, the Museum of Economic Geology, the Museum of Ornamental Art in Marlborough House, and the New Crystal Palace, Drawn from Original Sources, by Francis Bedford, Thomas Scott, Thomas Macquoid . . . [et. al.] and edited by Joseph Cundall*. London: Bell & Daldy, 1855.
- De Forest, Lockwood. *Indian Domestic Architecture*. [Boston: Heliotype Printing, c. 1885].
- Lafever, Minard. *The Architectural Instructor, Containing a History of Architecture from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time; Illustrated with nearly 250 Engravings of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Cities*,

- Temples, Palaces, Cathedrals, and Monuments; also, the Greek and Early Roman Classic Orders, Their Principles and Beauties; with a Large Number of Original Designs of Cottages, Villas, and Mansions, of Different Sizes, Accompanied with Practical Observations on Construction . . . and further Designs of Churches, Monuments, and Public Buildings; Together with a Glossary of Architectural Terms . . .* by Minard Lafever, Architect. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856.
- Hart, J. Coleman. *Designs for Parish Churches, in the Three Styles of English Church Architecture; with an Analysis of Each Style; a Review of the Nomenclature of the Periods of English Gothic Architecture, and Some Remarks Introductory to Church Building, Exemplified in a Series of over One Hundred Illustrations.* By J. Coleman Hart. New York: Dana, 1857.
- Loudon, J. C. *Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture.* London: Warne, 1869.
- Low, J. G., and J. F. Low. *Illustrated Catalogue of Art Tiles Made by J. G. and J. F. Low.* Chelsea, Mass.: J. G. & J. F. Low, 1884.
- Talbert, Bruce J. *Examples of Ancient and Modern Furniture, Metal Work, Tapestries, Decorations, etc.* by B. J. Talbert. Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1877.
- . *Gothic Forms Applied to Furniture, Metal Work, and Decoration for Domestic Purposes* by B. J. Talbert, Architect, London. Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1873.
- Upjohn, Downing, Renwick et al. *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture: Comprising a Series of Designs for Churches, Parsonages, and Cottages Exemplified in Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details with Practical Descriptions* by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone, Cleveland, Backus, Reeve, Etc. Chicago: Northwestern Publishing House, n.d.

NOTES

I thank librarians Pat DeFrain and Virginia Schwartz of the Milwaukee Central Library for all their assistance in tracking down the accession numbers and books provided to the library by Mrs. E. Townsend Mix.

1. Milwaukee's ethnic legacy is still evident in the architecture and cultural associations that survive. According to Kathleen Neils Conzen, "The German community was to color Milwaukee's urban development and crucially mediate the adjustment of several generations of immigrant residents to American life. It was not only the numbers of Germans who settled there that gave Milwaukee its reputation as the most German of American cities nor their proportionate strength in the city's population, but also the solidity and character of the community they created." Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 2.

2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 372.

3. John Burrows, "The Work of E. Townsend Mix from 1856 [to] 1890" (master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1978).

4. William G. Bruce, "Old Milwaukee's Yankee Hill," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 30 (March 1947): 289.

5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 917, 929. It is important to note that in the early census records, a person who had been born in the "colonies" was noted as being from British America.

6. The German members of the Milwaukee Club included Frederick Pabst, Guido Pfister, Emil Schandain, and August Uihlein. See *The Articles of Association, the Milwaukee Club* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Cramer, Aikens & Cramer, 1883).

7. Margaret Townsend, *Townsend-Townshend 1066-1909: The History, Genealogy, and Alliances of the English and American House of Townsend* (New York: Broadway Publishing, 1909), 39-40.

8. Joseph P. Smith, "Henry Howe, the Historian," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 4 (1895): 314.

9. *Ibid.*, 315-16.

10. On Andover, Illinois, see Mike and Sue Otto, *Our Future Is in Our Heritage* (Orion, Ill.: Evans Printing and Publishing, 1985); and Ronald E. Nelson, "The Role of Colonies in the Pioneer Settlements of Henry County, Illinois" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 1970).

11. Louis Conard, *History of Milwaukee County from Its First Settlement to the Year 1895* (Chicago: American Biographical Company, 1895), 446.

12. New Haven Free Public Library, "Historical Population," <<http://www.cityofnewhaven.com/library/population.htm>> (5 December 2003).

13. Smith, "Henry Howe," 316.

14. It should be noted that although Mix lived the majority of his life in Milwaukee, he was buried in the Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven.

15. Jane B. Davies, "Town, Ithiel," in *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, ed. Adolf Placzek (New York: Free Press, 1982), 220, 222; Francis S. Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography, Including the Men of the Time* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1872; rpt., Detroit: Gale Research, 1974), 611; Sarah Allaback, "Louisa Tuthill, Ithiel Town, and the Beginnings of Architectural History Writing in America," in *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*, ed. Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 199, 203.

16. Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: New Age Publishing, 1956), 577; Rexford Newcomb, "Ithiel Town of New Haven and New York," *The Architect* 2 (1929): 523.

17. *Commemorative Biographical Record of New Haven County, Connecticut, containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of Many of the Early Settled Families* (Chicago: J. H. Beers, 1902), 1:416. According to Alexander Guth, "Early Day Architects in Milwaukee," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 10 (September 1926): 27, Mix served an apprenticeship with Richard M. Upjohn; I have found no other documentation either to support or to disclaim this statement.

18. Conard, *History of Milwaukee County*, 447. We know from the 1850 Census that the family was then residing in New Haven and that E. T. Mix listed his profession as architect.

19. Withey and Withey, *Biographical Dictionary*, 577.

20. For the Congregational Convention publication, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *American Architectural Books* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), #282. There is a copy of *Rural Church and Cottage Architecture*, formerly owned by Mix, at the Milwaukee Public Library (see the appendix).

21. According to George Dudley Seymour, *New Haven* (New Haven, Conn.: self-published, 1942), 245, Stone purchased several books from the collection of Ithiel Town, including a set of large volumes by William Chambers.

22. Milwaukee Public Library, *Card Catalog of Gifts*, Noted 383, 14 May 1891. Mrs. Mix also came from an extensive Connecticut family; the earliest recorded member was George Hayes, who was residing in Connecticut in the 1680s. Mary's great-grandfather, Ezekiel Hayes, was the grandfather of President Rutherford B. Hayes. See *Commemorative Biographical Record of New Haven County, Connecticut*, 1:415.

23. César Denis Daly's, *L'architecture privée au XIX^{me} siècle sous Napoléon III* (Paris: A. Morel, 1864), 1:2. For more information on Daly, see Richard Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula for Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).

24. César Denis Daly, *Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement* (Paris: A. Morel, 1869), 1 (end leaf).

25. Burrows, "Work of E. Townsend Mix," 100.
26. James S. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Swain & Tate, 1881), 2:134.
27. Mix had been experimenting with Second Empire elements such as the mansard roof in earlier structures but nothing to the extent represented in the Mitchell Building.
28. "Chamber of Commerce, Milwaukee," *American Architect and Building News* 9 (January 1, 1881): 7; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 5, 1879.
29. *U.S. Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery: Eminent and Self-Made Men, Wisconsin Volume* (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing, 1877), 655. In studying Mix, I have not found any references to buildings that he constructed or designed for wealthy German patrons in Milwaukee.
30. Marcel Daly, "Villas et Maisons de Campagne Américaines," *La Semaine des Constructeurs* 10 (1886): 594-96.
31. This essay is based on my forthcoming doctoral dissertation from the University of Virginia, "Cosmopolitan Design in the Upper Midwest: The Nineteenth Century Architecture of Edward Townsend Mix."